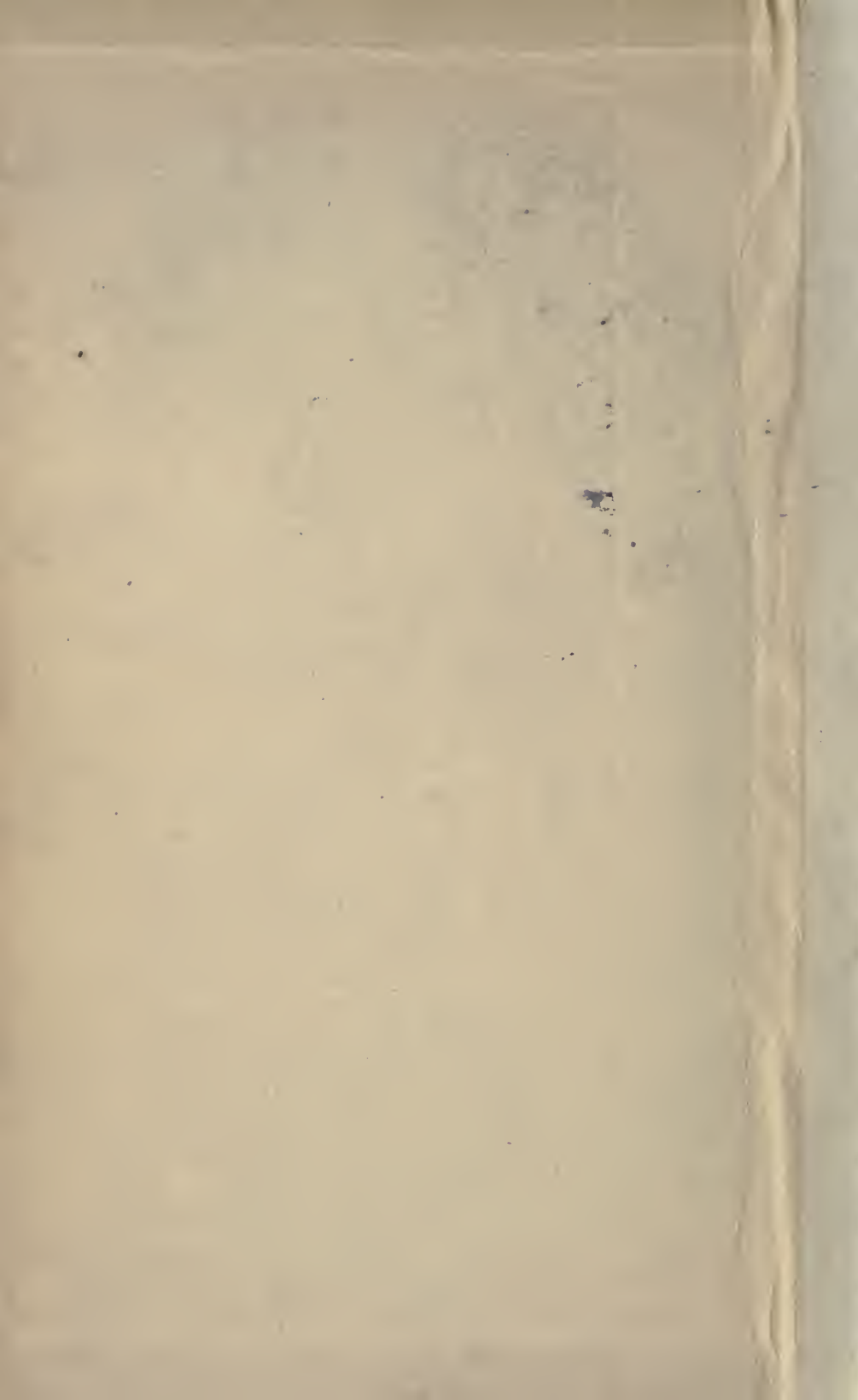


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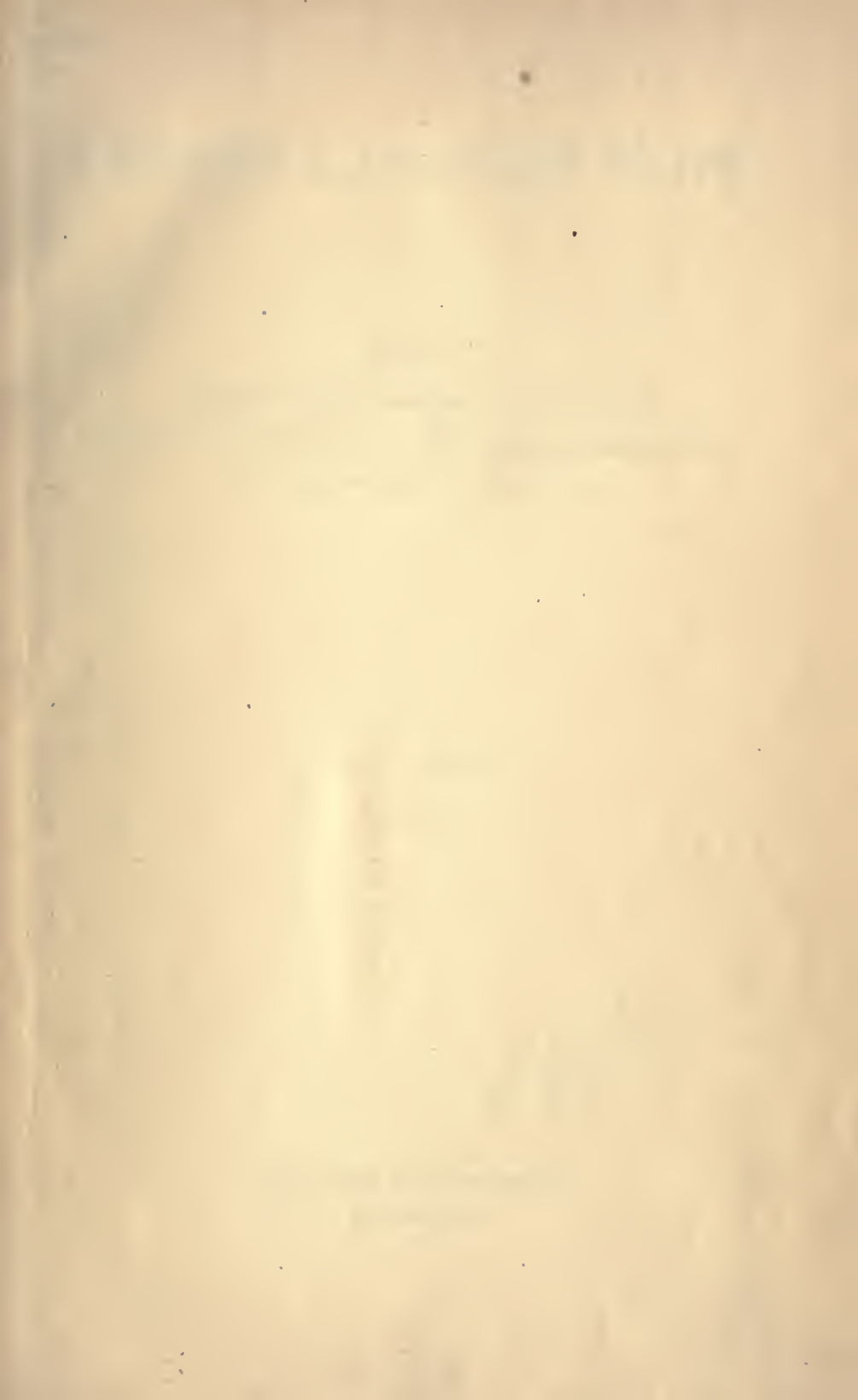






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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

EDITED BY

JAMES WILSON BRIGHT, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

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H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOLUME XXXVI

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## THE SOURCES OF A *TALE OF TWO CITIES*

### I

Dickens' *Tale of Two Cities* really consists of two tales, which he contrived to interweave with more than his usual art. These are the story of Doctor Manette's living death in the Bastille and that of Sydney Carton's self-sacrifice on the scaffold. These constitute the two strong situations, the beginning and the end of the action, from which and towards which, in the finished novel, all intermediate action flows. It is interesting to see, as we presently shall, that it was just these two situations which, when the novel was in conception, first shaped themselves in Dickens' mind and thus originated the whole plot.

We know from Dickens himself that the second, that of self-sacrifice, came first and was his motive in writing the novel at all. It occurred to him, he tells us in his preface, while acting in Wilkie Collins' play *The Frozen Deep*. This play turned on the sufficiently trite subject of contest between a successful and an unsuccessful lover. In disgust and vowing vengeance, the latter, Richard Wardour, offers himself for an expedition to the North Pole, in which his successful rival also engages. The expedition comes to grief. After some years the explorers determine to send a party to try to reach civilization and bring help. Frederick having volunteered, Richard does so too. The two get separated from the rest of the party; which succeeds in reaching Newfoundland, and finds there Clara, the apple of discord of the piece, come out from England in search of news. In despair, she is now preparing to sail for home again, when Richard appears, in the last stage of



exhaustion, carrying Frederick, whom he lays at Clara's feet. He confesses that he had originally meant to kill his rival but that gradually his heart had softened; in point of fact he had cared for him and deprived himself of food for his sake. Now worn out by hardship, he dies while Frederick recovers.<sup>1</sup>

In the private theatricals in summer, 1857, at which Dickens produced this fantastic play, he took the part of Richard Wardour himself, and, in his usual way, not played it merely but lived it. From identifying himself with the character to the desire to embody it in a novel was an easy step, but for some months, as Forster indicates, the idea took no definite shape.<sup>2</sup> In other words, he had conceived so far merely the general situation — a man for love's sake giving his life for his rival—without details or local setting.

Thus the matter rested till the beginning of the following year. *Little Dorrit* had to be got off the stocks and it is not till the opening months of 1858 that we have indications of the new novel in his mind. Then it is evident that the second of the situations has now presented itself. His mind is now dwelling not on the end of the story but, naturally enough, on the beginning, to which he wished to get started. We find him proposing to call the novel *One of these Days*, or *Buried Alive*, or *The Thread of Gold* (in allusion to the power of Lucie Manette to make her father forget his past, as in the novel, Book II, chap. 4), or *The Doctor of Beauvais*.<sup>3</sup> These titles all refer to the Doctor Manette side of the novel and he has obviously got it clear before his mind's eye. Further he has fixed on France (Beauvais), and what other prison in France for burying a man alive in would he think of but the Bastille? In short, he had now, we cannot doubt, decided on the French Revolution as the scene of events.

This he did under the influence of Carlyle's *The French Revolution* which, eight years before this, he declared he had read for the five hundredth time.<sup>4</sup> Carlyle suggested the theatre of events;

<sup>1</sup> In some insignificant details such as the names of the characters, the original play differs from the story Collins afterwards made from it to read during his tour in the United States, 1873-74, and which may be found in the Tauchnitz Edition: *The Frozen Deep and Other Stories*. There is an abstract of it in C. Böttger's dissertation, *Charles Dickens' historischer Roman "A Tale of Two Cities,"* 1913.

<sup>2</sup> Forster's *Life of Dickens*, Bk. IX, ch. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, VI, ch. 3.



indirectly he was responsible for the figure of Dr. Manette too. For, having definitely chosen the French Revolution as the setting for his plot, he applied, as he himself tells us, to Carlyle for books on the subject and obtained in reply "two cartloads," among which almost certainly was "the curious book printed at Amsterdam," Mercier's *Tableau de Paris*. From it he got not only, what he admits,<sup>5</sup> the material for his evil Marquis, but also, a much more important matter, the suggestion for the whole Dr. Manette story.<sup>6</sup>

For in Mercier will be found an anecdote, told with feeling and vivid detail, of one of the prisoners released from the Bastille by an act of clemency on the accession of Louis XVI, "un vieillard qui, depuis quatre-sept années, gémissait, détenu entre quatre épaisses et froides murailles." "La porte basse de son tombeau tourne sur ses gonds effrayants, s'ouvre, non à demi, comme de coutume, et une voix inconnue lui dit qu'il peut sortir. Il croit que c'est un rêve. Il hésite, il se lève, s'achemine d'un pas tremblant, et s'étonne de l'espace qu'il parcourt. . . . Il s'arrête comme égaré et perdu; ses yeux ont peine à supporter la clarté du grand jour; il regarde le ciel comme un objet nouveau; son œil est fixe; il ne peut pas pleurer. Stupéfait de pouvoir changer de place, ses jambes, malgré lui, demeurent aussi immobiles que sa langue." He is conducted to the street where he had lived; his house is gone, the whole quarter is changed, nobody knows him. His tears and his strange clothing collect a pitying crowd around him. Ultimately an old servant of the family is found, from whom he hears that his wife had died thirty years before of grief and misery, that his children are dispersed in other lands, that his friends are all gone. Overwhelmed with grief, he goes to the minister to whom he owes his release and begs to be returned to his cell. "Separé de la société, je vivois avec moi-même. Ici, je ne puis vivre ni avec moi ni avec les hommes nouveaux, pour qui mon désespoir n'est qu'un rêve." The minister, touched by his unhappy case, puts him in the care of the old servant "qui pouvoit lui parler encore de sa femme et de ses enfants. . . . Il ne voulut point communiquer avec la race nouvelle qu'il n'avoit pas vu naître; il se fit

<sup>5</sup> Forster, ix, chap. 2.

<sup>6</sup> W. Dibelius: *Charles Dickens*. Teubner, 1916, p. 333. Professor Dibelius kindly supplied me with chapter and verse in Mercier.

au milieu de la ville une espèce de retraite non moins solitaire que le cachot qu'il avoit habité près d'un demi-siècle."<sup>7</sup>

Here we have the prototype of Dickens' prisoner of the Bastille, "recalled to life" indeed but bewildered by and incapable of it. Manette too is released on Louis XVI's accession (the action of the novel begins in 1775), his wife is long dead of a broken heart, his daughter is in England, he is tended by his old servant Defarge who provides for him "une espèce de retraite"—his garret.

By what alchemy Dickens metamorphosed this slight story it is needless to say; but its identity in all essentials with his is self-evident.

So much for Mercier. In *The French Revolution* itself however there are two passages which are worth attention in this connection. Carlyle relates how, after the storming of the Bastille, a letter was found written long years before by a wretched prisoner to some monseigneur begging for news of his wife, "were it only her name on a card, to show that she is alive."<sup>8</sup> In *The Tale of Two Cities* just such a pitiful paper is sought for and found at the storming of the Bastille and some lines in it so clearly echo the corresponding words of Carlyle as to leave no doubt regarding cause and effect. I place them side by side:<sup>9</sup>

## CARLYLE

If for my consolation Monseigneur would grant me, for the sake of God and the Most Blessed Trinity, that I could have news of my dear wife; were it only her name on a card, to show that she is alive! It were the greatest consolation I could receive; and I should forever bless the greatness of Monseigneur.

## DICKENS

If it had pleased God to put it into the hard heart of either of the brothers, in all these frightful years, to grant me any tidings of my dearest wife—so much as to let me know by a word whether alive or dead—I might have thought that He had not quite abandoned them.

Bk. III, ch. 10.

The echo is audible enough in the language; there is just as much echo in the incidents.

The other passage in Carlyle is that which tells of Loiserolles' self-sacrifice. "The Tumbrils move on. But in this set of Tum-

<sup>7</sup> Louis Sébastien Mercier, *Le Tableau de Paris*, Amsterdam, 1782, chap. 283.

<sup>8</sup> *The French Revolution*, Vol. I, Bk. v, chap. 7.

<sup>9</sup> As Böttger has done (p. 13) to show Carlyle's general influence, without however attaching any further importance to the passage.

brils there are two other things notable: one notable person; and one want of a notable person. The notable person is Lieutenant-General Loiserolles, a nobleman by birth and by nature; laying down his life here for his son. In the Prison of Saint-Lazare, the night before last, hurrying to the Grate to hear the Death-list read, he caught the name of his son. The son was asleep at the moment. 'I am Loiserolles,' cried the old man; at Tinville's bar, an error in the Christian name is little; small objection was made."<sup>10</sup> Here is a deed which appeals impressively to the imagination and might well recur to Dickens when the idea of self-sacrifice was occupying his mind and he was hunting around for a striking shape to give it. But one must not press conjectures to unemonstrable conclusions; there is here no necessary connection. Let the resemblance stand for what it is worth.

What is submitted here is that Mercier and Carlyle had a more immediate and important share in the invention of Dickens' plot than is commonly supposed. In two if not in all three of the passages mentioned above, they supplied the sparks (though no more) which started Dickens' invention off along the lines it actually took. The evolution seems to me to have been in somewhat the following order. Wilkie Collins' play supplied the germ of Sydney Carton and his heroism; Carlyle suggested the French Revolution as a melodramatic setting; perhaps too the great closing scenes of the prison and guillotine; Mercier gave him the Dr. Manette story, and into this readily fitted the letter episode from Carlyle.

## II

If this be so, it may clear up a mystery which caused considerable controversy at the time. While Dickens' novel was appearing serially in *All The Year Round*, a play called *The Dead Heart* was produced at the Adelphi bearing so startling a resemblance to *A Tale of Two Cities* that the author, Watts Phillips, was charged with plagiarism. Yet it had been written in 1856 and accepted by the Adelphi the same year, long before ever Dickens had so much as thought of his novel. The play, which is difficult to get, is as follows.

<sup>10</sup> *The French Revolution*, Vol. III, bk. VI, chap. 7. This resemblance too is noted by Böttger but relegated to the insignificance of a footnote (p. 20).



In the Prologue, the events of which take place in Paris in 1771, Robert Landry, a young sculptor, is affianced to Catherine Duval, the daughter of a Paris vintner. She is forcibly abducted by the Comte St. Valerie, who contrives to have Landry thrown into the Bastille on a *lettre de cachet*.—The main action begins with the release of Landry at the storming of the Bastille, eighteen years later. (Thus as in Dickens an early wrong, a later consequence, in two separate stories.) Old friends recognize him and the past gradually comes back to his bewildered brain. He hears that Catherine has married St. Valerie, but is now a widow with one son Arthur. He determines to avenge himself on the son. He becomes a deputy of the people, through him Arthur is arrested and condemned to death. The morning of his execution, Catherine gains access to Landry and pleads for her son's life. He remains insensible to her. At the very moment however when the tumbrils are beginning to rumble past the prison, he receives convincing proof that Catherine had loved him all the time and even that St. Valerie had been innocent of the worst of the wrong done to him. He arranges for Arthur's instant flight from Paris and takes Arthur's place in the waiting tumbril. The curtain falls on Landry mounting the scaffold.

Here you have all the impressive paraphernalia of the Terror just as in Dickens; an innocent man flung into the Bastille at the will of an aristocrat; a "dead heart" brought back to life after eighteen years; Nemesis threatening not the wrong-doer himself but his son; the final situation duplicating Dickens in almost every detail. No two stories could well be more similar without being identical and it is no wonder that suspicion fell on Phillips. He retorted by declaring that Dickens was the borrower, having heard the play read aloud by Ben Webster, the manager of the Adelphi, who was a friend of Dickens. The statement wants proof. Mr. Percy Fitzgerald nevertheless goes so far as to allow that Dickens may have been told the plot of the play.<sup>11</sup> But the case is surely explicable otherwise. Phillips admittedly owed, like Dickens, the local colour of his play to Carlyle's book; may he too not have obtained the suggestion for his two main situations (Bastille and guillotine) from it and Mercier's *Tableau*? In other words, Dickens did not borrow from Phillips nor was it a case of mere coincidence; it was

<sup>11</sup> Percy Fitzgerald, *Life of Charles Dickens*, 1905, II, 195-196.

a case of common source. I am not the first to come to this conclusion. Phiz wrote at the time to one of his sons in connection with the novel: "A rather curious thing happened with this book. Watts Phillips, the dramatist, hit upon the very same identical plot; they had evidently been to the same source in Paris for their story."<sup>12</sup> And to Chelsea, I would add.

### III

Another coincidence remains to be pointed out, this time with a greater than Phillips. To most readers one of the most original scenes in all Dickens (as it is certainly one of the most impressive) is, I fancy, that in which the Doctor of Beauvais is summoned at night to attend a dying woman in a mysterious château.<sup>13</sup> Yet that there is nothing new under the sun is shown by the occurrence in the fifth canto of Scott's *Rokeby* of an identical scene.

Edmund's ballad in that canto runs thus:—

" 'And whither would you lead me, then?'

Quoth the friar of orders grey;  
And the ruffians twain replied again,  
'By a dying woman to pray.'

" 'I see,' he said, 'a lovely sight,  
A sight bodes little harm,  
A lady as a lily bright,  
With an infant on her arm.'

" 'Then do thine office, friar grey,  
And see thou shrive her free;  
Else shall the sprite that parts tonight,  
Fling all its guilt on thee.'

"The shrift is done, the friar is gone,  
Blindfolded as he came—  
Next morning all in Littlecot Hall  
Were weeping for their dame."

This ballad, Scott tells us,<sup>14</sup> was founded on a story in Aubrey's

<sup>12</sup> F. G. Kitton, *The Novels of Charles Dickens*, 1897, p. 178. These particulars from Fitzgerald and Kitton I owe to Fräulein Käthe Tamsen of Hamburg University, who kindly copied out extracts from books not obtainable by me in Holland.

<sup>13</sup> *A Tale of Two Cities*, Bk. III, chap. 10.

<sup>14</sup> *The Poetical Works*, Author's Edition, ed. by J. G. Lockhart, 1869. Notes to *Rokeby*, p. 390.

Correspondence to this effect. "Sir ——— Dayrell of Littlecote, in Corn. Wilts., having gott his lady's waiting woman with child, when her travell came, sent a servant with a horse for a midwife, whom he was to bring hoodwinked. She was brought, and layd the woman, but as soon as the child was born, she sawe the knight take the child and murther it, and burn it in the fire in the chamber. She having done her businesse was extraordinarily rewarded for her paines, and sent blindfolded away." Having drawn her own conclusions from what she had been permitted to see, she immediately gives information, the deed is traced to Dayrell, and he is brought to trial; the unexpected upshot of which, acquittal through bribery, being the occasion of Aubrey's report.<sup>15</sup> In an Edinburgh tradition (related by Scott in the same long note), the person summoned is a clergyman, and this clergyman it is, Aubrey's midwife not being a sufficiently romantic figure, that Scott introduced, tricked out in a friar's frock, into his ballad. In the tradition, as in the ballad, it is the woman, not the child, who dies.

Here then, in three different stories all antecedent to Dickens, we have his very situation of the midnight call to a bedside, the compromising amour, the beautiful woman on the bed, the tragic close. Did he know any of the three? Who shall say? He knew Scott's writings well for one thing; he was keenly interested in criminal cases such as Aubrey relates, for another. His large library too contained many old authors like Burton and Bacon and Evelyn,<sup>16</sup> so that it is less improbable than one might suppose from Dickens' unscholarly turn of mind, that he had read Aubrey and come across the anecdote there. At any rate Scott's poem with the highly interesting note was accessible to him. Whether he had read the poem or, if he had, was struck by the insignificant ballad sufficiently to consult the note, is a wholly different matter.

And there is another point at which Dickens may have come into contact with the story. Littlecote Hall is not hid away in a hole and corner. The old manor house is visible to this day from the Bath Road two miles from Hungerford and this story of "Wild Darrell," as he was called, was well known in the neighborhood as late at least as the eighties when Outram Tristram wrote

<sup>15</sup> *Ib.*, Scott's note.

<sup>16</sup> For these particulars on Dickens' reading and library, cf. Dibelius, *Charles Dickens*, p. 298.



his *Coaching Days and Coaching Ways*. There is no reason why Dickens on one of his numerous journeyings should not have heard the story on the spot. Marlborough Downs close by were evidently known to him, judging by "The Bagman's Story" in *The Pickwick*.<sup>17</sup> He probably passed along the Great Bath Road westward or eastward bound more than once in his restless life and can scarcely have failed to notice the quaint Tudor gables of Littlecote, or ask their history. The "haunted room" is still shown at Littlecote, and the country folk still point out the stile where Darrell, having saved his neck from the rope, broke it at length by a fall while riding, his horse having shied violently at a flaming babe in the path! Darrell, it seems, was what we call "a thoroughly bad lot," and notorious for more than the midwife affair. He was "at feud with all his neighbours, accused of one murder, suspected of another, his name a byword for profligacy and something worse";<sup>17a</sup> he ran away with Lady Hungerford, his neighbour's wife, and, what brings us nearer to our story, was reported to have had several children by the sister of one of his servants and to have murdered one of them.<sup>18</sup> Quite a marquis-like figure this! Apart altogether from tradition, there exist, as the letter just quoted shows, authentic documents about the interesting owner of Littlecote, Darrell papers at the Record Office, and the deposition made on her deathbed by Mrs. Barnes the midwife.

Littlecote Hall figures in history just a hundred years after Darrell's time. It was there that William of Orange lay the night after his meeting with King James' commissioners at Hungerford in December, 1688. The fact is thus noted by Macaulay. "He retired to Littlecote Hall, a manor house situated about two miles off, and *renowned down to our own times*, not more on account of its venerable architecture and furniture than *on account of a horrible and mysterious crime which was perpetrated there in the days of the Tudors*."<sup>19</sup> Now Macaulay may have learned this story from Scott's note to *Rokeby* which he mentions in a footnote—for the word "renowned" is only Macaulayan hyperbole. In which case Dickens may have learned it there too, perhaps attracted to it

<sup>17</sup> Prof. Dibelius points this out to me.

<sup>17a</sup> Outram Tristram, *Coaching Days and Coaching Ways*, p. 46.

<sup>18</sup> Letter from Sir H. Knyvelt of Charlton, quoted by Tristram, p. 47.

<sup>19</sup> *History of England*, chap. ix. The italics are mine.

by this very passage in Macaulay which is sufficiently striking. Or the story may really have been known to a considerable circle in the world at large, to Scott for example, and why then not to Dickens?

All which goes to show that the sinister scene enacted that wild night in the room at Littlecote was not by any means too obscure for Dickens to stumble across somewhere or somehow in his quest of the sensational. Whether he did or not, the analogy is too curiously close not to be worth noticing.

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## LES SOURCES D'UN POÈME DE LECONTE DE LISLE

Dans son étude sur *les Sources de Leconte de Lisle*, Montpellier, 1907, M. Joseph Vianey indique comme source probable du *Calumet du Sachem* (Poèmes tragiques, xxxii), le *Voyage pittoresque dans les Grands Déserts du Nouveau Monde* de l'abbé Em. Domenech (Paris, Morizot, s. d.). La préface est datée de 1860, dit M. Vianey. L'édition que j'ai sous les yeux, et qui semble être en tout la même, est datée de 1862.

Les rapprochements indiqués par M. Vianey, *Voyage pittoresque*, ch. xiii, p. 124; ch. xvii, p. 586; ch. xiv, p. 459, sont de valeur inégale. Le premier passage cité renferme des indications assez générales sur le *dolce far niente* cher aux Peaux-Rouges et leur goût pour les rêveries que leur procurent leurs "pipes de stéatite rouge." Le second est une très brève description des idées qu'ont les Indiens sur l'autre vie et pourrait en effet avoir inspiré au moins une strophe du poème, l'avant-dernière. Le troisième, qui contient un tableau très coloré des forêts du Nouveau Monde, mérite d'être étudié dans le détail et nous y reviendrons plus loin.

Disons sans plus attendre, qu'il faut savoir gré à M. Vianey d'avoir le premier signalé l'ouvrage de l'abbé Domenech que Leconte de Lisle a certainement utilisé, dans une plus large mesure même que M. Vianey ne l'a indiqué. Domenech n'est cependant point la seule source du *Calumet du Sachem*. Leconte de Lisle a puisé non pas à une source unique, mais au moins à deux et presque certainement à trois, comme une analyse détaillée du poème nous permettra de le démontrer.

Les deux premières strophes éveillent dans la mémoire un écho familier :

Les cèdres et les pins, les hêtres, les érables,  
Dans leur antique orgueil des siècles respecté,  
Haussent de toutes parts avec rigidité  
La noble ascension de leurs troncs vénérables  
Jusqu'aux dômes feuillus, chauds des feux de l'été.

Sous l'enchevêtrement de leurs vastes ramures  
La terre fait silence aux pieds de ses vieux rois.  
Seuls, au fond des lointains mystérieux, parfois,  
Naissent, croissent, s'en vont, renaissent les murmures  
Que soupire sans fin l'âme immense des bois.

Ce n'est point chez le brave missionnaire qui visita surtout les déserts du Texas que Leconte de Lisle a cette fois trouvé son inspiration, mais simplement dans l'*Evangeline* de Longfellow dont on m'excusera de citer le début pour le lecteur français.

This is the forest primeval. The murmuring pines and the hemlocks,  
Bearded with moss, and in garments green, indistinct in the twilight,  
Stand like Druids of eld, with voices sad and prophetic,  
Stand like harpers hoar, with beard that rest on their bosoms.  
Loud from its rocky caverns, the deep voiced neighbouring ocean  
Speaks, and in accents disconsolate answers the wail of the forest.

Les *Druids of eld* sont devenus les "vieux rois," les arbres sont quelque peu différents, mais le trait final qui donne un accent particulier à tout le passage est le même chez les deux poètes. Le rapprochement est d'autant plus probable qu'à la date où parurent les *Poèmes tragiques* plusieurs traductions d'*Evangeline* avaient été publiées et que le poème de Longfellow était connu et célèbre en France depuis longtemps.

C'est à un passage non moins connu, cette fois d'un grand auteur français, que font penser les strophes suivantes :

Les grands élans, couchés parmi les cyprières,  
Sur leurs dos musculeux renversent leurs cols lourds;  
Les panthères, les loups, les couguars et les ours  
Se sont tapis, repus des chasses meurtrières,  
Au creux des arbres morts et dans les antres sourds.

Ecureuils, perroquets, ramiers à gorge bleue  
Dorment. Les singes noirs, du haut des sassafras,  
Sans remuer leur tête et leurs reins au poil ras,  
A la branche qui ploie appendus par la queue,  
Laissent inertement aller leurs maigres bras.



Les crotales lovés sous quelque roche chaude,  
 Attendent une proie errante, et, par moment,  
 De l'ombre où leurs fronts plats s'allongent lentement,  
 Le feu subtil de leurs prunelles d'émeraude  
 Luit, livide, et jaillit dans un pétillement.

Après avoir cité une page de Domenech, ch. xiv, p. 459, M. Vianey ajoute en note: "dans ce dernier passage le voyageur décrit la forêt au moment où les animaux s'agitent et crient, tandis que le poète la décrit au moment où ils sont assoupis; mais c'est la même forêt." Il se peut en effet que Leconte de Lisle ait emprunté quelques traits au voyageur missionnaire; mais plus encore qu'à la forêt de Domenech c'est à la description du Mississipi par laquelle débute *Atala* que font invinciblement penser les strophes que nous venons de citer, et c'est encore plus peut-être à la fuite d'*Atala* et de Chactas dans la forêt: "Des insectes sans nombre, d'énormes chauves-souris nous aveuglaient; les serpents à sonnettes bruissaient de toutes parts, et les loups, les ours, les carcajous, les petits tigres, qui venaient se cacher dans ces retraites les remplissaient de leurs rugissements." Je reconnais cependant que ce n'est ni à Chateaubriand ni à Domenech que Leconte de Lisle a emprunté ces "singés noirs" dont la présence est assez surprenante dans une forêt de l'Amérique du Nord et qui remplacent, sans avantage, les fameux ours ivres de raisin que l'on a tant reprochés à l'auteur d'*Atala*. Ni Chateaubriand, ni Domenech ne décrivent en détail l'élan que Leconte de Lisle semble bien avoir peint d'après nature après une promenade dans un jardin zoologique. Mais c'est bien le grand poète de la nature américaine qui a fourni les écureuils, les perroquets, la cyprière, les sassafras, les serpents à sonnettes ennoblis du nom de crotales et les couleurs mêmes dont Leconte de Lisle a garni sa palette.

Par contre, s'il doit peu à l'abbé Domenech pour la partie purement descriptive de son poème, c'est bien à lui que Leconte de Lisle a emprunté le caractère de son héros. Il me paraît s'être surtout servi de deux passages que n'indique pas M. Vianey.

Le vieux sachem, le dernier Sagamore des Florides,  
 ayant vu ses guerriers exilés et chassés par les Blancs,

Par delà le grand fleuve où meurent les bisons . . .  
 Est revenu mourir au berceau des aïeux.

Il est là, assis contre le tronc d'un sycomore géant, ses armes sur ses genoux, dans toute sa peinture de guerre, une plume d'ara jaune et pourpre au sommet de la tête et pour la dernière fois, fume son calumet, en attendant la mort. Il sait que les fauves de la forêt rôdent autour de lui prêts à se jeter sur lui pour déchirer sa chair, mais il est perdu dans la contemplation du monde où vont les guerriers après leur mort,

Dans les bois où l'esprit des Sachems s'envola  
Et dans la volupté des choses éternelles.  
Viennent panthères, loups et couguars, le voilà.

Or, l'abbé Domenech, à la fin du chapitre xv, p. 523, mentionne, après beaucoup d'autres d'ailleurs, le fait que "parmi les tribus pauvres du nord-ouest des Etats-Unis, on abandonne les vieillards qui ne peuvent marcher ni monter à cheval, soit à cause de leur âge, soit à cause de leurs infirmités. Dans ces circonstances cruelles, la résignation de ces malheureux est vraiment admirable. . . . Le pauvre délaissé meurt bientôt de faim, et son corps devient la pâture des oiseaux de proie."

Plus frappant encore est l'épisode qui termine le chapitre suivant (ch. xvi, p. 552), dans lequel Domenech raconte comment le chef des Mandans, Mahtotopa, ayant vu disparaître tous les siens à la suite d'une épidémie de petite vérole résolut de ne pas leur survivre :

"Il mit sa coiffure en plumes d'aigle, qui tombait en éventail jusqu'à terre, il se couvrit de son manteau de peau d'hermine doublé de peau de cygne, il prit ses armes autrefois si terribles à ses ennemis, et il s'en alla sur une colline élevée voisine de sa résidence. Du sommet de cette colline il regarda les habitations sans feu de ses compagnons, il considéra les rues et la grande place de son village, aujourd'hui désertes, hier encore si animées. . . . Il pria le Grand-Esprit de le recevoir dans la terre des ombres, dans les prairies enchantées, où il retrouverait ses compagnons d'armes et sa famille bien-aimée. Ses chants et ses pleurs durèrent six jours, pendant lesquels il ne voulut rien manger pour ne pas survivre au désastre de sa nation. Le sixième jour, il commença le chant de mort; enfin la voix de Mahtotopa s'éteignit, ses pleurs se séchèrent, il se sentait défaillir; alors il se traîna péniblement vers sa cabane, s'étendit auprès des cadavres de ses enfants et rendit son dernier soupir, enveloppé des insignes de sa gloire passée."

Il est difficile, ce me semble, de ne pas reconnaître là l'origine des deux strophes suivantes :

Assis contre le tronc géant d'un sycamore,  
 Le cou roide, les yeux clos comme s'il dormait,  
 Une plume d'ara, jaune et pourpre, au sommet  
 Du crâne, le sachem, le dernier Sagamore  
 Des Florides, est là fumant son calumet . . .

Sa hache et son couteau, les armes du vrai brave,  
 Gisent sur ses genoux. Le chef a dénoué  
 Sa ceinture, et, dressant son torse tatoué  
 D'ocre et de vermillon, il fume d'un air grave  
 Sans qu'un pli de sa face austère ait remué.

Pour l'excellente raison que les "aras" ne se trouvent point dans l'Amérique du Nord, Domenech, comme tous les voyageurs, ne fait aucune mention de la plume jaune et rouge que le sachem a fichée dans sa coiffure. Ses Indiens ne se servent guère comme ornements que de plumes d'aigle ou de plumes de corbeau. On peut se demander s'il n'y a pas là encore une influence indirecte de Chateaubriand. Leconte de Lisle ayant, après lui, peuplé sa forêt de perroquets ne s'est guère inquiété ensuite ni de leur taille ni de leur couleur et a attribué aux sortes de petites perruches que l'on trouvait autrefois fréquemment en Floride et dans la vallée du Mississippi la parure éclatante des grands aras de l'Amérique du Sud.<sup>1</sup> Mais ce léger détail mis à part, c'est bien à l'abbé Domenech que Leconte de Lisle doit la donnée première de son poème. Il se peut d'ailleurs, et je serais assez porté à le croire, qu'il ait subi plus ou moins consciemment des influences moins directes. A tout prendre, le thème central du *Calumet du Sachem*, quand on le dépouille de ses broderies exotiques, c'est la mélancolie qui ressort de la triste fin des races indigènes qui erraient librement dans les solitudes du nouveau monde avant l'arrivée des Européens. C'est le sujet du roman de Cooper *The Last of the Mohicans*; c'est encore en un certain sens l'idée qui a inspiré Longfellow dans *Hiawatha* dont Baudelaire dès 1868 avait traduit un fragment sous un titre, *Le calumet de paix*, qui rappelle singulièrement celui du poème de Leconte de Lisle. C'est enfin, si l'on veut remonter à une origine qui pour être plus lointaine n'en est pas moins importante, le thème même que Chateaubriand s'était proposé de traiter dans son épopée des *Natchez*.

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<sup>1</sup>Sur la présence des perroquets dans ces régions on pourra consulter mon volume sur *L'exotisme américain dans l'œuvre de Chateaubriand*, Paris, 1918, p. 257.



## A NOTE ON THE *COMEDIA CALAMITA* OF TORRES NAHARRO

The plot of the *Comedia Calamita*<sup>1</sup> of Torres Naharro is fairly complex, but we can easily distinguish the central theme from the secondary incidents. The main theme is as follows: The young Floribundo falls madly in love with Calamita, a girl of apparently humble condition, and thereby incurs the displeasure of Euticio, Floribundo's father, who believes that his son has fallen into dissolute ways. Floribundo is aided in the prosecution of his suit by his servant Jusquino, who bribes Libina, Calamita's sister-in-law, to allow the lover to enter her house. When the lovers meet, Calamita declares that she will not lose her honor for anything in the world, and that marriage cannot be thought of because of their relative social position. Floribundo replies that he has enough money to compensate for her lack of it, agrees to the condition of marriage, which Calamita imposes, and the young people are betrothed. Euticio becomes very angry on hearing of Floribundo's disobedience, and threatens to take his life. The solution is brought about by the arrival of Trapaneo, an old acquaintance of Euticio, who first declares that he is Calamita's father, and later explains that she is the daughter of a wealthy Sicilian, whom he had saved from death and brought up in his own family as a daughter. Euticio accepts this proof of Calamita's respectability, and gladly consents to her marriage with Floribundo.

Cases of mistaken identity, the correction of which offers a solution of apparently unsurmountable difficulties, were common in Latin comedy. For example, in the *Heautontimorumenos* of Terence, Chremes commands that if his wife is delivered of a girl, the child shall immediately be killed. Having given birth to a girl, Sostrata sends her to an old woman named Philtera to be exposed. Instead of doing this, Philtera brings her up as her own daughter, with the name of Antiphila. Clinia, son of Menedemus, falls in love with her, and Menedemus opposes the youth's love to such a degree that he drives him from home. After a series of incidents which are quite dissimilar from anything in the *Comedia*

<sup>1</sup> The *Comedia Calamita* was probably first published at Seville in 1520, and is included in Menéndez y Pelayo's edition of the *Propaladia de Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*, Vols. ix-x of the *Libros de Antaño*, Madrid, 1880-1900.

*Calamita*, the girl's real identity is discovered, and her marriage to Clinia follows as a matter of course. Aside from the incident of a girl baby ordered to be put to death by her father, there is a certain resemblance between Menedemus and Euticio, both fond of their sons, but willing to take extreme measures to prevent them, if possible, from contracting a misalliance.

Still closer is the resemblance of the *Comedia Calamita* to the *Comedia Dolotechnne*, composed in Latin in the year 1504 by the Venetian Bartolomeo Zamberti. Sanesi<sup>2</sup> gives the following outline of the plot of the *Comedia Dolotechnne*: Policriso, an old man, desires to shield his son Mononio from the dangers of a dissolute life, and plans to arrange for his marriage with a young woman of his own station in life. He charges his servant Sfalero, who is supposed to guide Mononio in the paths of virtue, to persuade him to consent to the marriage. But, contrary to the expectations of the old man, Mononio has already fallen in love with Rodostoma, a young girl who had run away from home and had fallen into the hands of the *ruffiano* Crisofago, a brutal, greedy fellow, who is willing to turn her over to the highest bidder. His wife, Merofila, succeeds in protecting her in the hope of disposing of her at a high price, which the *ruffiano* has fixed at 300 minæ. Merofila hears from Rodostoma the confession of her love for Mononio, and learns from the latter that he is enamored with Rodostoma. She declares that, if Mononio pays the 300 minæ, Rodostoma will be his. The youth has no money, but Sfalero secures it from an old woman, Bdeliria, on a false promise that his master will return her love. Rodostoma then comes into the possession of Mononio, whose father bitterly reproaches him when he presents himself with his bride, and severely punishes Sfalero for his part in the affair. An old friend of Policriso, named Alitologo, then appears, who has spent years in search of his daughter who had been stolen from him. He recognizes in Rodostoma his daughter, and the two fathers gladly consent to the wedding.

Without the text of the *Comedia Dolotechnne*, it is impossible to speak with certainty regarding the relationship between these two plays, but they offer a striking resemblance even in this meager outline. The fathers Policriso and Alitologo correspond to Euticio and Trapanio (except that Trapanio has only acted as Calamita's father); the two young men are not dissolute, their disobedience

<sup>2</sup> Ireneo Sanesi, *La Commedia*, Milan, 1911, I, 127-129.

is caused by a genuine passion; the intrigue is conceived and executed by the servants Sfalero and Jusquino, although the expedient by which the former obtains money to carry out his plan is not found in Naharro's play; both Rodostoma and Calamita have remained pure in spite of their environment, although the latter seems to have possessed more nobility of character; a happy dénouement is brought about by evidence of mistaken identity. The chief difference between the two plays lies in the characters of the man and wife with whom the heroine is living, namely, Crisofago and Merifila and Torcazo and Libina.

Torcazo is the type of complacent husband, easily imposed upon by his wife and others, which appears frequently in early Italian *novelle* and jest books. He offers many points of resemblance with Boccaccio's Calandrino and with Martín de Villalba in Lope de Rueda's *Tercer Paso*. His wife, Libina, is keenly conscious of her husband's stupidity, and does not hesitate to deceive him by admitting into her house a young student disguised as a woman. Jusquino finds that she is quite ready to encourage the suit of Floribundo in return for substantial payment in money. Torcazo also recalls Calandro in *La Calandria* (1513) of Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena, and it has been pointed out<sup>3</sup> that Jusquino's instructions to Torcazo how to feign death, in the fifth act of *Calamita*, are derived from the ninth scene of the second act of *La Calandria*. While the setting of the two incidents differs somewhat, there is a verbal similarity which makes it more than probable that Torres Naharro borrowed the scene from the Italian dramatist. Furthermore, the second scene of the first act of *La Calandria*, in which Polinico reproves Fessenio for encouraging the disobedience and misconduct of Lidio, reminds us of the scene in the third act of *Calamita*, in which Fileo holds Jusquino responsible for the waywardness of Floribundo. The disguise adopted by Lidio in order to enter the house of Fulvia, Calandro's wife, recalls the intrigue by means of which the young student gains admission into the house of Torcazo, and in both cases the husband falls in love with his betrayer. Since *La Calandria* was not published until 1521, it is probable that Torres Naharro witnessed its performance in 1513, and incorporated some of the incidents from memory into his own *Calamita*.

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<sup>3</sup> Francesco Flaminio, *Il Cinquecento*, Milan, p. 317.



## MILTON'S PART IN *THEATRUM POETARUM*

In the closing paragraph of the essay prefixed to *Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum* Edward Philips, the nephew of Milton, apologizes for his occasional disagreement with "received opinion," on the ground that such divergence comes about not "out of affectation of singularity, but from a different apprehension, which a strict inquiry into the truth of things . . . hath suggested to my reason." Another explanation, however, has been very generally advanced to account for the compiler's seeming independence of judgment. Philips is said to have incorporated his uncle's opinions not only in the body of his work, where he briefly characterizes the various writers, but also in the critical preface, which contains much that is sound and uplifting. The general belief, since Warton's day, is that the whole tone of the Preface is noticeably higher than the ordinary level of Philips's mental power.<sup>1</sup>

It is only natural that certain phrases in the Preface should call to the reader's mind corresponding thoughts in Milton's writings. At the beginning of the essay, Philips, with a marked air of superiority, calls attention to the disparity between men—"how aspiring to the Perfection of knowledge the one, how immers't in swinish sloth and ignorance the other." These words suggest the Attendant Spirit's first speech in *Comus*. Immediately, Philips proceeds to speak of "the vulgar Multitude," those "who live Sardinapalian lives, . . . not caring to understand ought beyond to eat, drink, and play." Had the writer before him these lines from the second epic (*P. R.* 3, 49-51):

What the people but a herd confused,  
A miscellaneous rabble, who extol  
Things vulgar, and, well weighed, scarce worth the praise?

Again, Philips seems to appreciate, as Milton did, the dignity of authorship. In offering his plea for "the well meaners only" in literature, Philips reminds us that the author of any "Poetical

<sup>1</sup> See T. Warton, *Poems*, ed. 1785, p. 60, and *History of English Poetry*, ed. 1840, III, p. 356; and N. Drake, *Essays . . . illustrative of the Spectator*, 1814, II, p. 135.

Volume, be it never so small," is put to "the double expence of Brain to bring it forth and of purse to publish it to the world," and that "no Man designs to writ ill." This may seem only a faint echo of two fine passages of *Areopagitica*, one beginning, "A good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit," and the other, "When a man writes to the world, he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him." Other such correspondences in thought may easily be found, and the weight that they carry will depend altogether on the reader's habits of mind.

Much more suggestive of the younger writer's dependence on the older are some of the definite critical dicta expounded in the Preface. Philips's veneration for antiquity, at a time when "nothing, it seems, relishes so well as what is written in the smooth style of our present Language," was not uncommon among critics at the Restoration. The same may be said of his respect for modern Italian poetry; of his belief that pastoral poetry "treats oft times of higher matters, thought convenient to be spoken of rather mysteriously and obscurely than in plain tearmes"; and of the idea that the epic handles "a brief, obscure, or remote Tradition, but of some remarkable piece of story, in which the Poet hath an ample feild to enlarge by feigning of probable circumstances." All such dicta, as well as his handy use of metrical terms, Philips, after the manner of Dick Minim, could have acquired from the daily talk of London wits as well as from his uncle. The same, finally, could be said of the more significant declaration that poetry is "a Science certainly of all others the most noble and exalted, and not unworthily tearmed Divine, since the heighth of Poetical rapture hath ever been accounted little less than Divine Inspiration."

Other opinions, however, advanced in the Preface bear more conspicuously the peculiar stamp of Milton's mind. Philips favors, though not dogmatically, the revival of the chorus and the observance of the unities in modern tragedy. He expresses, too, a dislike for rhyme that his age did not share. "If the Style be elegant and suitable," he wrote, "the Verse, whatever it is, may be better dispenc't with; and the truth is the use of Measure alone without any Rime at all would give far more ample Scope and liberty both to Style and fancy than can possibly be observed in Rime, as evidently appears from an English Heroic poem which came forth not many years ago." This allusion, however, to *Para-*



*dise Lost* may simply indicate that Philips's opinions were derived from a reverent reading of his uncle's work rather than from a recollection of his spoken words.

Such a deduction would leave opportunity in the Preface for the inclusion of thoughts distinctly characteristic of the later day. In one place, Philips supports an argument with an analogy drawn from "history-painting," which the age of Shaftesbury was greatly concerned with, and which Milton, as far as one knows, cared nothing for. One suspects, also, that Philips had never heard his uncle allude to the "Rustie, obsolete words" of Spenser and his "rough-hewn clowterly Verses," or make so much of Shakespeare's "unfiled expressions, his rambling and indigested Fancys, the laughter of the critical." All this is the current opinion of the London coffee-houses, not of the blind scholar's quiet home in Artillery Walk.

The Preface, therefore, in our judgment shows no clear evidence of Milton's personal guidance, though it may reveal, here and there, the influence on its author of Milton's published works. Equally indecisive are the estimates that the compiler gives, in the body of his work, of individual writers. Cowley is praised as "the most applauded Poet of our nation both of the present and past Ages." Spenser's *Faery Queene* is "for great Invention and Poetic height h judg'd little inferiour, if not equal to the chief of the ancient Greeks and Latins or Modern Italians." Edmund Waller, Milton's supposed benefactor, is mentioned for "the charming sweetness of his Lyric Odes or amorous Sonnets long since wedded to the no less charming Notes of H. Laws, at that time the Prince of Musical Composers." The poem by Erycius Puteanus that introduces Comus is not mentioned with other of his works. Francis Quarles is dismissed as "the darling of our Plebeian Judgments." Chaucer is called "the Prince and Coryphoeus, generally so reputed, till this Age, of our English Poets." To this item Philips adds that the story of Cambuscan "is said to be compleat in Arundel-house Library." William Drummond, whose works Philips had edited, wrote, he says, "to my thinking, in a style sufficiently smooth and delightful; and therefore why so utterly disregarded, and layd aside at present, I leave to the more curious palats in Poetry." William Shakespeare, "the Glory of the English Stage," "pleaseth with a certain wild and native Elegance; and in all his Writings hath an unvulgar style." Ben-

jamin Johnson (sic) lacked Shakespeare's genius, but "his own proper Industry and Addiction to Books advanct him to this perfection." Marlowe is termed "a kind of second Shakespeare, not only because of his plays, especially *Dr. Faustus*, but because of "his begun poem of *Hero and Leander*." Finally, to cite only one more of the interesting items from this compilation, certain English authoresses, among them Mrs. Behn, are noticed in an appendix.

No reader of Milton can glance over the pages of *Theatrum Poetarum* without having his attention arrested more than once by such judgments as these. The words on Shakespeare and Jonson carry their reminders of *L'Allegro*. No one of the criticisms, though, is more in accord with Milton's prejudices than that of John Cleveland, whose "Conceits were out of the common road, and Wittily far fetch't." Those who for that quality esteem him the best of English poets may hold their opinion, Philips half cynically remarks, "provided it be made no Article of Faith." Apparently, he retained some of his uncle's prejudice against

Those new-fangled toys, and trimming slight  
Which takes our late fantastics with delight.

But who can say that Philips's judgment here or elsewhere was determined by what Milton had told him? Would Milton, for example, have included these women in the Hall of Fame? Much, indeed, in Philips's work belongs, we suspect, exclusively to him and his age. Frequently, we admit, Philips shows real taste in his judgments, and stands sometimes at variance with the ruling fashion of his time. Nevertheless, he should be allowed that much originality, and what he says that is sound should be credited to him. It may seem, then, that Thomas Warton spoke without warrant when he said: "There is good reason to suppose that Milton threw many additions and corrections into the *Theatrum Poetarum*."

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## A NOTE ON CANT

The *New English Dictionary* gives the following derivation for "cant":

This and its accompanying vb. presumably represent L. *cant-us* singing, song, chant (Pr. and NFr. *Cant*, Fr. *Chant*), *canta-re* NFr. *canter*) to sing, chant; but the details of the derivation and development of sense are unknown, . . . or the word may have been actually made from Lat. or Romanic in the rogues' jargon of the time. The subsequent development assumed in the arrangement of the verb is quite natural, though not actually established. Some have however conjectured that *cant* is the Irish and Gaelic *cainnt*, . . . 'language.' And as early as 1711 the word was asserted to be derived from the name of Andrew Cant or his son Alexander Cant, Presbyterian ministers of the 17th c. This perhaps means that the surname of the two Cants was occasionally associated derisively with canting. The arrangement of the sb. here is tentative, and founded mainly on that of the vb., which appears on the whole earlier.

Other late dictionaries derive the word from the Latin *canta-re*, and give no heed to the suggestion that the proper name Cant has had any influence in the development of the word.<sup>1</sup> In earlier discussions of the word's origin any connection with the Presbyterian ministers is either denied or else designated as 'whimsical' or 'groundless.'<sup>2</sup> The connection made in 1711 between the common noun and the name of the two ministers is to be found in the *Spectator*, in a paper written by Steele.<sup>3</sup> The passage reads:

This Indifferency seems to me to arise from the Endeavour of avoiding the imputation of Cant, and the false notion of it. It will be proper therefore to trace the Original and Signification of

<sup>1</sup> See the recent editions of *Webster's*, the *Century*, and the *Standard Dictionaries*.

<sup>2</sup> See Blaikie's article on Andrew Cant, *D. N. B.* iii, 898; J. Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, ed. 1779 s. v. cant; *The Spectator*, ed. Morley, p. 218; Farmer and Henry, *Slang and its Analogues*, ii, s. v. cant. The earlier lexicographers are content to derive the word from *canta-re*. See the dictionaries of Johnson, of Phillips, and of Bailey, among others.

<sup>3</sup> *Spectator*, no. 147, Saturday, August 18, 1711.



this Word. Cant is, by some People. derived from one *Andrew Cant* who, they say, was a Presbyterian Minister in some Illiterate part of Scotland, who by Exercise and Use had obtained the Faculty, *alias* Gift, of Talking in the Pulpit in such a Dialect, that it's said he was understood by none but his own Congregation, and not by all of them. Since *Mas. Cant's* time, it has been understood in a larger Sense, and signifies all sudden Exclamations, Whinings, unusual Tones, and in fine all Praying and Preaching like the unlearned of the Presbyterians.

According to Steele, the primary meaning of Cant was an intentionally obscure dialect, not understood by all of the minister's congregation, indeed. It has not been pointed out, I believe, that Steele's view had been anticipated by Thomas Blount, at least as early as 1670, when the third edition of Blount's *Glossographia* was published. Blount had written that "Canting, is an affected peculiar kinde of speech used by some people, whereby they may understand themselves, yet not be understood by others, and is said to have taken origin from Mr. *Andrew Cant*, a noted Presbyterish Minister of *Scotland*, who lived in the last Age, and was well gifted herein."<sup>4</sup>

As early as 1661 there had appeared in the two official English newspapers, the *Kingdomes Intelligencer* and *Mercurius Publicus*, and in the Edinburgh reprint of these,<sup>5</sup> a news item which gives yet another twist to the word's derivation and meaning. The passage reads:

Mr. *Alexander Cant* son to Mr. *Andrew Cant* (who in his discourse, *De Excommunicato trucidando*, maintain'd that all Refusers of the *Covenant* ought to be excommunicated, and that all so excommunicated, might lawfully be kill'd) was lately depos'd by the Synod for divers seditious and impudent passages in his Sermons at several places, as, at the Pulpit of *Banchry*:

*If ever the King made a good pudding he would eate the prick of it:*

*That whoever would own or make use of a Service-Book, King, Nobleman, or Minister, the curse of God should be upon him;*

In his Grace after meat, he praid for those Phanatiques, and

<sup>4</sup> *Glossographia*, ed. 1670, p. 101. The first edition was in 1656, but the 1670 edition is the earliest accessible in this country.

<sup>5</sup> *Kingdomes Intelligencer*, no. 9, p. 144; 25 February-4 March, 1661; *Mercurius Publicus*, no. 9, pp. 132-133; *Mercurius Publicus*, Edinburgh reprint, 28 February, 1661.

Seditious Ministers, (who are now secured) <sup>6</sup> in these words, *The Lord pittie and deliver the precious Prisoners who are now suffering for the Truth, and close up the mouths of the Edomites, who are now rejoycing*, with several other Articles too long to recite.

From these two *Cants*, (*Andrew and Alexander*) all seditious praying and preaching in *Scotland* is called canting.

That is to say, within ten years the two *Cants* had been credited with the origin of the word *canting* in two separate senses, "seditious praying and preaching," and a peculiar form of speech understood by a limited audience. The confusion is cleared up a little by an explanation of the established uses of *cant* before 1660. The earliest connection of *cant* with any form of speech was in regard to the curious language used by the rogues and vagabonds. As early as 1567 Harmon wrote, in his *Caveat for Cursitors*,<sup>7</sup> "Here I set before the good Reader the leud, lousey language of these lewtering Luskies and lasy Lorrels, . . . Whyche language they terme Peddelars Frenche, a vnknownen tounge onely, but to these bold, beastly, bawdy Beggars, and vaine Vacabondes." Harmon glosses "to cante" as simply "to speake."<sup>8</sup> In 1586 William Harrison wrote that the vagabonds "haue deuised a language among themselves, which they name *Canting* (but other pedlers French)—a speach compact thirtie yeares since of English, and a great number of od words of their owne deuising, without all order or reason: and yet such is it as none but themselves are able to understand. The first deuiser thereof was hanged by the necke,—a iust reward, no doubt, for his deserts, and a common end to all of that profession."<sup>9</sup> Dekker referred frequently to the 'canting language' of the rogues, "which none but themselves should vnderstand,"<sup>10</sup> and thought the word "derived from the latine *verbe* (*canto*)."<sup>11</sup> Clearly one does not need to seek further for the source of Blount's

<sup>6</sup> These were the "Fifth Monarchy" men.

<sup>7</sup> See the reprint by Viles and Furnivall, *Early English Text Society*, Extra series 9, p. 82.

<sup>8</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in E. E. T. S. Extra Series, no. 9, p. xii.

<sup>10</sup> The Bel-man of London, 1608; Lanthorne and Candle-light, or, the Bell-mans second Nights-walke, 1609; English Villanies seven severall Times prest to Death by the Printers, 1638. See *The Non-dramatic Works of Dekker*, ed. Grosart, 1885, iii, 84, 193-4.

<sup>11</sup> Non-dramatic Works, iii, 194.



and Steele's notion that our 'Presbyterish ministers' spoke in a language intelligible to only a few.

So far as their idea is concerned, it seems obvious enough that, instead of the two Cants having had any influence on the meaning of *cant*, the word, in a perfectly established sense, was applied to their unintelligible manner of preaching. We have still, however, to account for the news item, and for the additional meaning of insincere and hypocritical speech, which was first applied to *cant* in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The item in question appeared while both the Cants were alive, and, as we shall see presently, well known. The two official newspapers in London, although issued on different days of the week, generally contained identically the same material, and the Edinburgh edition of *Mercurius Publicus* was merely a reprint of the London edition. Hence there is nothing remarkable in the appearance of the same article in three separate newsbooks in the same week. One point needs emphasis; the newsbooks were under somewhat rigid governmental control, and naturally expressed the proper political and religious opinions.

It is almost certain that the item was written somewhere in Scotland by an established correspondent of the official newspapers. Presumably the correspondent was reporting a local opinion, when he wrote that "From these two *Cants*—all seditious praying and preaching in *Scotland* is called canting." To the loyal correspondent, "seditious praying and preaching" would, of course, be a more deadly sin than a hypocritical voice or expression, and the ideas attributed to the Cants were certainly seditious in 1661. It is by no means unusual, however, among simple-minded folk, to characterize any difference of opinion as necessarily insincere, so that the word *seditious* might in fact include a connotation of hypocrisy. At any rate, it is clear that popular etymology connected the names of the two ministers with some objectionable fashion of preaching.

Furthermore, this connection was given public utterance very shortly after the earliest recorded use of cant in respect to religious matters. In 1659, the Presbyterians, it was said, made "an insipid, tedious, and immethodical prayer, in phrases and a tone so affected and mysterious that they give it the name of canting: a term by which they usually express the gibberish of beggars and

vagabonds.”<sup>12</sup> Here is, of course, a mingling of the ideas of obscurity and affectation. The following passage from a newsbook of 1661 seems to have escaped attention, and is certainly of some bearing. The journalist wrote of the “bloody Phanaticks—who, in their hypocritical canting *Sermons* and *Declarations* speak much of *Mercy* and *tender bowels*, at that very time when they were harnessing themselves to murder us in our Beds.”<sup>13</sup> In this same paper there appeared six weeks later the article already quoted, equating “seditious praying and preaching,” and “canting.” It is possible that the same correspondent wrote both accounts. Additional evidence that the application of canting to the speech of the clergy came after 1650 is found in another newsbook, this time a Royalist one, the *Mercurius Rusticus*, which appeared first in 1643, and was reprinted as a volume in 1647 and again in 1685. A quotation from one of Dr. Featly’s sermons was printed in the 1685 edition as follows: “Thou givest thy mouth to lying, and thy Tongue frameth deceit. Thou sittest and speakest against thy Brother, and slanderest thine own Mothers son. *For is not this their canting language?* The Prelates of *England* are all Antichristian; The Ministers *Baals Priests*.”<sup>14</sup> In the 1647 edition the line reads, “For is not this their chanting Language.”<sup>15</sup> Unless this be regarded as a printer’s error, and therefore fortuitous, it would seem to indicate that by 1685 *canting* was a well recognized term to apply to preachers whose utterances were hypocritical, extravagant, or seditious.

The question now arises, did the extension of meaning of the word cant from a secret language (Peddlars’ French) to seditious, insincere, and hypocritical speech, owe anything to the Scotch clergymen whose names were curiously connected with it by popular repute? It must be reiterated that this connection was actually made in print in 1661, within two years of the earliest recorded use of cant in the sense of religious hypocrisy, but at a time when such use was apparently fast coming in. Now the two Cants, and especially the elder, were famous men in their day, were both min-

<sup>12</sup> N. E. D. s. v. canting. Quoted from *a Character of England*, in Harl. Misc. x, 191.

<sup>13</sup> *Mercurius Publicus*, no. 2, p. 17; 10-17 January 1661.

<sup>14</sup> *Mercurius Rusticus*, no. xviii, p. 195, ed. 1685.

<sup>15</sup> *Mercurius Rusticus*, no. xviii, p. 168, ed. 1647.

isters, and gave utterance to certain ideas in terms which today would be best described as cant of the most rabid variety. These factors are all pertinent. Had they been obscure men, it is unlikely that any such connection would ever have been made. The fact that they were ministers would make such an extension of meaning the more likely, since religious hypocrisy is probably of wider occurrence than any other variety. Since some of their ideas were irrationally narrow and extreme, it is not difficult to find a logical connection between the men themselves and the generally accepted notion conveyed by the word *canting*.

Andrew Cant's career has been fairly well given elsewhere,<sup>16</sup> and only the essentials are required here. He was born in 1584, was educated at Aberdeen, and for a time taught Latin. In 1614 he was promoted to a benefice. In 1621 he received the popular vote for Minister of Edinburgh, but it was reported, "as from the Bishop, that the King would not be content; because he had heard of his seditious Sermons."<sup>17</sup> In 1623 another movement to put Cant into the Edinburgh pulpit failed, again on account of pressure from the higher authorities, in spite of the protests of the people. A year later the King requested the Bishop of St. Andrews "to take order with three Ministers that were most earnest against" certain excommunicants, and Andrew Cant was one of the three.

He was inducted minister of Aberdeen in 1641, where he promptly began a crusade against the vices of his people, denouncing private baptism, tolling the bell at funerals, eating beef at Easter, and especially making merry at Christmas. He instituted lectures on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, from which "no honest person durst be absent but were rebuked and cried out against." On the frequent fast-days from eight to twelve hours were occupied in public worship, and to enforce the abstinence of his parishioners, he appointed certain pious members to search all kitchens. Some of his flock murmured, saying that because "Mr. Andrew spake against Yule, he spake like an old fool."

He achieved prominence among the Puritans in Charles the

<sup>16</sup> See the article in *D. N. B.*, and that by Joseph Robertson, in *Deliciae Literariae*, pp. 17-27. (London, 1840.)

<sup>17</sup> David Calderwood, *The True History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 788.



First's time, and seems to have been the most active partizan of the Covenant in the North of Scotland.

From Dickson, Henderson, and Cant,  
Apostles of the Covenant,  
Almighty God deliver us.<sup>18</sup>

reads a burlesque litany of those times. He was also the hero of a curious song, "The Guise of Tyrie,"<sup>19</sup> in which he figured as "bobbing Andrew." There is a legend that Cant, always severely opposed to anything that smacked of Popery, once requested his landlord to remove from his room pictures of some Catholic Saints. "St. Peter was removed, and Cant's picture put in its place, with the following lines:

Come down, St. Peter,  
Ye superstitious saint,  
And let up your better—  
Mr. Andrew Cant.<sup>20</sup>

He preached frequently before the Scottish Parliament; for example, six times between the 7th of December, 1645, and the following February.<sup>21</sup> In 1648 a pamphlet attributed to him was published, in which it was argued that those who failed to subscribe to the Covenant were excommunicated, and might lawfully be killed. He was one of the five leaders of the General Assembly in 1649, and in the next year was Moderator of that body. That his influence was a powerful one cannot be doubted, since both English and Scottish authorities went out of their way to placate him.<sup>22</sup> He died in 1663, in his seventy-ninth year, having given up his church a year or so earlier on account of charges of seditious speech, "and for denouncing *anathemas* and *imprecations* against many of his congregation, in the course of performing his religious duties."<sup>23</sup> His highly eulogistic epitaph should not be taken as entirely repre-

<sup>18</sup> *Third Book of Scottish Pasquils*, Edinburgh, 1828, p. 47.

<sup>19</sup> Buchan inserted this in his *Ancient Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland*, i, 226.

<sup>20</sup> Buchan, i, 318.

<sup>21</sup> Sir James Balfour, *The Annals of Scotland*, iii, 326 and *passim*.

<sup>22</sup> See Bulstrode Whitelock's *Memorials*, p. 493 (London, 1682), and Balfour's *Annales*, iv, 161.

<sup>23</sup> Chambers' *Biographical Dictionary*, i, 495, (ed. 1840) and F. W. Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, part vi, p. 463.

sentative of public opinion, since he was called a "most fiery and intolerant bigot."<sup>24</sup>

It is interesting, too, to note that no other Scotch clergyman of the Civil War period was so well advertised in the English newspapers. In 1646 the *Perfect Diurnall* reported that His Majesty, then at Newcastle, had been visited by three Scotch ministers, come "to satisfie his scruple of conscience about taking the Covenant." Cant's name was the first of the three.<sup>25</sup> The same newspaper a year later gave an account of a duel caused by "a passage in Mr. Andrew Cants Sermon."<sup>26</sup> In 1652 Cant's "buttoned Cassock and Buckie Ruff" caused him to be attacked in the English newspapers for secretly leaning toward the Church of Rome.<sup>27</sup> The Scotch correspondent a little later complained of the "unlimited power of Cardinall Cant; who though he hath left off the wearing of his button'd Coat (consisting of 36 Dozen) wherein he thought to have Crowned the King, as his predecessors the priests did, yet he wears his Ruff still, looking in it (in a Pulpit) as Puss in Majesty."<sup>28</sup> Ambition and pride, thought the journalist, were Cant's "two inherent sins." In 1662 Alexander Cant was mentioned as "son to the notorious Mr. Andrew Cant."<sup>29</sup> These references are enough to show in what fashion Cant's name came before the English people, but they are by no means exhaustive, as a very superficial search of some of the Civil War newsbooks revealed a dozen more.<sup>30</sup> While the younger Cant received nothing like the publicity given to his father, yet he too was notorious in 1661 and 1662 on account of his failing to take the Oath of Allegiance.<sup>31</sup> Certainly in both character and reputation the two Cants could

<sup>24</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, v, 337-8, 16 April, 1870.

<sup>25</sup> *A Perfect Diurnall*, no. 164, p. 1317; 14-21 Sept. 1646.

<sup>26</sup> *A Perfect Diurnall*, no. 243, p. 1955; 20-27 March, 1648.

<sup>27</sup> *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 111, p. 1613-14, 19-26 Jan. 1651/2.

<sup>28</sup> *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 118, p. 1731, 8-15 March 1651/2.

<sup>29</sup> *Kingdomes Intelligencer*, no. 51, p. 882; 15-22 Dec. 1662.

<sup>30</sup> See *The Perfect Diurnall*, no. 174, p. 2619, 28 Mch.-4 April 1652; no. 140, p. 2080, 9-16 Aug. 1652; no. 118, p. 1732, 8-15 Mch. 1651/2; no. 130, p. 1922, 31 May-7 June 1652; no. 138, p. 2049-59, 26 July-2 Aug. 1652; no. 69, p. 933, 31 Mch.-7 Apr. 1651. *Kingdomes Intelligencer*, no. 22, p. 366, 2-9 June, 1662; no. 10, p. 156, 4-11 Mch. 1660; no. 35, p. 552, 26 Aug.-2 Sept. 1661.

<sup>31</sup> *Kingdomes Intelligencer*, no. 35, p. 552, 26 Aug.-2 Sept. 1661; no. 51, p. 882, 15-22 Dec. 1662; no. 9, p. 144, 25 Feb.-4 Mch. 1661.



scarcely be better fitted to influence in some degree the extension of the word *canting*.

It is instructive to note in what variations the newspaper item turned up in the course of years. "From these two *Cants* (*Andrew* and *Alexander*)," read the original notice, "all seditious praying and preaching in *Scotland* is called *Canting*." The shift made by Blount, and later by Steele, has already been noted. Pennant, writing in 1775, thought that "Andrew canted no more than the rest of his brethren, for he lived in a whining age."<sup>32</sup> In 1859 the two *Cants* were referred to as "Oliver and Ezekiel."<sup>33</sup> The news item of 1661 was reprinted *verbatim* in 1854, but since the last sentence, "From these two *Cants*," &c., somehow escaped inclusion in the quotation, and appeared simply as an observation of the nineteenth century contributor instead of the seventeenth century reporter, it received no attention.<sup>34</sup> Twice in the eighteenth century the quotation was correctly given, both times by Zachary Gray,<sup>35</sup> but in obscure footnotes, so that it is not surprising to find stated in the *New English Dictionary* that "as early as 1711 the word was asserted to be derived from the name of Andrew Cant."

From this investigation the following facts emerge. First, a word *cant*, of uncertain origin, was applied to the secret language of the vagabonds in the middle of the sixteenth century. Secondly, about a hundred years later, *cant* was used in reference to some objectionable forms of praying or preaching. In the third place, in 1661 there found its way into print a popular belief that the two Scotch ministers named Cant were in some fashion the cause of this new word or meaning. Fourthly, these two men possessed qualities which were at all events eminently suited to influence the meaning of a word already known. These are all demonstrable facts, from which one is tempted to infer that the Scotch divines actually did influence the meaning of the word. But I shall content myself with a suggestion from William Bates, who wrote in 1870, with something less than the customary caution of philolo-

<sup>32</sup> *Tour in Scotland*, i, 122.

<sup>33</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, vii, 157-8, 19 Feb. 1859.

<sup>34</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, ix, p. 103 (1854).

<sup>35</sup> See Gray's edition of *Hudibras*, ii, 289 (London, 1764); and his *Impartial Examination of the fourth Volume of Mr. Daniel Neal's History of the Puritans*, p. 126 (London, 1739).

gians, "I think it not improbable that the word is derivable from two distinct sources, and that in its earlier meaning it has been supplanted by the one derived from the name of the Scottish Presbyterian."<sup>56</sup>

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## 'PRIDE' IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY THOUGHT

In *Mod. Lang. Notes* for April, 1920, Mr. Lucius W. Elder has published a contribution to a type of study which one could wish to see more pursued among us—a study which takes as the ultimate units to which its analysis is to be applied neither individual authors or schools nor literary *genres*, but individual *ideas*, and endeavors to clarify the meaning of each of the fashionable or ruling conceptions, categories, presuppositions, or logical motifs of a period, to discover the reasons for its vogue, to exhibit its interweaving and interaction with other ideas, and to trace its historic workings, not only in the reflection but also in the taste, the practice, and the social movements of the age in which it flourished. Mr. Elder notes that satirists and moralizing writers in the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries were a good deal preoccupied with a vice which they called "pride," and were given to denouncing this with peculiar vehemence. He therefore inquires into the meaning of this notion, and "its basis and analogue in the speculative theory of the Enlightenment." Mr. Elder has interestingly brought together from a number of eighteenth-century writers material bearing upon this question, and his study will be of use to students of the thought of that period. He has, however, as it seems to me, omitted certain of the most important aspects of the subject; and there is room for dissent from his general conclusions.

Mr. Elder, I think, hardly sufficiently remarks that the pride to which such a typical writer as Pope most frequently refers, in the *Essay on Man*, is not primarily the pride of the individual human creature comparing himself with others of his species, but the generic pride of man as such. The featherless biped, it was observed, has a strange tendency to put himself in the centre of

<sup>56</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, v, 472, 14 May 1870.

creation, to suppose himself separated by a vast gap from all other and 'irrational' creatures, to credit himself with the possession of virtues of which he is inherently incapable, and to attempt tasks, especially intellectual tasks, which he has in reality no power to accomplish. A sense of the dignity and importance of the *genus homo* had been fostered by the medieval Christian view of man's place in the universe. Though the Church had bidden the individual man walk humbly with his God, and had dwelt upon the inner corruption of unregenerate human nature, it had nevertheless put before mankind a picture of both the physical and the moral order profoundly flattering to men's racial self-esteem. Around man's planet all the unpeopled spheres revolved; upon that planet he reigned supreme over the brute creation, infinitely removed in dignity from even the highest animals by his sole participation in the intellectual light of the Divine Reason; upon the acts of will of individual men inexpressibly momentous issues depended; and the good which man was capable of attaining immeasurably transcended all that could be experienced in this sublunary world of matter and sense. The first blow to this flattering view was, of course, the overthrow of the geocentric astronomy. But there were certain ideas especially current in (though not original with) the eighteenth century which had a similar tendency.

1. The first of these was among the most characteristic and influential of all eighteenth-century ideas—though you may read many books on the philosophy and literature of that period without ever guessing the fact. I refer to the so-called 'principle of continuity'<sup>1</sup> (*lex continui*), the conception of the "Great Chain of Being." According to this principle, the world is necessarily a *plenum formarum*, a system

Where all must full or not coherent be,  
And all that rises, rise in due degree;

in other words, every logically possible kind of being, through all the infinite graded scale of conceivable 'natures' between Deity and nonentity, must actually exist; and between any two adjacent 'links' in the chain there can be only infinitesimal differences.

<sup>1</sup>The writer has in preparation a study of the place and manifold ramifications of this conception in eighteenth-century literature, science and philosophy.



One of the principal events in European thought in the eighteenth century was the rapid growth of a tendency towards a deliquescence of all sharp distinctions, resulting from the introduction of this assumption that all things must be regarded as parts of a qualitative continuum—the assumption embodied in the maxim *Natura non facit saltus*. Since all gaps thus disappeared from nature, there could be none between man and the other animals. He could differ from them only in degree, and from the higher animals in an almost insensible degree, and only with respect to certain attributes.<sup>2</sup> No link in the Chain of Being, moreover, is more essential than another, or exists merely for the sake of another. The lower creatures are no more means to the convenience of man than he is a means to their convenience.<sup>3</sup> Thus, so long as man remained normal, *i. e.*, in the State of Nature, he assumed no grand airs of superiority to the creatures of the field and wood:

Pride then was not; nor arts that pride to aid;  
Man walked with beast joint-tenant of the shade.<sup>4</sup>

In its most significant aspect, then, 'pride' gets its meaning for eighteenth-century thought from this group of conceptions. It is, in Pope's words, the "sin against the laws of order," *i. e.*, of gradation; it is the vice which causes man to set up pretensions to a place higher in the Scale of Being than belongs to him.

Pride still is aiming at the blest abodes,  
Men would be angels, angels would be gods.

The virtue which is its opposite lies in a contented recognition of the limitations of the human lot and the littleness of man's powers;

The bliss of man (could pride that blessing find)  
Is not to act or think beyond mankind.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> *Essay on Man*, I, 173 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, III, 22-70, I, 53-68; cf. Voltaire, *Discours sur l'homme*, VI.

<sup>4</sup> *Essay on Man*, III, 151-2. Pope's lines are the probable source of Rousseau's remark, in his second *Discours*, that man's emergence from the pure state of nature began with his invention of certain practical arts, which was followed by "le premier mouvement d'orgueil," in the form of a feeling of superiority to the other animals: "C'est ainsi que sachant encore à peine distinguer les rangs, et se contemplant au premier par son espèce, il se préparoit de loin à y prétendre par son individu."

<sup>5</sup> *Essay on Man*, I, 189-190.

Thus the eighteenth-century denunciations of 'pride' are often, at bottom, expressions of a certain disillusionment of man about himself—a phase of that long and deepening disillusionment which is the tragedy of a great part of modern thought. True, the conception of the Chain of Being owed its vogue largely to its use in the argument for (so-called) optimism; and it had its cheerful aspects. But it clearly implied the dethronement of man from his former exalted position. In the bitter spirit of Swift this disillusionment, tho for other reasons, already touched its extreme; the Yahoo is not merely brought nearer to the other animals, he is placed below them. The most detestable and irrational of beings, he crowns his fatuity by imagining himself the aim and climax of the whole creation. Yet Swift had been anticipated in his opinion of the Yahoo by Robert Gould:

What beast beside can we so slavish call  
As *Man*? Who yet pretends he's Lord of all.  
Whoever saw (and all their classes cull)  
A dog so snarlish, or a swine so full,  
A wolf so rav'nous, or an ass so dull?  
Slave to his passions, ev'ry several lust  
Whisks him about, as whirlwinds do the dust;  
And dust he is, indeed, a senseless clod  
That swells, and yet would be believ'd a God.\*

Two further aspects of the eighteenth-century notion of 'pride' are in part special applications of the principle of continuity, in part consequences of the vogue of certain other conceptions.

2. It was upon his rational faculty and his intellectual achievements that modern man had been wont most to plume himself. But the conception of the graded scale of being tended to fix attention especially upon the limitations of man's mental powers. Moreover, the 'primitivism' which had long been associated with the cult of the sacred word 'Nature' had expressed itself, among other ways, in the disparagement of intellectual pursuits and the depreciation of man's intellectual capacity. In the sixteenth century both Erasmus and Montaigne had dilated upon the vanity of speculation and the corrupting influence of science.

\* Gofud's "Satire against Man" (ca. 1708), *Works*, II, 149 f. Gould is an unduly neglected figure in the history of English satire.—It should be added that, as an orthodox churchman, he elsewhere, not too consistently, insists upon man's superiority, as evidenced by his possession of a conscience and an immortal soul.



"In the first golden age of the world," wrote Erasmus, "there was no sort of learning but what was naturally collected from every man's common sense improved by an easy experience. They were not so presumptuous as to dive into the depths of Nature, to labor for the solving all phenomena in astronomy, or to wreak their brains in the splitting of entities and unfolding the nicest speculations, judging it to be a crime for any man to aim at what is put beyond the reach of his shallow comprehension."<sup>7</sup>

This strain, less in evidence in the seventeenth century, the age of great 'systems' in philosophy and science, became in the eighteenth one of the most popular of commonplaces. Finally, the reigning philosophy of the period, in England and France, that of Locke, had as its characteristic aim to fix the boundaries of human knowledge; and it ostensibly found those boundaries to be very narrow.<sup>8</sup> In consequence, chiefly, of the convergence of these three lines of influence, it became customary to berate and satirize all forms of intellectual ambition, and to ascribe to it a great part in the corruption of the natural innocence of mankind. So Pope exhorts:

Trace science, then, with modesty they guide,  
First strip off all her equipage of pride, etc.<sup>9</sup>

The condemnation of 'pride,' then, is frequently, in the eighteenth century, one of the ways of expressing a primitivistic anti-intellectualism. Rousseau was but repeating a current commonplace when he wrote in the *Premier Discours* that "toutes les sciences, et la morale même, sont nées de l'orgueil humain," and

<sup>7</sup> *Moriae Encomium*. For the equation of 'pride' with the spirit of science in Montaigne, cf. the following: "Le soing de s'augmenter en sagesse et en science, ce feut la premiere ruyne du genre humain; . . . l'orgueil est sa perte et sa corruption" (*Apologie de Raimond Sebond*). Note also how closely much of Swift's contrast of the Yahoos and the Houyhnhnms follows Montaigne's comparison of man with the other animals, in the same essay.

<sup>8</sup> *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, I, chap. I, §§ 5-7.

<sup>9</sup> *Essay on Man*, II, 43 ff.; cf. Robert Gould's satirical picture of the scholar's life ("Satire against Man," 167-9) and his praise of the ignorance of the state of nature (170 ff.). In the mid-eighteenth century it is, of course, true that this sort of anti-intellectualism co-existed—sometimes even in the same minds—with that enthusiasm for the "study of nature," i. e., of empirical physical science, of which M. Mornet has admirably written the history in his *Les sciences de la nature en France au 18<sup>e</sup> siècle*.

that "le luxe, la dissolution et l'esclavage ont été de tout temps le châtement des efforts orgueilleux que nous avons faits pour sortir de l'heureuse ignorance où la sagesse éternelle nous avait placés."

3. In ethical as in intellectual endeavor, typical moralists of the early eighteenth century believed in a program of limited objectives. Here, again, the tradition of ethical naturalism which had been handed down especially through Erasmus and Montaigne readily combined with the idea of the graded scale of being. Man must not attempt to transcend the limitations of his 'nature'; and his nature, though not the same as that of the animals below him in the scale, is close akin to it. 'Reason' has a part in the conduct of human life; but it is an ancillary part. Pope devotes many lines of versified argumentation to showing that the motive-power and the principal directive force in man's life is—and should be—not reason, but the complex of instincts and passions which make up our 'natural' constitution.<sup>10</sup> 'Pride,' then, in an especially important sense, meant a sort of 'moral overstrain,' the attempt to be unnaturally good and immoderately virtuous, to live by reason alone. Erasmus and Montaigne had come to have an antipathy to this lofty and strenuous moral temper thru a direct revulsion against the revived Stoicism in fashion in the late Renaissance; and the Stoics passed in the eighteenth century for the proverbial embodiments of 'pride' in this sense. Thus Pope describes man as a being "with too much weakness for the Stoic pride"; and Wieland in his *Theages* (1760) remarks that the Stoic pride and self-sufficiency "departs very widely from nature" and "can be possible only in God." "Eben so wenig," he adds, "konnte ich die Unterdrückung des sinnlichen Teils unsers Wesens mit der Natur reimen."

I have dwelt upon this and the preceding aspect of the conception of pride especially because Mr. Elder—like many others before him—seems to me seriously to exaggerate the rationalism of the period, its "extravagant claims to reason," its confidence in "the dry light of reason." Unless "reason" is carefully and somewhat peculiarly defined, such expressions are misleading. The authors who were perhaps the most influential and the most representative in the early and mid-eighteenth century made a great point of reducing man's claims to 'reason' to a minimum, and to belittling

<sup>10</sup> *Essay on Man*, II, 59-202.

the importance of that faculty in human existence; and the vice of 'pride' which they so delighted to castigate was exemplified for them in any high estimate of the capacity of the human species for intellectual achievement, or in any of the more ambitious enterprises of science and philosophy, or in any moral ideal which would make pure 'reason' (as distinguished from natural 'passions') the supreme power in human life. 'Pride' was, indeed, exemplified, for some such writers, in everything 'artificial'; and in the homilies against it the whole gospel of the Return to Nature was often implicit.<sup>11</sup>

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## REVIEWS

*Etude sur Pathelin*, par RICHARD T. HOLBROOK. [Elliott Monographs] Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, et Paris, E. Champion, 1917. 123 pp. et 23 illustrations.

Emile Picot exprimait en 1904 le vœu qu'une édition critique de la *Farce de Pathelin* fût enfin donnée aux amateurs de l'ancienne littérature française. Or dès 1905 un Américain répondait à cet appel en publiant les premiers travaux d'approche vers une édition définitive. J'ai nommé Richard Thayer Holbrook.

I. L'*Etude sur Pathelin* qu'il vient de nous donner est faite suivant la méthode qui marquait d'une empreinte personnelle ses articles de *Modern Philology* de 1905 et des *Modern Language*

<sup>11</sup>I have not attempted in this brief note to touch upon another movement of ideas in the eighteenth century concerning 'pride'—the doctrine that pride, in the sense of the craving for that which will feed the individual's feeling of distinction and superiority, is, on the whole, though an irrational, a socially beneficent, passion of the human animal. This appears in its most extreme form in Mandeville, who makes 'pride' the basis of all social order; but Hume goes farther towards this conclusion than Mr. Elder quite indicates, and a kindred conception plays a large part in Adam Smith's profound and subtle analysis of the 'moral sentiments.' Mandeville was one of those who helped to give currency to the premise accepted by the primitivists: science, industry, the arts, luxury and trade are all born of pride. But from this premise he drew the opposite inference; since civilization, if not a good, is at least a necessary evil, 'pride,' which is its moving force, is a kind of useful folly.



*Notes* de 1906. Dans la première partie, intitulée *Bibliographie raisonnée*, il prend comme idée directrice la question suivante: "Quelle forme de Pathelin doit primer toutes les autres et par conséquent servir de base à une édition critique?" Son enquête porte sur 16 imprimés et 4 manuscrits couvrant la période de 1486 à 1550 environ. Parmi ces textes, les seuls qui appartiennent franchement au XVe Siècle sont: 1. *Maistre Pierre Pathelin*, sans lieu ni date, mais identifié comme imprimé à Lyon en 1485 ou 1486 par Guillaume Le Roy.—2. *Maistre Pierre Pathelin* imprimé par Pierre Levet, non daté mais que H. par comparaison entre les différents états des marques d'impression de Levet est parvenu à situer entre Novembre 1489 et Décembre 1490.—3. *Pathelin le Grant et le Petit*, imprimé par Guillaume Beneaut, à Paris, en 1490.

Ainsi l'antériorité du Pathelin de Le Roy étant hors de doute, il reste la question des rapports de Levet avec Beneaut. Holbrook, grâce à une démonstration d'une sûreté et d'une élégance rationnelle extrême, nous avait déjà préparés à situer la date du Pathelin de Levet avant celle du Pathelin de Beneaut. Il achève par l'expertise analytique du texte de renverser décisivement les conclusions de Picot et de Claudin, et de prouver que Levet a été non seulement le prédécesseur mais le guide de Beneaut. (Cf. son examen des vers 273, 323, 1031, 1425).<sup>1</sup>

Beneaut s'étant inspiré de Levet, de qui Levet s'inspire-t-il? "De Le Roy," répond H. Nous voici ramenés à ce texte capital du vieil imprimeur lyonnais, texte dont il ne subsiste plus qu'un seul exemplaire mutilé. . . . Le plus ancien qui nous soit parvenu, cet imprimé est-il l'original? H. semble incliner à le croire, mais est trop prudent pour se prononcer. Il prouve en tout cas que Le Roy a été sous les yeux de Levet comme son guide. La façon dont il établit ce point n'est pas l'application la moins remarquable de sa méthode ingénieuse et robuste: Je renvoie entre autres le lecteur aux pages 3 à 6 de son *Etude*, où, s'appuyant sur deux coquilles de Levet, il montre qu'elles sont dues à une confusion de pages et que cette confusion portait nécessairement sur un modèle paginé comme le texte de Le Roy. D'autre part il établit que les diver-

<sup>1</sup> Je signalerai que les conclusions de H. ont été reprises dans les *Studien zur Farce Pathelin* de J. Schumacher, Berlin, 1911, qui ajoute un certain nombre d'arguments à ceux de son devancier américain.



gences du texte de Levet par rapport à Le Roy sont rares et insignifiantes et que c'est toujours chez Le Roy que l'on trouve la "*lectio difficilior*." La démonstration est décisive pour tous ceux "qui savent distinguer une impression d'avec une preuve."

Quant aux autres éditions on peut schématiser ainsi les conclusions de H.: Levet (nous venons de voir qu'il suit Le Roy) a été suivi par presque tous les imprimeurs subséquents jusqu'à Galiot du Pré en 1532. Ce dernier, imprimeur d'esprit critique et cultivé, très estimé de Marot, continue la tradition Levet mais en éditeur intelligent. Galiot du Pré est lui-même le guide de tous les imprimeurs ultérieurs.<sup>2</sup> Il reste donc acquis en dernière analyse que Le Roy est, du moins relativement aux textes qui ont survécu, l'Archétype. Mais, comme H. le fait valoir avec raison, il y a d'intéressantes variantes à prendre dans les autres éditions mêmes les plus éloignées du point de départ.

Les quatre manuscrits vus par H. remontent tous à des imprimés. (Le ms. de Harvard a sa source dans une des éditions qui remontent à celle de Galiot du Pré.)

II. *Commentaire sur quelques passages du texte de Pathelin.* La Farce de Pathelin soulève des problèmes qui touchent à l'histoire de la langue, de la littérature et des mœurs du XVe siècle. Mais, parmi tous ces points d'interrogation, il en est qui me semblent spécifiques à Pathelin: la richesse de la rime et la science de la versification qui distinguent cette farce de toutes les autres, et qui marquent l'auteur comme ayant dû être un des premiers techniciens du vers de son temps. (C'est là un élément dont j'espère démontrer l'incommensurable valeur pour la solution du problème de la paternité du Pathelin.) Il y aurait encore à étudier les rapports du thème avec les "*Repues franches*" post-villonesques et les *jeux de bergers*, ce dernier motif comique si étroitement lié avec la littérature dramatique religieuse et spécialement les "Nativités"; enfin il faudrait regarder de près l'actualité satirique et historique de ce chef-d'œuvre qui, après tout, est une exquise pochade comique en marge du règne de Louis XI.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> C'est Galiot du Pré qui commence à imprimer ensemble la *Farce de Pathelin* et le *Blason de faulces amours* de Guillaume Alécis—ce en quoi tous les imprimeurs du XVIe s., à partir de 1532, l'ont suivi. J'espère pouvoir prochainement démontrer que Galiot du Pré avait eu pour faire ainsi une bonne et valable raison.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. le travail de S. B. Hemmingway "*English Nativity Plays*." (Yale

De tous ces problèmes celui de la langue est le seul que H. ait voulu aborder dans le présent travail, mais il est le prolégomène essentiel de tous les autres. Dès les premiers vers que prononce Pathelin nous sommes arrêtés par le mot *cabasser*.

Pour quelque paine que je mette

A *cabasser* na ramasser

Nous ne pouons rien amasser

(2-4).

H. dégage, à l'aide d'autres exemples, que la signification de *cabasser* est un adoucissement argotique de voler ou gaspiller et c'est bien là en effet ce qui semble ressortir d'un autre passage curieusement analogue de Guillaume Alécis dans le *Débat de l'Homme et de la Femme*.

L'une *cabasse*, l'autre amasse,

L'autre quelque trahison brasse

(73-74).

Le mot se retrouve également dans le vers 1140 de la Farce,

L'aiglelet maint aigneau de let

luy as *cabasse* a ton maistre,

et dans ces vers de Guillaume Alécis (encore!),

Tel se confie en son berger

Qui lui *cabasse* ses moutons

(*Faintes du Monde*, 317-318)?

Je crois que dans les deux premiers exemples la signification de *cabasser* est un peu plus euphémique que ne le dit H. et qu'il faut comprendre "se creuser ou se casser la tête," "tirer des plans sur la comète," comme dit si joliment le populaire de chez nous. J'ai entendu *cabasser* pour la première et seule fois de ma vie, dans la bouche d'un poilu, ex-ouvrier ambulant qui l'avait ramassé Dieu sait où! C'était pendant une partie de cartes où il avait dans son jeu un as rebelle à toutes les combinaisons. "J'ai beau cabasser, s'écria-t-il, il n'y a rien à faire." Ici le sens était probablement "se creuser" ou "se casser la tête." Mais il serait hasardeux d'attribuer aucune importance à un rapprochement de ce genre.

Le terme *advocat dessoubz l'orme* que Guillemette applique quelques vers plus bas à son mari fait chez H. l'objet d'un commentaire

(Studies, 1909) où l'on verra l'extraordinaire développement dans le sens réaliste et comique des "jeux des bergers" au XVe siècle. Je me propose de revenir sur ce point en temps et lieu.

historique très précis. Il y montre une allusion à un usage médiéval qui a survécu jusqu'au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et suivant lequel les habitants d'un village ou les vassaux d'un même seigneur se donnaient rendez-vous sous l'orme pour régler leurs différends. Quant au sens spécifique dans la Farce, H. le considère comme répondant à la traduction de Cotgrave, "An obscure lawyer, a pratling or pidling Pettifogger," sans que cela veuille dire que Pathelin soit un avocat de village.

Une autre expression obscure est celle de *chaudes testes* dans le passage suivant :

vous estes  
tenu lune des *chaudes testes*  
qui soit en toute la paroisse

(51-53).

C'est bien là la "lectio difficilior." Elle ne semble pas avoir été comprise de Levet lui-même, qui a *saiges testes*. H. établit clairement que *chaudes testes* est selon toute probabilité la leçon authentique. Mais que signifie-t-elle? Il me semble qu'on peut penser à l'image "cuit," "rôti" au feu de l'expérience, comme dans ces vers des *Faintes du Monde*:

Tel a rosti dix ans entiers  
Qui n'est pas encore assez fin.

Peut-être est-ce encore l'idée d'*échaudé*? Cela serait une allusion aux mésaventures de Pathelin, auquel, plus loin, sa femme rappelle qu'il a eu maille à partir avec la justice et a fait connaissance avec le pilori?

Un peu plus loin nous rencontrons une expression également difficile, au vers 216 :

Encore ay ie denier et maille  
*quonques ne virent pere ne mere,*

H. dit avec raison qu'il faut comprendre "qui oncques" . . . . Mais il suggère, d'ailleurs sous réserve, une explication un peu trop subtile par analogie avec un vieux dicton, "oncques loup ne vit son père." Pathelin ne se paierait-il pas plutôt le plaisir de mystifier le drapier en employant une expression volontairement équivoque et obscurément prometteuse? Pour Pathelin (et pour les spectateurs!) cela veut dire tout simplement "des écus qui n'ont pas encore été frappés!" Mais l'esprit du drapier n'était pas assez alerte pour saisir l'aveu ironique contenu dans cette espèce d'aparté.

Nul doute aussi que cette phrase ne fût soulignée à la scène d'un sourire et d'un clignement d'yeux tout particuliers! De même, lorsque le drapier dit en parlant de l'argent que Pathelin lui a promis:

Ilz ne verront soleil ne lune  
les escus qui me baillera,

il entend évidemment qu'il les mettra en lieu sûr mais en même temps il exprime sans s'en douter et de très amusante façon l'inanité de ses propres espoirs.

L'allusion du drapier à la *grant froidure*, au vers 245,

trestout le bestail est peri  
cest yver par la *grant froidure*,

fournit à H. un précieux commentaire. Il établit que cette allusion doit se rapporter à l'hiver exceptionnellement rigoureux de 1464 signalé par la Chronique du Mont Saint-Michel. 1464 serait ainsi la date à laquelle la Farce de Pathelin est apparue. L'allusion si curieuse contenue dans les *Faintes du Monde* de Guillaume Alecis, auteur du *Blason de Faulses Amours*,

tels a l'argent par beau *blason*  
qui nentend pas son *pathelin* (859-860).

ne s'oppose pas à cette hypothèse, car rien ne nous défend de reculer jusqu'à 1465 la date des *Faintes du Monde*, que les éditeurs de Guillaume Alecis, MM. Piaget et Picot, placent vers 1460.

Je devrais tout citer, tant est grande la richesse et la plénitude de ce commentaire de H. Son travail est écrit avec un rare et intime sentiment du français ancien et moderne et il répand sur beaucoup de points une clarté décisive. Autant que d'avoir su expliquer, il faut lui être reconnaissant d'avoir su douter méthodiquement et d'avoir préféré de fécondes "positions de questions" à des solutions hasardées. Le vieux chef-d'œuvre contient encore maints problèmes, mais des contributions comme cette *Etude* de Holbrook dessinent la voie vers plus de lumière.

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*Pêcheur d'Islande*, by PIERRE LOTI, edited with Notes, Exercises, and Vocabulary by JAMES F. MASON. New York, Holt, 1920.

A third school-edition of the same French text, unless measurably better than its predecessors, would be a work of supererogation. Professor Mason, however, fulfills the condition; his version of *Pêcheur d'Islande*, a distinct improvement upon Super's,<sup>1</sup> promises to be the best for those whose chief business with the book is linguistic (assuming, *dato non concessio*, that it is wise to make this use of a work so delicate in literary texture). Peirce's<sup>2</sup> remains the best for those whose interest is in Loti's art.

Mason alone provides pedagogical apparatus: *Questionnaire, Exercices, Sujets de Composition, Lettres à écrire*. The material is not copious; for the student who should prepare three pages of the text there would be on the average one grammatical problem and four or five opportunities to formulate in French replies to simple questions. But the editor means to be "suggestive rather than exhaustive," and, as a point of departure, what he offers should prove valuable to the drill-master. The Vocabulary has the appearance of being well done; *à vue* (p. 94, l. 7) and *ou bien* (p. 104, l. 5) should, however, be included, "keep" is correct, but not illuminating, for *garder* (cf. p. 92, l. 14), and "ridiculous" takes somewhat from the flavor of *impayable* (p. 62, l. 14).<sup>3</sup> The Notes are, necessarily, reminiscent of those of Peirce and Super, although less numerous. One or two seem exceptionable: to explain *entre deux eaux* by "Cf. *nager entre deux eaux*, 'to swim under water,'" will not enlighten the tyro; <sup>4</sup> "girl of good birth" is not a proper translation for *demoiselle* in the context (p. 14, l. 20); <sup>5</sup> *vielle* is not explained at all, although surely a laconic "hurdy-gurdy" in the Vocabulary is not adequate for young Americans.

In the Notes, and elsewhere, Mason evidently does not attempt to compete with Peirce. The Notes of the Peirce edition, it is worth while to remark, have a quality which both other editions lack, and offer, concerning the Breton setting, information directly useful in appreciating the story. Indeed Peirce's work here ap-

<sup>1</sup> Heath, 1902.

<sup>2</sup> Ginn, 1913.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. British "priceless."

<sup>4</sup> Super's note is more explicit.

<sup>5</sup> Although Peirce gives the same translation. Why not: "In spite of her cap she did not look like a peasant girl"?

proaches, in degree of excellence, that of Baldensperger in his edition of *Les Traits éternels de la France* (Barrès),<sup>6</sup> a model of this kind of elucidation, and Peirce's Introduction partakes of the same quality, being an elaborate and deft appraisal of the art of Loti such as neither of the other two editors has undertaken.

Less concerned with *Pêcheur d'Islande* as literature, Mason has been less unwilling than Peirce to cut the text. A comparison of the three abridgements with the original edition of 1886 is revealing. With Super it is a case of mutilation; he has slashed mercilessly, not even preserving the chapter divisions and daring not only to omit but to revise. Mason seems to have followed the lead of Super to some extent, but he has on the whole shown a greater respect for the artist's creation. In view of the exigencies of time and decorum (*ad usum delphini*, Mason puts it), it would be unfair to reprehend Mason's performance, although the fact remains that Peirce's is the only version which offers anything like an integral text. Not infrequently Mason omits paragraphs which contribute appreciably to an understanding of the characters or to an enjoyment of the picturesque environment (cf. p. 9, l. 3; p. 16, l. 25; p. 18, l. 28; p. 43, l. 22; etc.). These are cases where decorum could not have been an issue. Would it not be better, since teachers will continue to demand short texts, to omit more frequently entire chapters, to offer a smaller number of chapters but intact, in their purity,—taking those which are, for the *delphinus*, pure?<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Yale Press, 1918.

<sup>7</sup> Misprints are few except in the Notes. The following have been remarked: p. v, l. 18, read "opportunities"; facing p. 54, *bretons*; Notes, p. 157 (2, 14), *elle avait dû*; (2, 19), *du pantalon*; p. 158 (8, 16), *Marguerite*; p. 159 (18, 7), *faisait*; (19, 22), delete *en*; p. 160 (43, 9), read *du*; (50, 3), *Loguivy*; p. 162 (94, 31), delete *en*; (123, 22), read "him"; p. 165, l. 24, *Quel*; p. 169, l. 1, *reculèrent*; p. 170, l. 22, *fallait*.

*The Contemporary Drama of France.* By FRANK WADLEIGH CHANDLER, Professor and Dean in the University of Cincinnati. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1920. x + 409 pp.

The French drama as here treated covers three decades—from the opening of the Théâtre Libre (1887) to the end of the World War. The period, although seemingly short, counted in France no fewer than three hundred dramatic authors, representing a total of a thousand plays. Accordingly, the subject presented for the critic two possibilities: he might either emphasize the high points, noticing only incidentally the subalterns, or else attempt a complete study, with proportionately less attention to major dramatists. The former course, no doubt, seemed the more tempting, since it required little research in tedious details; but the latter, if executed with painstaking thoroughness, gave promise of results more gratifying. Accepting the monotonous task of giving to all writers sympathetic consideration, Professor Chandler has chosen to make a searching inquiry,—a wise decision for two reasons. In the first place, the contemporary French drama, in spite of its imposing array of representatives, can boast no overtowering chieftains. Apart from a dozen or so of talent, all are mediocre, yet plenty of them sufficiently important to justify consideration. Moreover, the leading playwrights had frequently received critical attention; what was really needed was a comprehensive guide to minor as well as major authors. Hence the timeliness of the present book.

The critic who would embrace the entire dramatic production of contemporary France is at the outset confronted with a difficult problem, the classification of authors. Probably no other period of French literature exhibits a character so split up and devoid of main currents. In fact writers commonly characterize it as a maze of conflicting influences. Yet Professor Chandler has succeeded in bringing order out of chaos. Thanks to his ingenious grouping of matter, the various tendencies, though at times indistinct or coalescent, assume contour, enabling every playwright to find a snug corner.

In the course of his eleven compact chapters, the author considers, after "Precursors of the Moderns," such suggestive groups as "Naturalism and the Free Theatre," "Ironic Realists," "Moralists," "Reformers," "Major Poets and Romancers," "Importers



and War Exploiters." In another chapter, "Makers of Mirth," the humorists very properly claim attention. In America we do not readily grasp the significance of delicate social satirists like Courte-line, Bisson, and Tristan Bernard. Appropriate, elsewhere, is the treatment of classic influence and of religious dramatists. Only the specialist realizes to what extent neo-classicism and religion are reflected in the contemporary French theatre. As for naturalism, Mr. Chandler points out succinctly yet adequately its dogmas and shortcomings.

In considering individual dramatists, Mr. Chandler's judgment is sound. With a keen eye he probes beneath the surface, scrutinizing, evaluating, and interpreting. Unhampered by prejudice, he seeks information cautiously, insuring to all a fair hearing. Dumas fils, Becque, Rostand, Richepin, Maeterlinck, Brioux, Émile Fabre, Paul Claudel are drawn with a trained hand, salient features being so stressed as to individualize the portraits. New interpretations and unpublished facts stimulate interest. François de Curel receives the merited tribute, "More than any other writer for the French stage, he reveals the temperament and personality of genius." Henry Bataille is aptly called "a specialist in the pathology of love." Fittingly presented, too, are such minor playwrights as Gaston Devore, Sacha Guitry, Paul Gavault, and Robert de Flers.

Now and then, however, critics might dissent. For instance, Maurice Donnay, we think, receives undue praise. It cannot be denied that even his *Georgette Lemeunier* and *L'Autre Danger* are marred by incoherence and caprice. Incorrect titles of plays, such as omission of the article in *La Sacrifiée* (p. 354), *Les Mouettes* (401), *La Petite Amie* (403), *La Petite Paroisse* (403), occur occasionally. On the other hand, the article should be omitted in *Bagnes d'Enfants* (364) and *Amoureuse* (385). Among minor orthographical errors might be mentioned *tue-là* (9), *Le Veillesse de Richelieu* (21, 356), *Le Nabob* (59, 60, 353, 401), *Ganêlon* (277), *Voguë* (324, 409), *Charette anglaise* (336, 389), *d'Urfée* (286, 408). Nor is it usual to give Stendhal the *particule* (53, 55). The death of Labiche occurred in 1888, Feuillet's in 1890, and that of Judith Gautier in 1917. Trustworthy—and this is more important—are the author's statements about dramas. Inaccuracies like "In *La Couvée* (1893), Brioux assails the *ménage à*



*trois*" (223), could probably be counted on the fingers of one hand.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Chandler's style is enhanced by his striking power of characterization, a quality essential in a tersely condensed book of this sort. Frequently he embodies in a few lines the substance of a play or the essential facts about a dramatist. Thus of Augier he says: "He wrote dramas, not of psychological analysis, nor of intrigue, nor of manners, but of social criticism." Feuillet impresses him as "delicate rather than robust, a feminine soul, sensitive and sentimental." The critic remarks that Abel Hermant lacks the soft indulgence of Capus and the playful fancy of de Croisset. "He strips the trappings from the vicious, to sneer at their uncloaking." Théodore de Banville, "airy, graceful, daring," he affirms, "was a verbal acrobat of irrepressible *esprit*." A page suffices for depicting vividly the career of André Antoine. Nor could one well improve upon the characterization of Hervieu's dramas as "scientific formulas transposed into the key of art."

Dramatic production in France as manifested during the late war, Professor Chandler naturally consider disappointing. The rebirth so sorely needed, and confidently expected, did not occur, although the unwonted seriousness, latterly, of certain playwrights, as witness Sacha Guitry, Bernstein, and de Croisset, reflects the regenerating influence of the conflict. Its brutality, in creating horror of shuddering realism, proved for the moment the chief obstacle to stage reform. For, instead of encouraging seriousness and the depicting of eternal traits of character, theatre-goers craved gayety and frivolity. As now seems likely, however, the war will yet exercise upon the French drama a potent, if indirect influence. Indeed the stern aftermath must of itself seriously affect the temperament and outlook of the playwright. Even though reform should but bring lasting discredit upon the silly triangular play, well wishers of the French stage will feel much gratified.

In the preparation of the present volume, Mr. Chandler has evidently profited from the knowledge of comparative literature

<sup>1</sup> For example, Michael Pauper does not commit suicide; *Joujou* does not end as C. describes; in the third version of *Blanchette* there is nothing "to blink" in the heroine's past; *l'Invitée* is not sentimental, as C. implies; it is scarcely enough to say that the heroine of *La Fille sauvage* returns to Africa to wed her native prince.—H. C. L.

which he revealed six years ago in *Aspects of Modern Drama*. Acquaintance with other contemporary literatures has frequently enabled him to make interesting comparisons. Besides throwing illuminating sidelights upon foreign plays adapted for the French stage, it has contributed directly, also, to his understanding of those native dramatists who have reacted to exotic influence. Another commendable feature of the book is its bibliographical appendix, which gives, with dates, the plays of two hundred thirty-four French dramatists of all grades, followed by a judicious list of works on the theatre. Concise, lucid, impartial, scholarly without pedantry, Professor Chandler's book should appeal to the general reader, and will be indispensable to students of the drama. Brevity is its only fault.

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*Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, Fritz von Unruh. Vier Vorträge von WALTHER KÜCHLER. Verlagsdruckerei Würzburg, 1919. 86 pp.*

Küchler's little book is a model of penetrating criticism, sympathetic interpretation, and conciliatory spirit. Evidently the author's purpose is to bring the German and French intellectuals closer together through a demonstration of the spiritual relationship of outstanding individuals in the two nations. If only as symptomatic of the present mental attitude of the German professor, these essays would be noteworthy. Küchler has given us, however, much more than a *Tendenzwerk*. The four brief essays are models of modern literary criticism; an engaging style is here wedded to solid philological labor. Rarely can there be found in a critical work of like compass such satisfactory resumé's, such penetrating and judicious evaluations.

In choosing Rolland and Barbusse for presentation and interpretation in Germany, Küchler has naturally selected authors now termed "defeatist" and practically ostracized by many Frenchmen on account of their international views and refusal to hate the enemy. In their works the German can be assured of sympathetic treatment, and a rapprochement is initiated. Reconciliation must be brought about through the mutual spiritual understanding

of independent thinkers in the hostile nations. Fritz von Unruh's *Opfergang*, the tragedy of Verdun, the tragedy of the war for Germany, naturally associates itself with the works of Rolland, and more especially with *Le Feu* of Barbusse.

Romain Rolland, that Frenchman of all-European culture who recognizes that his native land is not isolated, that civilization is the common task of all nations, furnishes the most natural point of contact for German consideration. K  chler, the German, is fairer to Rolland than the latter's fellow-countrymen. He recognizes that Rolland in excoriating France and presenting in Jean Christophe a German model for his countrymen, is filled with an immense love for his country and is laboring to better conditions in France as Tacitus strove to elevate the corrupt Latin civilization of his day. He is fully aware that the author of Jean Christophe could have no sympathy with the modern capitalistic and imperialistic Germany of Wilhelm II. Both Rolland and K  chler see modern Germany swept along in the immense flood of materialistic ambition and K  chler himself admits the justice of the world-wide feeling that the Germany of Goethe, Schiller, Kant, and Beethoven was of greater value to the Germans themselves and to the world than the imperial Germany after 1870 (p. 8). On the whole, K  chler finds that Rolland is eminently fair to Germany, fairer for example, than the German author Heinrich Mann in *Der Untertan*, and acclaims Rolland's literary triumph in creating a German with far greater success than that achieved by any German author in depicting a Frenchman. He does not, however, lose himself in admiration for Rolland so far as to forget to criticize the French author's not altogether successful attempt to weld together two distinct themes, his didactic settlement with France and the development of his German hero, Jean Christophe.

In investigating the sources of Jean Christophe with the few materials at his command during the war, K  chler finds traits of Beethoven and Hugo Wolf in the hero with occasional Wagner reminiscences. The musician Hassler also is identified by K  chler with Wagner. But is not Hassler's resemblance to Richard Strauss far more striking?

Barbusse's *Le Feu* is for K  chler the most significant literary creation of the war, a modern Iliad with a still greater theme than that of Homer. No novel like Tolstoy's *War and Peace* or Zola's



*Débâcle*, but a series of pictures; pictures which are life itself; at the same time a mingling of realism and phantasy like Dürer's *Ritter Tod und Teufel*. For Küchler *Le Feu* is no mere *Tendenzwerk* like Latzko's *Menschen im Krieg* or Frank's *Der Mensch ist gut*. For him it is a great spontaneous passionate outburst of protest against war, against the wholesale European madness, as he too sees it.

A single paragraph from the essay on Barbusse will suffice to illustrate the critic's mastery in condensation, his skill in reproducing in small compass the essentials of a work.

"Er (Barbusse) schildert, wie der einfache Soldat isst, trinkt, hungert, durstet, einschläft, schläft, träumt, aufwacht, gähnt, sich reckt und streckt, sich juckt und kratzt, immer wieder sich juckt und kratzt, dasitzt im Regen oder in der Sonne, raucht, spuckt, spielt, redet, schweigt, schreibt, liest, wie er marschiert bei Tag und bei Nacht, wie er mit Spaten und Hacke schanzt, in eiskalter Nässe, in klebrigem Unrat, im feindlichen Feuer, wie er auf Posten steht, auf Patrouille geht, im Horchloch liegt, wie er plötzlich im Angriff steht, kämpft, von Kugeln getroffen, von Granaten zerrissen wird, stirbt, verwest, verfault, vertrocknet." Here we have the entire story of Barbusse's squad, the life of the average common soldier during four years of deadening service.

If Küchler is in accord with the Barbusse of *Le Feu*, he cannot accept the thesis of *Clarté* that love of the Fatherland shall endure but the idea of the Fatherland be destroyed. In general, however, he seems to sympathize with the *Clarté* program. As a literary work he overestimates this propagandistic document, comparing it even with the work of a Flaubert. Unfortunately, however, in the later works of Barbusse as well as of Rolland literature suffers through subordination to propaganda.

If Barbusse has given us the epic of the war in *Le Feu*, Fritz von Unruh's *Opfergang* is the lyrical expression of the conflict, its ballad. Earlier entitled *Verdun*, it depicts Germany's tragedy and foreshadows the revolution. In contrast with the mere packages, phantoms of men pictured by Barbusse in his squad, Unruh has described outstanding lovable personalities. But the nobility of the individual, his willingness to sacrifice himself for the cause was but an illusion in the great tragedy. Küchler, accustomed himself to the modern German "expressionists" like Edschmidt, hardly



mentions the peculiar technique of Unruh's style. For an American, accustomed to the German of the pre-war writers, Unruh's sentences are a revelation, a shock, and show what a revolution in style has been attempted by youngest Germany.

After *Opfergang*, Küchler describes *Ein Geschlecht*, the tragedy of the Revolution. If Küchler's analysis of this work, which he calls "undoubtedly one of the greatest and most beautiful poetic compositions of Germany," is less successful than his remarkable pictures of Jean Christophe or Barbusse's squad, the failure lies in the nature of the drama with its formless storm of passionate protest and nightly gloom. Perhaps, too, the censor's cuts have had their share in rendering more difficult a complete understanding and adequate interpretation of this drama.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### *Le Horla*

In response to a question in *L'Intermédiaire* (XLIV, 54), three different explanations were offered for the title of Maupassant's story, *Le Horla*. Mansuy would explain it by a visit of the author to the Côte d'Azur. His presence doubtless aroused the curiosity of the tourists, and caused lively discussion of the recently published *Mont Oriol*, the novel of the growth of a thermal station. The Côte d'Azur has always attracted many Russians, and the genitive of *Oriol* in Russian is *Orla* or rather *Horla*. The frequency with which this word was pronounced and the annoying curiosity of the foreigners may have impressed the sound on the mind of the author. (*Intermédiaire*, XLIV, 143-144).—A correspondent who signs himself H. C. M. finds the reasoning of Mansuy over ingenious. He says: "Il est évident pour moi qu'ayant à nommer un être mystérieux, d'essence et de formes inconnues, il (Maupassant) a dû chercher une combinaison de syllabes sonore, étrange, mais ne correspondant à aucune idée, à aucune appellation connues. . . . Je conclus donc que le nom de Horla est une création réussie, non l'adaptation d'une forme existante." (*Ibid.*, 203-204). Finally B. F. offers another explanation: "Très logique, le mot créé par Maupassant pour exprimer son idée. Il n'y a qu'à lire la nouvelle du *Horla* pour voir que l'auteur a voulu rendre par ce terme l'impression que produit au sujet le fantastique dont il se sent entouré: le hors là." (*Ibid.*, 256). I venture to offer a fourth hypothesis,

as risky as Mansuy's, but based partly on that of H. C. M. Maupassant was always keenly interested in poetry and counted among his intimate friends from the very start Catulle Mendès. He was also in frequent intercourse with physicians, partly from anxiety about his health and partly because he could get from them subjects for his stories. One has only to run over the list of these to be struck by the number which he puts into the mouth of medical men. Now among the younger Parnassians was the doctor and poet, Henri Cazalis. It is unfortunately impossible to determine just when Maupassant made his acquaintance, for Cazalis, respecting the wishes of his friend in regard to personal publicity, destroyed his letters and declined to add anything to the volume of Lombroso. (See *Souvenirs sur Maupassant*, p. 586). But they were certainly intimate toward the end of Maupassant's life—the volume *L'Inutile Beauté* (1890) is dedicated to Cazalis—and it seems not unreasonable to suppose that they had met, or at least that they had known each other's work much earlier. The themes of Cazalis' poetry, like those of Maupassant's stories, are love and death. Now Maupassant's first works were published under pseudonyms (see Maynial, *La Vie et l'Œuvre de Guy de Maupassant*, p. 80), so that their use by others may well have interested him. Cazalis used at least two. *Les Chants Populaires de l'Italie* appeared in 1865 under the name Jean Caselli; in 1885 *Le Cantique des Cantiques, traduction en vers d'après la version de M. Reuss*, was published under the name of Jean Lahor.<sup>1</sup> The second and third editions of his collected poems, *L'Illusion*, appeared under the same pseudonym (1888 and 1893). The first edition (1875) was signed with his own name, but Faguet, reviewing the edition of 1893 (*La Revue Bleue*, 7 oct.), calls the author only J. Lahor. *Le Horla* appeared in 1887, two years after the first assumption of the pseudonym Jean Lahor by Dr. Cazalis. It is then possible that Maupassant may have found the sonorous combination of syllables of which H. C. M. speaks by inverting the pseudonym of his friend. Maupassant's own feeling for the sonority of proper names is well shown by the opening paragraph of his essay on Zola. (See Lombroso, *op. cit.*, p. 635). This pseudonym amounted to a duplication of personality—how complete, Faguet's review shows; Henri Cazalis was the physician, Jean Lahor the poet. Now the *Horla* is conceived as a sort of reduplication of its victim.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the capital of the Punjab, Lahore, suggested this name to Cazalis. He was always much interested in Hindoo thought and letters. In 1888 he published a two volume history of Hindoo literature. Obviously the word had appealed to him for its sonority.

## BEAUMONT ON DRUNKENNESS

An interrogation mark, set against a sentence in Professor Tolman's interesting study of "Drunkenness in Shakespeare" (*Modern Language Notes*, xxxiv, 82 f.), is the start of this bit of research. Professor Tolman writes (p. 87): "I question whether a parallel to Cassio's intense shame at being overcome by drink can be found in the literature of that period." Such a parallel is found in the beautiful sub-plot, largely or possibly entirely by Francis Beaumont, in *The Coxcomb*. This part of the play, if separated from the foul Fletcherian version of the "Curious Impertinent" theme which is the main plot, might become widely known and admired.<sup>1</sup> Ricardo and Viola, planning an elopement, engage to meet "at the next corner to [her] father's house" that same night. We next see Ricardo at a tavern with a company of roisterers; the scene is certainly one of the most realistic and successful treatments of wassailing in the old drama. The versification of the opening lines, the conversational tone of the dialogue, and the coarseness of treatment seem to indicate Fletcher. But the use of prose through most of the scene points to Beaumont. Moreover the gradual undermining of Ricardo's resistance to drink is depicted with greater seriousness and more art than one looks for in Fletcher. At first protesting, disinclination to liquor gives way to praise of the "plaguy strong" sack, and at the close of the scene Ricardo has completely forgotten his appointment with the gentle Viola and sallies forth with his companions in search of some wenches. In I, vi, they meet Viola waiting at the arranged rendezvous; Ricardo, not recognizing her, accosts her with drunken freedom of speech. Viola exclaims:

"I never saw a drunken man before;  
But these I think are so"

and effects her escape. Until towards the end of the play she goes through a series of vicissitudes, escaping from the toils of a rough tinker and his trull (II, ii: the realistic gusto of the scene reminds one of *Beggars' Bush* and indeed Fletcher may well have had some hand in it though it is essential to Beaumont's plot) only to fall into the more dangerous snares of a country squire and finally to obtain service and harsh treatment on a dairy farm. Meanwhile Ricardo, the next morning, recovers his sober senses. His remorse at his shameful treatment of his lady-love is depicted vividly in a

<sup>1</sup> The story of Ricardo and Viola occupies the following scenes: I, i, to line 36 (Professor Gayley denies this to Beaumont; but I am not convinced that it is not his); I, v (attributed to Fletcher by Gayley on the score of "gratuitous obscenity"; but see below); I, vi; II, ii (attributed to Fletcher by Gayley for the same reason as I, vi); II, iv; III, iii (except last 36 lines where Fletcher may perhaps be discerned); IV, i; IV, ii; IV, iii ("where Fletcher appears at his best in this play"—Gayley); IV, vii; V, ii; V, iii, last 27 lines.



scene (II, iv) that has reminded Professor Schelling of Shakespeare's Cassio (*Elizabethan Drama*, I, 402). Beaumont's portrayal of this weak, well-meaning, self-reproachful gentleman is more fluent, less terse, less profound than Shakespeare's; but it is equally sincere.

"Am I not mad? can this weak-temper'd head,  
That will be mad with drink, endure the wrong  
That I have done a virgin, and my love?"

He declares to the fellows who had led him astray that he will never leave off drinking; he will "purchase all the wine the world can yield"

"And all this while we'll never think of those  
That love us best, more than we did last night."

This despairing irony gives place to a determination to follow Viola. In a most charming scene he finds her at the farm (v, iii) but will not contaminate her by his near approach. He kneels down far off; she comes up to him, at first with faint distrust; but hearing his apology:

"Here I am by you,  
A careless man, a breaker of my faith,  
A loathsome drunkard, and, in that wild fury,  
A hunter after whores: I do beseech you  
To pardon all these faults, and take me up  
An honest, sober, and a faithful man,"

Viola forgives him with a gracious sweetness worthy of Shakespeare's women.

"Methinks, I would not now, for any thing  
But you had miss'd me: I have made a story  
Will serve to waste many a winter's fire,  
When we are old."

For all the happy outcome, Ricardo has had his lesson from sad experience equally with Cassio.

*The Scornful Lady* throws, perhaps, additional light upon Beaumont's views on intemperance. This depends upon whether we accept Professor Gayley's ascription of I, ii, to him. Beneath the "racy realism" of this scene there is some slight condemnation of liquor in that it is the younger Loveless, in confederation with other boon companions, who here sets about squandering his brother's estate while the elder is supposedly away on his travels. The younger brother is here (as in *The Elder Brother*, a fine play in which Beaumont had no share) a foil to the virtues of the elder. He plans to carry himself like a gentleman while his legs will bear him; "but when I am drunk, let them bear me that can." He will spend "all this revenue in drink," "three hundred pounds in drink." It is all jovial enough, but the context makes it evident that praise of such behavior is far from Beaumont's mind. Some such lesson can be drawn even from the character of Merrythought in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, who spends his life eating



good meat, drinking good drink, and laughing; who, so long as he has money, meat and drink till to-morrow noon, is not sad; and whose advice to his son as to the proper way of conducting himself as a good husband is to "wear ordinary clothes, eat the best meat, and drink the best drink, be merry, and give to the poor." Not all Beaumont's sympathy is spent upon this genial old fellow. Poor Mistress Merrythought has to protest against his course of life more than once. "Would I had ne're seen his eyes! He has undone me and himself and his children; and there he lives at home, and sings, and hoits, and revels among his drunken companions; but, I warrant you, where to get a penny to put bread in his mouth he knows not."

Elsewhere Beaumont touches on the theme hardly at all. No boastfulness in his cups helps to excuse Bessus. "The talk of drunkards in taphouses" is contemptuously alluded to in *The Woman-Hater* (I, iii) and in the same play part of a curse upon practicers of the black art is that they may be drunk (III, iii). Utter scorn of drunkards is seen in the description of the lustful princess in *Cupid's Revenge* (I, iii—by Beaumont) who takes up with "a fellow that will hardly serve in the dark when one is drunk."

Beaumont's attitude towards intoxication is thus seen to be that of consistent hostility; and in his only elaborate treatment of the motive he portrays a sense of the shame that follows a last-night's carouse as sincerely and vividly as does Shakespeare in *Othello*. Not that he was in his personal life a teetotaller, an Anderson (heaven forbid!). Was not his pleasure in the country to lie among the hay-ricks in the sunshine and "dream of your full Mermaid wine"?

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#### BALÉ'S *Kynge Johan* AND *The Troublesome Raigne*

In the Furness Variorum Edition of *King John* (Preface, p. ix) the editor states, referring to *The Troublesome Raigne's* relation to Balé's earlier play, that "beyond the fact that both the anonymous author and Balé used the historical material furnished by the *Chronicles*, there is no evidence to show that the author of *The Troublesome Raigne* had any recourse to the work of his predecessor." A research I have recently made has revealed similarities in the two plays suggesting the conclusion that at several points the later author actually was indebted to Balé. The source for both was Holinshed's *Chronicles* and this common origin invalidates many seeming clues. Further, the quite different ideas and characters of the two make salient likenesses out of the question, Balé's being an allegorical combination of morality and history play, and

*The Troublesome Raigne* a crude example of pure English chronicle play. But that *The Troublesome Raigne* is, in certain incidental details, related to early drama it will not be hard to show.

Superficially, the most obvious likeness is that both plays are divided into two parts, of which the first part ends after the interdiction of England and before the restoration of the Pope's favor. Bale interpreted John as a Protestant hero, a defender of the English Church, a moral giant wielding the "flail of the Lord" against papal tyranny. This interpretation of John's stand is not at all derived from Holinshed; there John is represented as opposing a merely temporal defiance to the Pope's temporal aggression. But we see Bale's interpretation again in *The Troublesome Raigne*.

A difficulty is experienced in tracing textual similarities because of the fact that Bale's play has a far narrower scope than *The Troublesome Raigne*. There are really only three points of contact in the two. Both contain Cardinal Pandulph's interdiction of England in the name of the Pope, and John's relinquishment of the crown; the subsequent removal of the curse, and the restoration of the crown and power to the king; the death of King John by poisoning at Swinstead Abbey. These three scenes are taken by both authors direct from Holinshed. The first two show no unexplained likenesses, and this is not to be wondered at. In Bale the characters are symbolical, representing vices of the Roman Church; in *The Troublesome Raigne* the treatment is purely historical. Furthermore, there are no striking phrases in the early play for the later dramatist to seize upon. The parallel scenes at Swinstead Abbey, however, which include the poisoning of the king, show a marked similarity. This scene in Bale's version is quite forceful, and has scarcely a trace of allegory. Tho the murder is committed by Dissimulation, he seems to have lost most of his symbolism; in fact he has disguised himself as "Father Simon, a Cisteane monke." The first noticeable likeness is in the motive for the poisoning, which is the same in both plays. In the *Chronicles* the reason for the monk's treachery is given as patriotic; he poisons John to save England from a rise in the price of corn, which John had threatened as a punishment of the people for their desertion to the French dauphin. In Bale, however, the whole trend of the action is a preparation for the *dénouement*: Dissimulation commits the murder because the king has flouted Pope and Church, and openly condemned Dissimulation, Sedition and their friends. In *The Troublesome Raigne* one of the monks of Swinstead poisons John, "the king that never loved a friar, as he calls him, because John is "a man that doth contemn the Pope" and "robd the holy Church." In both the poisoner outlines his plan to his master, who is Sedition in Bale and the abbot in *The Troublesome Raigne*, and receives from him absolution for his intended crime and the promise that the monks of the Abbey shall pray daily for his soul. The two poisoning scenes show very significant simi-

larities which the text of Holinshed does not account for. In Bale, Dissimulation, disguised as Father Simon, enters crying:

Wassayle, wassayle, out of the mylke payle,  
 Wassayle, wassayle, as whyte as my nayle,  
 Wassayle, wassayle, in snowe, frost, and hayle,  
 Wassayle, wassayle, with partriche and rayle,  
 Wassayle, wassayle, that muche doth awayle,  
 Wassayle, wassayle, that never wyll fayle,

and the king, inviting Dissimulation to act as taster, says, "Begynne, gentle monke." In *The Troublesome Raigne* the traitorous monk greets the king with the words, "Wassayle, my Liege, and as a poore monke may say, welcome to Swinstead." "Begin, Monke," replies the cautious king. Holinshed gives only the substance of the two versions, the monk's plot to kill the king and readiness to die too, if he be asked to taste the potion, the king's request to this effect, and the monk's compliance and death. It is the similarities of wording which are significant. The *Chronicles* have merely that John was given "poison in a cup of ale." Bale names the drug specifically as "poyson of toade," and in *The Troublesome Raigne* the monk, as he watches the king drink down his deadly stirrup-cup, and begins to feel the poison creep through his own system, gasps out:

"If the inwards of a toad be a compound of any proof—why so: it works!"

The summary of the evidence that *The Troublesome Raigne* was suggested, in part at least, by Bale's *Kynge Johan* is as follows: both plays are divided at the same point in the principal action into two parts; the poisoning scenes, which are the only scenes that receive a like handling by both authors, are similarly motivated and treated, and contain several identical phrases; the designation of the poison itself is the same in both; the character of King John receives the same interpretation. None of these points of resemblance is traceable to Holinshed. The evidence is not profuse, but it is weighty enough to make its setting forth less a matter of argument than of simple exposition.

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#### ENGLISH PERFORMANCES OF *Timon of Athens*

It is generally supposed that Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens* has been seldom acted. It has, however, been a favourite play for revision. The first revision was probably Shadwell's, *Timon of Athens, or the Manhater*, acted at Dorset Garden in 1678. This version was given again on the following dates: June 27, 1707; December 8, 1720; May 1, 1733; March 20, 1740; and April 20, 1745. A version by Richard Cumberland was acted at Drury Lane



Theatre on December 4, 1771. At about the same time another form of the tragedy, arranged by James Love, was performed. (On February 6, 1711 an amateur presentation of *Timon* was given at the Clerkenwell School, and there is unconfirmed evidence that the play was acted in Dublin in 1715). Shakespeare and Shadwell, blended by Thomas Hull, were both discernible in a performance of *Timon* at Covent Garden on May 13, 1786. Edmund Kean acted in *Timon of Athens* on October 28, 1816, and Samuel Phelps on September 15, 1851. This version was revived on October 11, 1856. Charles Calvert may have put on the tragedy in Manchester in 1864, but probably the next appearance of *Timon* was at F. R. Benson's revival at Stratford-on-Avon on April 22, 1892. The last English performance was probably at the Cort Theatre, London, in May, 1904.<sup>1</sup>

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#### PEGASUS AS THE POET'S STEED

In *Modern Language Notes*, XXIII (1908), 32, I questioned the accuracy of two traditional statements: (1) that the conception of Pegasus as the poet's steed is found first in Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*; (2) that it was ascribed to Boiardo by Lenz, in *Der Neue Teutsche Merkur*, in 1796.

As for the first of these statements, I am still waiting for someone to give a definite reference to canto and stanza in Boiardo. As for the second, I find now that my scepticism was quite justifiable. I have at last seen a copy of *Der Neue Teutsche Merkur* for July, 1796—a copy owned by my Johns Hopkins colleague Dr. William Kurrelmeyer. As I had suspected, Lenz did not make the definite statement which has long been ascribed to him. All he said was: "Dieser dichterische Ritt blieb der Erfindungskraft der neuern Dichter vorbehalten, unter welchen ihn zuerst der Italiener Boiardo im *Orlando innamorato* versucht haben soll."

In a paper read before the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, Aug. 22, 1919, M. Salomon Reinach stated that this conception of Pegasus does not appear before the sixteenth century. In my communication to *MLN*, 1908, I quoted it from a poem of the year 1497, Juan del Enzina's *Tragedia trovada á la dolorosa muerte del príncipe Don Juan*:

Despierta, despierta tus fuerzas, Pegaso,  
Tú que llevabas á Belerofonte;  
Llévame á ver aquel alto monte,  
Muéstrame el agua mejor del Parnaso, etc.

The Johns Hopkins University.

WILFRED P. MUSTARD.

<sup>1</sup> A full account of these versions, together with the stage-history of *Timon of Athens* on the French, German, and American stages, may be found in *Modern Philology* for September, 1920.



## AN HOCCELEVE ITEM

In the accounts of the life of Thomas Hoccleve, it has not been noted that in 1395 Richard II granted him a corrody in the priory of Hayling, near the Isle of Wight. The grant, which bears date of January 22 (17 Richard II.), states that 'Thomas Hoccleve clericus' is sent to the prior and convent of Hayling to receive such sustenance for the term of his life as William Gambon, defunct, had at the request of King Edward III.<sup>1</sup> As there is no reason to suppose that at this time Hoccleve retired from his clerkship and resided in the priory, presumably the corrody was commuted for a money annuity.<sup>2</sup> In the first year of Henry IV another entry in the *Close Rolls* states that Thomas Hoccleve has requested that his corrody at Hayling be transferred to 'our beloved clerks' William Flete and William Gedney and that the request has been granted.<sup>3</sup> Evidently Hoccleve had disposed of his corrody in much the same way as Chaucer did of his annuity.<sup>4</sup>

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## BRIEF MENTION

*Ueber ein- und dreiehebige Halbverse in der altenglischen alliterierenden Poesie*, von Erich Neuner (Berlin, Mayer & Müller, 1920). Normally this study would have appeared in 1914. The author's service in the war delayed his promotion to the degree of Ph. D. until June, 1920, when the printed dissertation was duly presented to the University of Berlin.

The outstanding points of interest in this monograph will subordinate fault-finding with immaturity in linguistic reasoning, and with a lack of taste in commanding the printer's devices for the 'display' of the matter. These points are two in number: a new questioning of the validity of rhythmic principles assumed by Rieger and Sievers in the theory of Anglo-Saxon versification, and the implied endorsement of this questioning by Professors Brandl and Heusler.

The system of scansion as formulated by Professor Sievers admits certain unusual features of rhythmic movement, such as the juxtaposition of the stresses in type C, and the rhythmic peculiari-

<sup>1</sup> *Close Roll*. 235. mem. 22. dorso. Gambon was a *valletus* of the King's chamber in 1368. See *Life-Records of Chaucer*, IV, p. 167, also p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> See C. Plummer, *Fortesque*, Notes pp. 337-38 (cited in *N. E. D.* s. v. 'corrody') on the possibility of such commutation, and for more definite evidence my *Chaucer's Official Life*, p. 24, where I have pointed out that Gambon held several corrodies at the same time.

<sup>3</sup> *C. R.* 245 mem. 9. dorso.

<sup>4</sup> See *Chaucer's Official Life*, p. 68 and Professor Samuel Moore's "Studies in the Life-Records of Chaucer," *Anglia*, xxv, 19 ff.

ties of types D and E. But the essential correctness of the types, in respect of an acceptable rhythmic movement is confirmed by the persistence of the 'native' versification into the later periods of the language, sustaining itself in national consciousness under the severest tests of linguistic revolutions and in a necessary surrender to foreign supremacy. On the other hand, the unassailable merit of the system consists in its complete fidelity to the accentual principles of the language. It is by the help of Anglo-Saxon versification, as formulated by Sievers, that the grammarian arrives at the details relating to word-accent and sentence-emphasis, and it is this earliest versification that gives the clearest view of the rhythmic resources inherent in the language,—a view that is still not appreciated by many prosodists, altho it is manifestly indispensable to a right understanding of the rhythmic management of the language in all periods of its history.

Hardly any one's guess would hit the specific meaning of the title of Dr. Neuner's dissertation. One would at once say, and correctly too, that the purpose is to show that all the half-lines of the accepted normal types do not have just two stresses, but that some are also organically constructed with but one stress, others with three stresses. The accentually strong types D and E might also be suspected to receive special attention in connection with a theoretical three-stress form, but the one-stress form would probably not be suspected to be Sievers' A3.

A description of A3 may for convenience be quoted from Bright's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 232: 'The first half-line admits a notable form of type A. The alliteration is restricted to the second arsis, because of the light character of the first arsis. The lightness of the first foot is also favorable to an increased number of syllables in the thesis.' Few teachers will not admit that the beginner has difficulty in promptly recognizing this form. One may be justified in assuming that this experience of the beginner has been shared by Dr. Neuner, and has led him to attempt to prove that the accepted scansion of the form is not correct. When the alliteration is deferred to the second foot, can it not be shown that the versifier has purposely produced a half-line with but one stress (*einhebig*)? Dr. Neuner believes that it can, and proceeds to do it. The point of attack is, of course, the lightness of the first stress, which is often not strictly warranted by the grammatical gradation of accents available for ictus, what is here designated *die Dynamik der Redeteile*.

Accepting the types set up by Sievers as the most satisfactory *Arbeitshypothese*, Dr. Neuner has gone over (*ausgebeutet*) the entire *Beowulf* to obtain complete lists of (1) *Hebungs-Wörter*, (2) *Hebungsfähige Wörter*, (3) *Unhebig* Wörter. Armed with this mass of evidence (pp. 13-33), he advances to the attack of A3, which is conducted under the 'cry' *Einhebigkeit* (pp. 33-48). The argument is based on an alternative proposition resulting from

the evidence of the foregoing lists, according to which the syllables preceding the alliterating foot in A3 are, in the instance of a number (*mehrere*) of these half-lines, all excluded from the categories capable of stress. It follows, therefore, either that these half-lines are to be regarded as structurally complete with only one stress, or that for these forms one must admit principles governing availability of stress that differ from the principles observed in the structure of all other types having more than one stress.

The demonstration is at once refuted by the admission that the stress of the first foot (to keep the usual designation) falls on a word that belongs to the list of *hebungsfähige Wörter*, for this is just the condition that justifies the exclusive alliteration of the second foot. Another position for a weak foot is at the end of the line, and in these light feet the grammatical weight of the ictus is also that of syllables 'capable of the ictus.' Of course every final foot of the complete line is not weak, just as A3 is merely a variation of type A with alliteration of the first foot, or of both the first and second. Manifestly these two well marked classes of the light stress are equally indispensable factors of the rhythm. Surely to deny the regular rhythmic function of one of these classes involves the question of the rhythmic validity of the other.

Dr. Neuner does not, however, reason in the manner suggested. He has notably failed to read the evidence of his second list of stress-elements. Thruout that list the stress of the last foot of the line he has classified as secondary (*Nebenhebung*), which is not only in violation of rhythmic structure, but is directly subversive of his specific contention respecting A3. The dominant principle of Germanic sentence-accent and of stress gives precedence in weight to the first position in a sequence of grammatically equal elements, but that in itself does not rob the element in the second position of its rhythmic value. In *siððan hātan* and *ær nē siððan* (*Beo.* 2806 b, 718 b), the stress on *siððan* is in each instance a true rhythmic stress. Still this precedence in position is not to be undervalued. In the second half-line it commands the right of alliteration. In A3 this precedence is overpowered by the grammatical weight of the second stress, but it remains operative in sustaining the rhythmic function of the initial but light foot.

Turning now to the chapter entitled *Einhebigkeit* with its page upon page of examples (from *Beowulf*) of this figment of first half-lines allowed to have but one stress, one immediately encounters a statement that the rejected stresses are on words that have been shown in the preceding chapter to be capable of light stress (*Nebenhebung*). Stresses allowed in the second half-line are now excluded from the rhythm: *syððan hē for wlenco* (1206), *syððan ic on yrre* (2092) illustrate the point. More space than is here available would be required to show the amplitude of this contradiction in denying stresses in the first half-line that are admitted into the second half-line, but here is one more illustration of it: *ēhtende wæs*



(159 b), *wæs mīn fæder* (262 a). But a complete collation of the light stresses in these two positions would leave a considerable residuum of light stresses that are especially appropriate at the beginning of the line. These are made appropriate by logical emphasis. Prominent among the words thus stressed are *swā*, *oð*, *gif*, *ac*, *þæt*, *ðā*, *ðær*, and a few others; and the finite verb should be mentioned, altho it is also frequent at the end of the line, which clearly demonstrates the rhythmic parity just pointed out.

Dr. Neuner has classified his examples according to pseudo-technicalities,—non-significant distinctions in the order and number of the words in the initial foot; and he has obscured his meaning in many instances by his uniform disuse of stress-marks. With apparently a feeble sense for rhythm, he has enslaved his judgment to a fixed evaluation of the grammatical categories, so that when these crowd in upon him in diversified groupings his discomfort and helplessness are complete. He consequently takes refuge in a theory that resolves his difficulties with a succession of light words and an excess of incidental (*blind*) alliteration. As formulated (pp. 48, 84), the resultant theory is as follows: The half-lines designated by A3 are mono-stressed, because the so-called first foot contains no word of inevitable stress, but only words of two classes, those that may carry a secondary stress, and those that are found to be always unstressed. Moreover, the mono-stressed form serves a special stylistic purpose. Standing at the beginning of a clause, it supplies a gradual approach to weightier expression (*als Eingang zu folgender Emphase*); *sie sind also Mittel indirekter Emphase*.

The indirect emphasis of the light forms considered is complemented by the direct emphasis of the heavy forms of D and E. This function has been conceded to hypermetric forms, but the *Dynamik der Redeteile* establishes the scansion with three stresses of those half-lines which have three 'important' words,—words fully entitled to stress. Briefly that is the conclusion of the second branch of Dr. Neuner's argument. His erroneous reasoning now becomes especially surprising. He fails to grasp the grammatical and accentual principles that led Rieger to notice the operation of enclisis in a sequence of 'important' words; and he does not perceive how this results in making clear that the principle of word-grouping is in strict conformity with the accentuation of substantive compounds. In his interpretation of A3 he has not perceived the rhythm in a sequence of light words; and now in dealing with forms of D and E he commits, with perhaps less excuse, the gross error of disregarding the principles governing, in both prose and verse, the accentuation and rhythmic movement of sequences of words belonging to the weightier categories. In all this he submits to be controlled by the exigencies of his theory, according to which scansion is determined by the detached weight of stress-elements.



He has taken a step backward from the position gained by competent study.

Undoubtedly the grammatical features of the Anglo-Saxon line are correctly codified in the types devised by Professor Sievers; and the *Zweihebungstheorie* is, one must believe, irrefutable. If anything can be done in the way of expounding the æsthetic response to this system of rhythmic forms (and to the later 'tumbling verse'), Dr. Neuner has surely not shown how that is to be done.

J. W. B.

*A Study of Shakespeare's Versification, with an Inquiry into the Trustworthiness of the Early Texts, an Examination of the 1616 Folio of Ben Jonson's Works, and Appendices including a Revised Text of 'Antony and Cleopatra.'* By M. A. Bayfield (Cambridge, At the University Press, 1920). The promised book (see *MLN.* xxxv, 126) has appeared, but with a title so amplified and varied as to divert the mind from the specific expectation aroused by the author's preliminary treatise setting forth "A New System of English Prosody."

It is a hopeless task to attempt to convince Professor Bayfield of the error dominating his scansion of what is plainly iambic versification. One can only ask him to clear his conscience as a scholar by a careful study of the principles of English accentuation and of the principles observed by the poets thru the centuries in sustaining the rhythmic permissibilities of the language, thus establishing a rhetoric of verse more subtle in calling up the finer distinctions of the meaning of words and the finer relations of the thought than the rhetoric of prose-emphasis as usually understood. Plain words in this matter have become necessary. As a classical scholar Professor Bayfield would surely not be tolerant of a novice in Greek who might venture by subjectivities and unsound analogies to overthrow results of Greek scholarship. Many so-called prosodists are the merest tyros in the knowledge of the rhythmic principles of English,—it is a class to which a scholar does not belong.

Adhering to the trochaic theory, set forth in *The Measures of the Poets*, the author scans countless lines in support of that unhappy figment. Not to perceive the simple iambic movement of the following lines, chosen at random, does not prepare one to discuss the versification of any English poet. Professor Bayfield scans as follows, marking off anacrusis by a vertical line of dots, and interpreting the movement as being trochaic, with assumed pauses, resolutions, and prolongations:

I : come to | bury | Caesar, | not to | praise him.

To : sleep; per|chance to | dream: ay | there's the | rub. ^

That my : keen | knife ^ | see not the | wound it | makes.

But in the stately volume of more than five hundred pages the author's purpose is to show that the characteristic feature of Shakespeare's verse is an excessive use—surpassing that of any of his contemporaries—of 'resolutions,' which have tempted "the actors to mangle it [the verse] by clipping the words when they could, and provoking those responsible for the Quartos and the Folio, and modern editors also, to do their best to eliminate them as improper." The excess is not there, tho Shakespeare may have become more free in this matter in the progress of his art; and printers and editors were surely influenced by varying fashion in the spelling of words and in sequences that admitted the mark of elision.

Between the "good metre" of Gascoigne, for example, which is notoriously regular and the loosely running lines of a Massinger there lies a wide belt of variations in the practice of 'resolution' and of devices that are classed under the general head of 'slurring'; and within the limits of this scale of variations falls the practice of using secondary accents as ictus. To observe a poet's place on this scale is to pave the way to the recognition of characteristic features of his art. But that this 'placing' of a poet is not a task so easy that the merest novice may perform it, is demonstrated in the divergency of results when it has been attempted by professional hands. There is still disagreement respecting Chaucer's versification, a subject that has, for the most part, been in only professional hands; but here all controversy has been, accordingly, reduced to matters of relatively minor importance. One schooled in Chaucer's versification is not misled by the traditions or caprices of orthography; the law of rhythm is dominant and discloses the poet's manner of adapting the language to it. Shakespeare's versification is, from this point of view, a simpler problem, but Professor Bayfield has brought fresh confusion into it by first holding the poet to the observance of structural details that no English poet could ever have accepted as warranted by the rhythmic principles of the language; and secondly, by unsound reasoning touching the fashion of the printer's orthography, for by the contemporary evidence of more responsible editorship the argument from the Quartos and Folio (p. 50 ff.) has been rightly turned just the other way.

Professor Bayfield has erected a monument to misapplied industry. The chapters reported on the title-page are deprived of serious interest because he has based all discussion on an absurdly erroneous theory of rhythmic structure and on an incomplete knowledge of the elementary and fundamental facts in the historical grammar and conventionalities of English rhythms.

J. W. B.

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## BUNYAN'S *MR. BADMAN*

"This woman and I, though we came together as poor as poor might be, not having so much household stuff as a dish or spoon betwixt us both, yet this she had for her part, *The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven* and *The Practice of Piety*. . . . In these two books I should sometimes read with her, wherein I also found some things that were somewhat pleasing to me."—*Grace Abounding*, § 15.

The two books which Bunyan's wife brought with her as her dowry—Arthur Dent's *Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven* and Lewis Bayly's *Practice of Piety*—enjoyed a rare degree of popularity. Dent's little book, which first appeared in 1601, had reached its twenty-fourth edition as early as 1637, while Bishop Bayly's *Practice of Piety*, first published in 1612, had run through some fifty editions by 1673 and been translated into several foreign languages.

The *Practice of Piety* "was a book," declares Dr. Brown, "to be read when men read books, not many but much."<sup>1</sup> It consists of homilies, and, as its title suggests, pious precepts for a religious life. It contains no suggestion of anything allegorical. I have been unable to discover any traces of its influence upon Bunyan's style. In the case of the *Pathway* there is a different story to tell. Bunyan's indebtedness to Dent was, as I hope to show, far greater than his modest acknowledgment in *Grace Abounding* would lead one to suspect.

Arthur Dent was an ardent Puritan. He matriculated as a pensioner of Christ's College, Cambridge, November 15, 1571, taking his B. A. degree in 1575-6, and his M. A. in 1579. The following

<sup>1</sup> John Brown, *John Bunyan*, 1885, p. 57.



year we find him rector of South Shoebury, Essex. He was soon subjected to considerable persecution from Bishop Aylmer, his Diocesan, for "refusing to wear the surplice and omitting the sign of the cross in baptism." He was one of the twenty-seven ministers who, being unable to subscribe to the declaration that "there is nothing contained in the book of Common Prayer contrary to the word of God," sent in a petition to the Lords of the Queen's Council. He was greatly admired as a preacher, and his printed sermons, which ran through many editions, were held in high esteem. He died about 1607.

The *Pathway* is written in dialogue form. There are four characters: Theologus, a Divine; Philagathus, an honest man; Asunetus, an ignorant man; and Antilegon, a caviller. Theologus is the chief expositor of the questions propounded by Philagathus, while Asunetus and Antilegon offer frequent objections and display little or no knowledge of spiritual matters. The book is divided into nineteen chapters. (I) deals with "Man's Corruption and Misery"; (II) with "Regeneration"; (II-XII) with the "Nine manifest signs of man's condemnation, namely, pride, whoredom, covetousness, contempt of the gospel, swearing, lying, drunkenness, idleness, oppression"; (XIII) "The Dreadful Effects of Sin on Individuals and Upon Nations"; (XIV) "Marks and Evidences of Salvation"; (XV) "Predestination and Election"; (XVI) "Hindrances in the Way of Man's Salvation"; (XVII) "The Sin and Danger of Ignorance With the Vast Importance of the Gospel Ministry as a Remedy"; (XVIII) "Christ's Coming to Judgment"; (XIX) "Conviction and Conversion—Gospel Consolations and Conclusions." At the close of the discussion are appended a few prayers suitable for morning and evening devotions. While these discussions frequently grow tedious, there are many passages in which the author treats the sins and follies of his own day in a trenchant, vigorous style not unlike that of his more gifted successor.

It is in *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman* that the influence of the *Pathway* is most apparent. This book, intended by Bunyan as a companion-picture to the *Pilgrim's Progress*, was published by Nathaniel Ponder in 1680. It is a story of unusual power. Froude, after pronouncing it "a very remarkable story," adds, "it is extremely interesting, merely as a picture of vulgar English life in a provincial town such as Bedford was when Bunyan lived there."



The drawing is so good, the details so minute, the conception so unexaggerated, that we are disposed to believe we must have a real history before us."<sup>2</sup>

There is, indeed, no reason for not accepting at their face value Bunyan's own words addressed to the "Courteous Reader": "I have," he writes, "as little as may be gone out of the road of my own observation of things. Yea, I think, I may truly say that to the best of my remembrance, all the things that here I discourse of, I mean as to matter of fact, have been acted upon the stage of this world, even many times before mine eyes." The story of Badman's life is interspersed with numerous other stories of the sins and punishments that have befallen wicked persons. Several of these are taken from Clarke's *Looking-Glass for Sinners*, others from the writer's own observation.<sup>3</sup> In the Preface Bunyan declares that his reason for concealing the names of many of the persons whose sins and punishments he has related is that he does not wish to heap disgrace and contempt upon them nor to provoke those of their relations who survive them.<sup>4</sup> Undoubtedly, in and around Bedford, there must have been abundant material for a life and death of Mr. Badman.

But this in no sense debars us from believing that Bunyan was susceptible to the influence of other writers, especially when we know that he was familiar, as he certainly was, with such works as Dent's *Pathway*. Dent's influence is seen first of all in the general framework which Bunyan adopted for his *Life and Death of Mr. Badman*. Like the *Pathway*, it is in dialogue form, but instead of four interlocutors, as in the *Pathway*, there are only two—Mr. Wiseman and Mr. Attentive. Mr. Wiseman is the chief expositor, as is Theologus of the earlier work, while Mr. Attentive plays much the same role as does Philagathus—that of questioner. Bunyan has no character corresponding to either Asunetus or Antilegon, unless Badman be thought of as a composite of the two. But Badman, it should be added, never appears in person; his whole story is put into the mouth of Mr. Wiseman.

The dialogue in both books begins in much the same way. Mr.

<sup>2</sup> Froude, *Bunyan*, English Men of Letters, p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> Offor, *Bunyan's Works*, 1867, III, 590. One, the Story of Old Tod, has become familiar through Browning's dramatic poem, *Ned Bratts*.

<sup>4</sup> Offor, III, 593.

Wiseman, meeting Mr. Attentive early one morning, notes his look of concern and inquires what is the matter, whether he has lost any of his cattle. Mr. Attentive confesses to a feeling of anxiety, but not because of anything he has lost; "it is because of the badness of the times." Mr. Wiseman admits that the times are bad, and with that gives a great sigh.

*Attentive.* "But why, good Sir, do you sigh so deeply . . .?"

*Wiseman.* "I am concerned with you for the badness of the times, but that was not the cause of that sigh. . . . I sighed at the remembrance of the death of that man for whom the bell tolled at our town yesterday."<sup>5</sup>

*Atten.* "My, I trow, Mr. Goodman your neighbor is not dead. Indeed I did hear that he had been sick."

*Wise.* "No, no, it is not he . . . If he had died, I should only have been concerned that the world had lost a light; but the man that I am concerned for now was one that never was good, therefore such an one who is not dead only, but damned. . . ."

Mr. Attentive is eager to know who the man is: he has sufficient leisure, he declares, to hear the whole story. "So they agreed to sit down under a tree. Then Mr. Wiseman proceeded as followeth."

On a pleasant afternoon in May Philagathus meets Theologus walking through the fields. They have no sooner exchanged greetings than they see approaching a couple of neighbors of the next parish—Asunetus, "a very ignorant man in God's Matters," and Antilegon, "a notable atheist and caviller against all goodness." Asked what has brought them hither, Asunetus replies: "Indeed, sir, we have some little business; for we came to talk with one of your parish, about a cow we should buy of him." This remark gives rise to a conversation concerning the high price of cows, which is suddenly interrupted by Philagathus:

"I pray you, Mr. Theologus, leave off this talking of kine, and worldly matters; and let us enter into some speech of matters of religion, whereby we may do good, and take good of one another."

*Theol.* "You say well; but it may be these men's business requireth haste, so as they cannot stay."

<sup>5</sup>Strangely enough, Bunyan toward the close of the story seems to have forgotten this sentence. He there speaks of Badman's having been "buried seventeen days." See *Offor*, III, 656.

*Asun.* "No, Sir, We are in no great haste, we can stay two or three hours for the days are long. . . ."

*Theol.* "Then if it will please you to walk to yonder oak tree, there is a goodly arbor, and handsome seats, where we may all sit in the shadow, and confer of heavenly matters."

#### LYING

Mr. Wiseman now proceeds to tell the story of Badman's life. Though descended from godly parents, he was bad from the very beginning; he was in fact, "the ring-leader and master-sinner from a child." One of the particular sins to which he was addicted as a child was lying. "He would invent, tell, and stand to the lies that he invented and told, and that with such an audacious face, that one might even read in his very countenance the symptoms of a hard and desperate heart this way." It was not for lack of admonition that Badman was given over to this vice, for he had been told over and over again that "all liars shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone," and that whosoever loveth and maketh a lie, should not have any part in the new and heavenly Jerusalem." Lying, it is pointed out, is particularly heinous in that "a spirit of lying is the devil's brat, for he is a liar and the father of it." And yet there are "some men that will not stick to tell lie after lie, though themselves get nothing thereby. They will tell lies in their ordinary discourse with their neighbors, also their news, their jests, and their tales, must needs be adorned with lies, or else they seem to bear no good sound to the ear, nor show much to the fancy of him to whom they are told."

Philagathus and Theologus are, if anything, even more severe in their condemnation of the sin of lying. "This vice," declares Philagathus, "is almost as common as swearing. For it is hard to find a man who will speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." "Such a man," replies Theologus, "is hardly to be found among the sons of men. They be black swans in the earth, they be white crows; they be rare birds." Lying is the particular vice of servants and shopkeepers. Some shopkeepers "will lie as fast as a dog will trot." "Oh that we could hate it," cries Philagathus, "as the devil, which is the father of it; and as hell-fire, which is the reward of it!" After pointing out the heinousness and prevalence of this vice, both Dent and Bunyan cite examples from the Scriptures of punishment for lying. "Can



you not give one some example of God's judgments upon liars?" asks Mr. Attentive. Similarly, Philagathus inquires of Theologus, "Have we not examples in the Scriptures of such as have been punished for lying?"

#### CONTEMPT FOR THE SCRIPTURES AND THE SABBATH

In addition to lying, Badman was given to stealing. But these sins were not all. "Alas, alas, he swarmed with sins even as a beggar with vermin, and that when he was but a boy." He "could not endure the Lord's day. . . . Reading the Scriptures, hearing sermons, Godly conference, repeating of sermons and prayers, were things that he could not away with." Whenever the Scriptures were read or talked of in his presence, Badman would sleep, talk of other business, or raise objections to their authority and inspiration. He was no less irreverent toward those who "did bear in their foreheads the name, and in their lives the image of Christ." He either made mock of them or else swore they "did all in deceit and hypocrisy." "And if he could get anything by the end that had scandal in it, if it did but touch professors, how falsely soever reported, O! then he would glory, laugh, and be glad, and lay it upon the whole party; saying, 'Hang them rogues, there is not a barrel better herring of all the holy brotherhood of them. Like to like, quoth the devil to the collier, this is your precise crew.'"

The fourth sin of man's damnation, according to Dent, is the contempt of the gospel. This is a sin attended with great peril and danger. "It is to spit God in the face. It is high treason against the King of glory." And yet it is lamentable how little men prize the gospel. They esteem it no more than an egg-shell. "While the gospel is preached in their churches, many are at cards, and tables, in ale houses. Many upon the sabbaths, sleep upon their beds, all the sermon while, in the afternoon." Others attend church in the morning. They "serve God in the forenoon, and the devil in the afternoon; some run after whores and harlots on the sabbaths; some run to dancing and bear-baitings; some sit upon their stalls; some sit in their shops; some by the fire-side; some sit idly in the streets; some go to the stool-ball, and others look on. O miserable wretches! O cursed caitiffs! O monstrous hell-hounds; which so grossly and openly contemn the gospel of Christ!"



Contempt of the gospel, says Philagathus, is evidenced in the great contempt of the age for the ministers of the gospel. "Every rascal dares scoff and scorn at the most grave and ancient fathers and pastors of the church," and flout them in the streets or on the highway. These men to whom the Holy Ghost has given honored titles, such as God's secretaries, God's ambassadors, and angels, "these vile varlets and venomous vermin of the earth dare call proud prelates, pild parsons, pelting priests." \*

#### SWEARING

Badman, while yet a lad, was greatly addicted to swearing and cursing. It came as natural to him as to eat, drink, and sleep. In fact, he esteemed this kind of sin a badge of honor. Mr. Wiseman is persuaded that many must share Mr. Badman's false notions about swearing, else they would not so frequently "belch out their blasphemous oaths as they do; they take a pride in it; they think that to swear is gentleman-like; and, having once accustomed themselves unto it, they hardly leave it all the days of their lives."

In the chapter on Swearing, the fifth sign of man's condemnation, Dent puts into the mouths of Theologus and Philagathus a somewhat similar comment upon the prevalence of this sin. "At this day," says Theologus, "there is no sin more common amongst us than swearing. For many there be which cannot speak ten words, but one shall be an oath." It is a vice, adds Philagathus, to which even the boys and the children in the streets are addicted. They rap out oaths as though they had "sucked them out of their mothers' breasts." It is a rare thing to talk to a man "but he will belch out one oath or another."

The enumeration by Theologus of the oaths most widely current in his day finds its counterpart in a similar enumeration by Mr. Wiseman. "There be six oaths," says Theologus, "which are (of all others) most rife and common, in every man's mouth; and they be these: by my faith—by my troth—by our Lady—by St. Mary—By God—As God shall judge me." Mr. Wiseman, on the other hand, declares: "Some indeed, swear by idols, as by the mass, by our lady, by saints, beasts, birds, and other creatures;

\* Badman, after his marriage, would taunt and speak contemptuously of his wife's preachers.

but the usual way of our profane ones in England is to swear by God, Christ, faith, and the like." Theologus, who condemns swearing by the mass, by the rood, by idols—in fact, all forms of swearing—is charged by Asunetus with being an anabaptist. "Not so," replies Theologus. "For though I condemn swearing by creatures, swearing by idols, and all other swearing, yet do I allow swearing before a magistrate, and privately also in matters of weight and importance, for the further bolting out of the truth. This is warranted from God's own mouth." Mr. Wiseman likewise approves of this form of oath: "To swear groundedly and necessarily, which then a man does when he swears as being called thereto of God, that is tolerated by the Word."

In reply to the inquiry of Asunetus, "May we not swear by God in our common talk?" Theologus cites the case of the heathen who, "in common talk, will not allow any oath much less to swear by God."

Mr. Wiseman, also, strives to magnify the heinousness of this sin by citing the case of the heathen who "have looked upon swearing to be a solemn ordinance of God, and therefore not to be lightly or vainly used by men, though to confirm a matter of truth."

#### INFLUENCE OF BAD BOOKS

Another point of contact between the *Pathway* and *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman* is the strong opposition of both authors to the reading of bad books. One of the evil influences in the life of young Badman was his love of vile books. He "would get all the bad and abominable books that he could, as beastly romances, and books full of ribaldry, even such as immediately tended to set all fleshly lusts on fire." As for good books, he would not deign to look into them; "they might lie in his master's house till they rotted."

Asunetus, the ignorant man of the *Pathway*, has at length been awakened by the dialogue to which he has listened to a conviction of sin. He begins to quake and tremble, and "feel great terror in his conscience lest he shall be damned."

"Tush, tush," says Antilegon, the caviller, "now I see you are in a melancholy humor. If you will go home with me I can give you a speedy remedy, for I have many pleasant and merry books, which if you should hear them read, would soon remedy you of

this melancholy passion. I have the Court of Venus, the Palace of Pleasure, Beuas of Southampton, Ellen of Rummin, the merry Jest of the Frier and the Boy, the pleasant story of Clem of the Clough, Adam Bell and William of Cloudesley, the odd tale of William, Richard and Humfry, the pretty conceit of John Splinter's last Will and Testament; which all are excellent and singular books against heartqualms, and to remove such dumpishness, as I see you are now fallen into."

"And shall I tell you my opinion of them?" interrupts Philagathus. "I do thus think, that they were devised by the devil, seen and allowed by the pope, printed in hell, bound up by hobgoblin, and first published and dispersed in Rome, Italy, and Spain; and all to this end, that thereby men might be kept from the reading of the scriptures."

#### DRUNKENNESS

Another sin to which Badman has become a slave is drunkenness. "First," says Mr. Wiseman, "he became a frequenter of taverns and tippling-houses, and would stay there until he was even as drunk as a beast." (Later on in the story Badman falls from his horse while drunk and breaks his leg). "This was swinish," declares Mr. Attentive, "for drunkenness is so beastly a sin . . . that I wonder that any that have but the appearance of men can give up themselves to so beastly, yea, worse than beastly, a thing."

This dialogue is strikingly similar to that which marks the beginning of the tenth chapter of the *Pathway*. "Now I pray you speak," says Philagathus, "your judgment of the Seventh sin of condemnation; which is drunkenness." Theologus: "It is so brutish and beastly a sin, that a man would think, it should not need to be spoken against; but that all reasonable men should ever abhor it, and quake to think of it. For it is a most swinish thing."

The pictures which each writer draws of the evils attendant upon drunkenness have much in common. Mr. Wiseman sums them up under four headings: (1) Poverty; (2) great and incurable diseases of the body; (3) Other evils—Woe, sorrow, babbling, etc.; (4) Shortening of one's life.

"But worse than all," remarks Mr. Attentive, "it also prepares men for everlasting burnings."

Mr. Wiseman: "Yea, and it so stupefies and besots the soul that a man that is far gone in drunkenness is hardly ever recovered to God. . . . Such an one will sleep till he dies, though he sleeps on the top of a mast; let his dangers be never so great, and death and damnation never so near, he will not be awakened out of his sleep."



Compare now "the cursed fruits and events of drunkenness" enumerated by Theologus. They are: "Woe, alas! Grief, misery, beggary, poverty, shame, lusts, strife, babbling, brawling, fighting, quarrelling, surfeiting, sickness, diseases, swinish sleeping, security and sensuality." Theologus; as did Mr. Wiseman, cites *Proverbs* xxiii, 29 and 33.

#### WHOREDOM

Besides being a drunkard and a thief, Badman "was a ring-leader to them all in the beastly sin of Whoredom." Mr. Attentive and Mr. Wiseman discuss at considerable length the sin of uncleanness. Its prevalence and its ruinous effects are dwelt upon. Bunyan relates several stories growing out of his own observation as well as some he had read in Clark's *Looking-Glass for Sinners* illustrative of the evils that follow in the wake of this sin. The discussion in which Wiseman and Attentive engage has a few points in common with that of Philagathus and Theologus upon whoredom and adultery, the second sign of man's condemnation. Theologus having quoted a number of scriptural passages in condemnation of the sin, Philagathus declares: "You have very well shewed, out of God's book, the great danger of whoredom and adultery. And it is greatly to be lamented, that men in this age make so light of it as they do, and that it is so common a vice." This observation tallies closely with that of Mr. Attentive that "This sin of uncleanness is mightily cried out against both by Moses, the prophets, Christ, and his apostles; and yet, as we see, for all that, how men run headlong to it!" In addition to emphasizing the eternal damnation awaiting him who is addicted to this sin, both Bunyan and Dent speak of the numerous ills that in this life befall the man guilty of it. "They (adulterers)," writes Dent, "wound themselves in their soul—they wound themselves in their goods—they wound themselves in their wives and children." The evils mentioned by Bunyan are: (1) This sin bringeth a man to poverty; (2) it is destructive to the body; (3) it is often the cause of vile diseases; (4) it is oftentimes attended with murder, particularly the murder of the illegitimate child.

We now come to a part of the life-history of Mr. Badman which seems to have no counterpart in Dent's little book. Badman tires of the good master to whom he has been apprenticed, and seeks



out one equally as wicked as himself. This new arrangement lasts but a short while, however; for Badman's wickedness often causes his master loss. His good old father sets him up in business, but he is no sooner "set up" than he is almost as soon set down again." He gets so deeply in debt that he is hard put to it to keep out of prison. His wicked companions "egg him to the ale-house, but yet make him Jack-pay-for all. . . . He went now like a tired jade, the devil had rid him almost off of his legs." Acting upon the advice of his companions, Badman resolves to marry a rich wife. He finds a young woman who is wealthy, but who is also very godly. To win her Badman decides to play the hypocrite. He pretends to be greatly interested in religion and particularly in the saving of his own soul. She falls a victim to his wiles. He is no sooner married than "he hangs his religion upon the hedge. . . . He also began now to go out a-nights to those drabs who were his familiars before, with whom he would stay sometimes till midnight, and sometimes till almost morning, and then would come home drunk as a swine." Of their seven children one followed in the footsteps of the mother, three were like their father, and the remainder became "a kind of mongrel professors."

#### OPPRESSION

After Mr. Badman "had swaggered and whored away most of his wife's fortune," he hit upon "another way to get money, and that by hatfuls and pocketfuls at a time." His plan was to feather his nest with other men's goods and money and then break. His creditors after many futile attempts to collect what was owing them were glad to compromise on five shillings in the pound.

"And did he do thus indeed?" inquired Mr. Attentive.

"Yes, once and again," replies Mr. Wiseman. "I think he brake twice or thrice."

Still another means Badman had of enriching himself was through the use of false weights and balances, and the practice of extortion—extortion which consisted in taking advantage of his neighbors' necessities to force them to pay more than the goods were worth. It is extortion, says Mr. Wiseman, to charge the poor man who may happen to live at a great distance from the market

an exorbitant price. Again hucksters who "buy up the poor man's victuals by wholesale and sell it to him again for unreasonable gains, by retail" are extortioners. Many of them, tho not all, thus "bite and pinch" the poor. They are indeed, nothing less than usurers. Mr. Wiseman and Mr. Attentive now engage in a spirited discussion of the principles of trading, in which Mr. Wiseman contends that it is unlawful for any man to sell as dearly as he can or to buy as cheaply as he can.

The dialogue is not unlike that between Philagathus and Theologus on Oppression, the last sign of condemnation. Both Bunyan and Dent speak of those guilty of "biting and pinching" the poor, 'gripping and grinding the faces' of the poor, of those endeavoring "by hook or crook" to get all they can.

#### PRIDE

Added to all Mr. Badman's wickedness was pride. "He counted himself," says Mr. Wiseman, "as wise as the wisest in the country, as good as the best, and as beautiful as he that had most of it." This sin of pride is very strongly denounced, and many passages of scripture cited to prove its heinousness. There are two sorts of pride, spiritual pride and bodily pride. The signs of a proud heart are also signs of bodily pride: "the putting on of gold and pearls, and costly array; the plaiting of the hair, the following of fashion, the seeking by gestures to imitate the proud, either by speech, looks, dresses, goings, or other fools' baubles." Mr. Wiseman is particularly severe in his denunciation of the "proud dames in England" who, although professors, wear garments as bewitching and tempting as what of old was called the attire of a harlot.

"Why are they for going with their bull's fore-tops,<sup>8</sup> with their naked shoulders and paps hanging out like a cow's bag? Why are they for painting their faces, for stretching out their neck, and for putting themselves unto all the formalities which proud fancy had

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Isaiah*, III, 15: "What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor? Saith the Lord God of Hosts."

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the speech of Asunetus: "What say you then to these doubled and redoubled ruffs, which are now in common use, strouting fardingales, long locks, fore tufts, shag hair, and all these new fashions which are devised and taken up every day." *The Plain Man's Pathway*, p. 37.

them to? Is it because they would honor God? . . . No, no, it is rather to please their lusts, to satisfy their wild and extravagant fancies."

Dent is equally vigorous in his denunciation of pride, which, he declares, "is a master-devil and the master-pock of the soul." After pointing out the folly of spiritual pride, he discusses "pride in apparel."

"It was never good world," cries Asunetus, "since starching and stealing, busks and whalebones, supporters and rabatoes, full moons and hobby-horses, painting and dying, with selling of favour and complexion came to be in use. . . . And what say you then to painting of faces, laying open of naked breasts, dying of hair, wearing of perriwigs, and other hair coronets and top gallants? And what say you to our artificial women which will be better than God hath made them? They like not his handy work, they will mend it, and have other complexion, other faces, other hair, other bones, other breasts, and other bellies than God made them."

Both Bunyan and Dent reproach the ministers for failure to condemn this sin of pride in apparel, and both are particularly severe against the manifestation of pride on the part of women who are professors of religion.

A few verbal resemblances are also noticeable. Bunyan speaks of the "proud dames in England," Dent of the "proud dames and mincing minions of Jerusalem"—"Heart pride is discovered," says Bunyan, "by a stretched-out neck and by mincing as they go." The word *mincing* is, of course, taken by both writers from *Isaiah* III, 16—a passage which both cite. Mr. Badman would not admit that the "putting on of gold, and pearls, and costly array" was pride, but rather neatness, handsomeness, comeliness, cleanliness, etc." Theologus, when asked by Philagathus to 'set down his judgment for outward attire,' replies: "it must be as the apostle saith: comely, decent, handsome, neat, and seemly: not light, not wanton, not lascivious, not immodest, not offensive."

#### DEATH-BED REPENTANCE.

Badman now suffers several mishaps. While drunk he falls from his horse and breaks his leg, and a few months later is seized with a dangerous sickness. To the great delight of his pious wife and her friends, he becomes penitent and makes a solemn vow that if God will let him recover from this illness he will in the future be a



changed man. His prayer is answered, but with returning health all signs of a changed life vanish; he "betook him again to the world, his lusts, and wicked companions; and there was an end of Mr. Badman's conversion." This incident gives rise to a long discussion between Mr. Wiseman and Mr. Attentive on death-bed repentances, in which both agree that "sick-bed repentance is seldom good for anything."

In the *Pathway* Antilegon, who has declared that he hopes to repent if he is given time to do so before death, is warned by Theologus of the danger of delay. Repentance, he declares, "is no ordinary three hours' matter. . . . Cursory saying a few prayers before death availeth not. For, though true repentance be never too late, yet late repentance is seldom true."

Badman's return to his old way of life breaks his wife's heart. She soon falls into a languishing distemper, and in a few weeks dies. Badman is eventually trapped into marrying a woman as vile as himself. After some fourteen or sixteen years of a cat and dog life with this woman, Badman dies. But he dies "like a lamb, or, as they call it, like a chrisom-child, quietly and without fear."<sup>9</sup> Mr. Froude has expressed great admiration at the way in which the story ends. There is nothing he declares melodramatic about its close; the quiet death of Badman is a fine stroke of art. Every reader, I think, must admit the justness of Mr. Froude's observation. The idea, however, may possibly have been suggested to Bunyan by Dent. The *Pathway* closes with the conversion of Asunetus, but Antilegon, like Bunyan's Badman, remains impenitent.

A last note of resemblance is seen in the very close. Mr. Attentive reminds Mr. Wiseman that the sun is growing low, and he must take his leave. This is paralleled by Antilegon's remark: "The sun draweth low, Asunetus, it is time for you and me to be going." "I also thank you," adds Mr. Attentive, "for your freedom with me, in granting of me your reply to all my questions. I would only beg your prayers that God will give me grace, that I may neither live nor die as did Mr. Badman." In the *Pathway* Asunetus says to Theologus: "I can never be thankful enough for

<sup>9</sup>My colleague, Professor R. A. Law, has suggested to me that the "chrisom-child-like" death of Badman may possibly be a reflection of Falstaff's manner of death. See *Henry V*, II. 3.



all the good instructions and comforts which I have heard from you this day; I hope I shall remember some of them whilst I live."

Sufficient evidence has been adduced, I think, to prove that the *Pathway* had left a lasting impression upon Bunyan's mind. His artistic sense taught him the value of the concrete. The abstract teaching of Dent's book is made powerful and effective only when linked with the life-story of an individual sinner. Dent discusses the evils of lying and drunkenness; Bunyan draws a vivid picture of the liar and drunkard. And yet he failed to get entirely from under the weight of the abstract. The weakness of *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman* is found in the many long discussions of the sins to which Mr. Badman is addicted. So long as Bunyan sticks to the story proper, just so long does he hold the individual attention of his reader; interest lags when he begins to preach. This same weakness is found in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, but not to the same degree as in the later story.

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### SCHILLER'S *JUNGFRAU VON ORLEANS* AND THE HISTORIC MAID OF ORLEANS<sup>1</sup>

It is certainly true that the Maid of Orleans was not without her place in literature before Schiller, but it is equally true that the great dramatist was the first to approach her with that liberality of spirit which discards alike the prejudice of the sceptic, and the blind adoration of the fanatical partisan. One knows that Schiller spared no pains in his preliminary studies, that he read widely, and sought fully to appreciate everything within his reach, which could in any way contribute to a clear conception of the medieval mind, and to a proper understanding of the nature of medieval society; one knows that he trusted much to Hume and Rapin de Thoyras. Yet the Johanna of his play remains in the end essentially a child of his own heart. I shall endeavor in this paper to consider Schiller's heroine in relation to the historic Maid of Orleans.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The historic character is referred to throughout as the Maid, and Schiller's character as Johanna.

<sup>2</sup> This historic Maid of Orleans I have sought in the actual evidence concerning her as given by T. Douglas Murray in *Jeanne d'Arc: Being the*

From the Prolog of *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* one receives the impression that Johanna is, even in private life, a girl of unusual character. There is an obvious disparity between her and her surroundings. It is not surprising that Thibaut d'Arc feels anxiety about a daughter the workings of whose mind he is not capable of understanding; nor does it seem improper that Johanna takes no interest in the immediate concerns of the family. It is only fitting that a girl who walks abroad at unusual hours, is raised above the superstitious fears of her neighbors, and converses with the 'wind of the mountains,' should already have given proofs of her exceeding bravery.

Raimond

Denkt nach, wie sie den Tigerwolf bezwang,  
Das grimmig wilde Tier, das unsre Heerden  
Verwüstete, den Schrecken aller Hirten.  
Sie ganz allein, die Löwenherz'ge Jungfrau,  
Stritt mit dem Wolf und rang das Lamm ihm ab,  
Das er im blut'gen Rachen schon davon trug.

• Prolog. Sc. 3.

Surely, whether or not one sees in the story of the lamb and the wolf a symbol of the saving of France from the English, it is these characteristics of fearlessness and resource that lead one most naturally to appreciate the Johanna whose thoughts run on war and warlike things. It does not appear impossible that this "löwenherz'ge Jungfrau" should consider that she is certain of success in a mission which God Himself has imposed upon her, the destruction of the foreign yoke in France. The girl who converses with the 'wind of the mountains' may easily come to believe in miracles, and to hear the voice of God saying to her:

"Geh hin! Du sollst auf Erden für mich zeugen."

Prolog. Sc. 4.

To her the helmet which Bertrand brings is but an outward sign of the grace which she already feels upon her; and her conviction that she will not return to her home proceeds not so much from fore-

*Story of her Life, her Achievements, and her Death, as attested on Oath and Set forth in the Original documents.* Mr. Murray remarks in the preface that this is "the only known instance in which a complete biographical record, of historical importance, has been elicited by evidence taken on oath."

knowledge, as from a proper sense that a tool of the Lord cannot again be put to common use. Before the first scene of the tragedy opens, one can say truly with Raimond:

Da scheint sie mir was Höh'res zu bedeuten,  
Und dünkt mir's oft, sie stamm' aus andern Zeiten.

Prolog. Sc. 2.

This Johanna of the Prolog corresponds but ill to the simple girl whom her fellow villagers knew.<sup>3</sup> It is true that this girl was fervently religious, and that her habit of kneeling down to pray in unaccustomed places at unaccustomed seasons had drawn attention upon her; but there is no suggestion that these devotional exercises aroused in anyone about her a belief similar to that to which Raimond gives expression. And her own assertion that "I did not go to the fields with the sheep and the other animals"<sup>4</sup> leaves no grounds for pondering whether or not her physical courage would have induced her to face a wolf single-handed. One cannot, moreover, perceive in Schiller's heroine the industrious maiden who, on the evidence of the villagers, was so sympathetic to the poor; she seems to live too much in a world of her own to be conscious of the daily misfortunes of those about her. Much more human is the historic Maid who, if she did not hear God speaking 'out of the branches of this tree,' not only heard but also saw the Archangel Michael, St. Margaret, and St. Catherine, and at times the Blessed Virgin, who instructed her how to act, at first in private and then in public affairs. One may remark, for example, her blunt statement "I saw them (St. Michael and the angels) with my bodily eyes, as well as I see you" (p. 29). And consider in general the tenor of her replies throughout the Trial. It should be noticed that the 'Voice' or the 'Voices' which she obeys do not reach her except through the mouths of definite persons, as is seen by the following evidence. "This Voice that speaks to you, is it that of an Angel, or of a Saint, or from God direct?" "It is the Voice of Saint Catherine and of Saint Margaret. Their faces are adorned with beautiful crowns, very rich and precious" (p. 28). Johanna, on the other hand, has seen only the Blessed Virgin herself, on one special occasion, and under special circumstances.

\* Cf. the evidence in the Rehabilitation, Depositions at Domremy, p. 210 ff.

<sup>4</sup>P. 17.



Und einmals, als ich eine lange Nacht  
 In frommer Andacht unter diesem Baum  
 Gesessen und dem Schläfe widerstand,  
 Da trat die Heilige zu mir, ein Schwert  
 Und Fahne tragend, aber sonst wie ich  
 Als Schäferin gekleidet, und sie sprach zu mir:  
 "Ich bin's. Steh auf, Johanna!"

Act I. Sc. 10.

One feels that the humble Maid of the visions appeals more to the heart than the lofty virgin of Schiller's Prolog. Thus if the dramatist has retained the historic piety of the Maid, he has given it a more remote, a less directly emotional character. Yet there remain two fundamental qualities which Johanna has in common with the Maid, the goodness and purity in which Raimond so wholeheartedly trusts.

The matter of her projected marriage is one which leads us from the Maid of the village to the Maid of the court and the camp, for it is undoubtedly intimately connected with her belief in her mission. Schiller's heroine has remained cold to the advances of Raimond for the space of three years, because, as has been seen, it was God's will that she should not know man's love; but her conduct is certainly displeasing to her father.<sup>5</sup> In general the dramatist would appear to agree with the tenor of such facts as we possess, relative to a projected marriage.<sup>6</sup> In accordance, then, with the will of God, the preservation of her chastity is the bounden duty of Johanna throughout her public career. So much importance, indeed, does Schiller place upon his heroine's virginity, that, whereas in the Prolog we are told of nothing save the voice of God, which speaks to her, we learn now that the Blessed Virgin, herself, had appeared to Johanna in a vision and warned her always to guard her chastity.

Und sie versetzte: "Eine reine Jungfrau  
 Vollbringt jedwedes Herrliche auf Erden,  
 Wenn sie der ird'schen Liebe widersteht.

Act I. Sc. 10.

And again when the King desires to marry her to one of his nobles, she breaks into an impassioned speech, culminating in the lines:

<sup>5</sup> Thibaut: Du, meine Jüngste, machst mir Gram und Schmerz.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. p. 60.



Der Männer Auge schon, das mich begehrt,  
Ist mir ein Grauen und Entheiligung

Act III. Sc. 4.

When, therefore, she finds that despite her efforts her heart is attracted to Lionel, she is horrible in her own eyes; there is nothing hyperbolical in her words to Agnes Sorel:

Verlass mich! Wende dich von mir! Beflecke  
Dich nicht mit meiner pesterfüllten Nähe!  
Sei glücklich, geh! Mich lass in tiefster Nacht  
Mein Unglück, meine Schande, mein Entsetzen  
Verbergen.

Act IV. Sc. 2.

It is the thought of the weakness of her flesh towards Lionel that drives her from the Cathedral; it is the knowledge of this weakness, which destroys her sacred vow, which renders her unable to say ought in her own defence, when her father accuses her of complicity with the powers of darkness. Only by submitting without murmur to the divine retribution is she at last enabled to recover her peace of mind; and all her former strength of purpose and force of character returns, when she has looked Lionel in the face and said:

Du bist  
Der Feind mir, der verhasste, meines Volkes.  
Nichts kann gemein sein zwischen dir und mir.  
Nicht lieben kann ich dich.

Act V. Sc. 9.

From the evidence one would incline to say that Schiller had not in making the tragic guilt of Johanna lie in her passing passion for Lionel, introduced an inner meaning into the preservation of her chastity, but rather deepened a meaning it already possessed. For not only was the Maid found to be unspotted, but the perfect modesty of her behavior was not attacked save by the malice of her enemies; nothing in the depositions gives the least grounds for criticizing her morals. While it is obvious that she was careful to guard against all imputations, and to keep men's minds, as far as possible, free from carnal thoughts,<sup>7</sup> yet there is one aspect of this matter in which the dramatist is at variance with historical fact. The Dunois of the play is from the first attracted by the

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the evidence of the Count Dunois, p. 234, of the Sieur de Gaucourt, p. 236, of Guillaume de Ricarville, p. 237-238, and of Simon Baucroix, p. 258.

personality of Johanna,<sup>8</sup> and in Act III. Sc. 1, one discovers him in argument with La Hire as to which of them would make for her the more suitable husband. Even after the cloud has come over her, Dunois, if he makes no further profession of his love, shows that in the depths of his heart it is not dead. The English, who actually were not so explicit, regard Johanna as the paramour of Dunois.<sup>9</sup> But Dunois in his deposition refutes all suggestion of an amorous connection between himself and the Maid. Indeed, it would appear that not only his passions, but also those of all belonging to the Dauphin's party, were not aroused by the presence of the Maid.<sup>10</sup> Certainly there is no evidence to the contrary. But whereas the dramatist represents his heroine as beautiful,<sup>11</sup> one finds nothing touching her looks in the depositions.

Along with her physical beauty goes, in the play, her physical strength; not only is this patent in Act V. Sc. 11, where the breaking of the chains must be regarded in great part as symbolical of the wonderful power of her patriotism, but also in the struggle with Lionel.<sup>12</sup> This strength is tacitly accorded her by the record of her endurance under exhausting conditions, as may be found in the depositions of those who were about her during the months of warfare.<sup>13</sup> While the fact that she was able to sustain herself on

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Act I. Sc. 10. Dunois:

Nicht ihren Wundern, ihrem Auge glaub' ich,  
Der reinen Unschuld ihres Angesichts.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Act II. Sc. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the evidence as cited in note 7.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Act I. Sc. 9. Raoul:

Denn aus der Tiefe des Gehölzes plötzlich  
Trat eine Jungfrau, mit behelmttem Haupt  
Wie eine Kriegesgöttin, schön zugleich  
Und schrecklich anzusehen,

Act II. Sc. 7. Montgomery:

Furchtbar ist deine Rede, doch dein Blick ist sanft,  
Nicht schrecklich bist du in der Nähe anzuschauen;  
Es zieht das Herz mich zu der lieblichen Gestalt.

Act III. Sc. 10. Lionel:

Mich jammert deine Jugend, deine Schönheit!

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Act III. Sc. 10.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Evidence in the Rehabilitation, *passim*.

very moderate allowances of bread dipped in wine<sup>14</sup> argues that she must have had a considerable fund of strength upon which to draw, Schiller's heroine makes use of her strength in her encounters with the enemy,<sup>15</sup> and in these encounters she shows no mercy.

Johanna

Betrogner Thor! Verlorner! In der Jungfrau Hand  
Bist du gefallen, die verderbliche, woraus  
Nicht Rettung noch Erlösung mehr zu hoffen ist.  
Wenn dich das Unglück in des Krokodils Gewalt  
Gegeben oder des gefleckten Tigers Klaun,  
Wenn du der Löwenmutter junge Brut geraubt,  
Du könntest Mitleid finden und Barmherzigkeit,  
Doch tödtlich ist's, der Jungfrau zu begegnen.

Act II. Sc. 7.

The sacred duty of retribution, which at times assumes the form of revenge,<sup>16</sup> has rendered her deaf to all appeals to her humanity.

Johanna

Nicht mein Geschlecht beschwöre! Nenne mich nicht Weib!  
Gleichwie die körperlosen Geister, die nicht frein  
Auf ird'sche Weise, schliess' ich mich an kein Geschlecht  
Der Menschen an, und dieser Panzer deckt kein Herz.

Act II. Sc. 7.

Through the help of the Blessed Virgin she has crushed the natural tenderness of her heart,<sup>17</sup> until she is most at home in the press of battle.

Johanna

"Dass der Sturm der Schlacht mich fasste,  
Speere sausend mich umtönten  
In des heissen Streites Wuth!  
Wieder fänd' ich meinen Muth!

Act IV. Sc. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Deposition of Dunois, p. 231.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. besides accounts of her prowess in the mouths of others the fight with Montgomery, Act II. Sc. 7.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Act II. Sc. 7. Johanna:

Der Tag

Der Rache ist gekommen; nicht lebendig mehr  
Zurück messen werdet ihr das heil'ge Meer

<sup>17</sup> Johanna's monologue, Act II. Sc. 8.

In this Schiller is at variance with the evidence as a whole. The witnesses in the Rehabilitation are unanimous with regard to the Maid's lack of blood-thirstiness: indeed, according to them her first thought was always to avoid fighting, if possible. One may take as an example the evidence of Simon Baucroix (p. 258): "When Jeanne saw them in flight and the French following after, she said to the French: 'Let the English go, and slay them not; it is enough for me that they have retreated.'" <sup>18</sup> The Maid evidently never fully overcame an innate distaste for weapons and their employment. Most explicit are the words of de Séguin (p. 291): "I remember Jeanne was asked why she always marched with a banner in her hand? 'Because,' she answered, 'I do not wish to use my sword, nor to kill anyone.'"

The question of the Maid's liking for arms and fighting leads naturally to that of her qualities as a leader of men. The dramatist hardly makes of her a great captain; she is rather the fearless warrior whom no thought of personal danger restrains, and who seeks to fire those about her to emulate her prowess. Yet from the evidence one must regard her activity in arms also in a very different light. Count Dunois, himself in the forefront of the captains of that time, comments on her astonishing skill in handling men, and in executing manœuvres.<sup>19</sup> Another captain, the Duke d'Alençon, also speaks in terms of high admiration.<sup>20</sup> And there is further support in the deposition of the knight, Thibault d'Armagnac.<sup>21</sup>

The entire play and the whole of the evidence agree on the point of the Maid's intense religious enthusiasm, and her belief in the actuality of divine interference in the affairs of men. To quote here would be superfluous. Yet in the attitude of the historical character towards the Church one finds something that is not even hinted at in Schiller's heroine. The Maid claims that, being immediately in the grace of God, she need not implicitly obey the Church.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, she expressly opposes the Church Militant to

<sup>18</sup> When the English were withdrawing from before Orleans.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. p. 233.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. p. 268.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. p. 279.

<sup>22</sup> Thus one reads on p. 23: "The Voice that you say appears to you, does it come directly from an angel, or directly from God; or does it come from one of the saints?" "The Voice comes to me from God; and I do not tell you all I know about it: I have far greater fear of doing wrong in saying to you things that would displease it, than I have of answering you."



the Church Triumphant, and asserts her obedience to be to the latter.<sup>23</sup> The Johanna of the play, however, would appear not to question the majesty or authority of the Church Militant, despite the divine origin of her mission.<sup>24</sup> Yet she does not act thus through any wish to strengthen her faith in herself, for she is as assured as the Maid of history of continual heavenly succor and protection by which she is enabled to perform things impossible to other mortals. Indeed, this faith in herself sometimes appears to go beyond that of the Maid who says "Without the grace of God I should not know how to do anything" (p. 24).

Endowed with this grace, the Maid cannot rest until she has led to his coronation the Dauphin, the Lieutenant of the 'King of Heaven' in the Kingdom of France. In her letter to the King of England she writes: "And do not think to yourselves that you will get possession of the realm of France from God the King of Heaven, Son of the Blessed Mary; for King Charles will gain it, the true heir: and God, the King of Heaven, so wills it, and it is revealed to him (the King) by the Maid, and he will enter Paris with a good company."<sup>25</sup> To this end strives also the Johanna of the play: so the Blessed Mary charges her:

Und führe deines Herren Sohn nach Rheims,  
Und krön' ihn mit der königlichen Krone!

Act I. Sc. 10.

But she has another aim, the utter destruction of the enemy. It has been seen already that the spirit of revenge lives in her;<sup>26</sup> she goes beyond this, however, in claiming a divine command to kill without compunction.<sup>27</sup> As the Maid, on the other hand, slew no man, and at all times attempted where possible to avoid slaughter on the part of others,<sup>28</sup> she cannot have held annihilation of the enemy to have been part of her mission. There remains another marked difference between the Maid and Johanna. The Maid was essentially a royalist and that by reason of her conviction that the

<sup>23</sup> Cf. p. 79.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Act I. Sc. 10; where she seeks the Archbishop's blessing.

<sup>25</sup> Pp. 39-40; and cf. the evidence of Brother Jean Pasquerel, pp. 269-270.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. note 16.

<sup>27</sup>

Dieses Schwert umgürte dir!  
Damit vertilge meines Volkes Feinde.

Act I. Sc. 10.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. evidence of de Séguin, as given above.

kingship was a divine institution; but one cannot see in her the patriot, as she breathes in Johanna.<sup>29</sup> By the France of which she speaks she seems to understand nothing but the rightful dominions of the Dauphin, as granted him by his heavenly overlord. One may well contrast the words of the Maid to the Constable of France: "Ah! fair Constable, you have not come by my will, but now you are here you are welcome,"<sup>30</sup> with Johanna's endeavors, based on an appeal to patriotism, to win over the Duke of Burgundy.<sup>31</sup> Schiller has given us a heroine who is what the Maid could hardly have been in the France of her time, the embodiment of patriotism. Through her he puts to all men this question:

Was ist unschuldig, heilig, menschlich gut,  
Wenn es der Kampf nicht ist ums Vaterland?

Act II. Sc. 10.

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### WAS RICHARD BROME AN ACTOR?

Of the early career of the author of *The Antipodes* and *A Jovial Crew* comparatively little is known. Andrews, whose study<sup>1</sup> of Brome is the most complete that has yet appeared, thinks the playwright was born about 1590. But few facts have come down to us concerning Brome's activities between that date and 1635, when, according to the contract discovered by Professor Wallace,<sup>2</sup> he agreed to deliver to the King's Revels Company at the Salisbury Court — and to this company only — three plays annually for a period of three years, at a salary of 15s. weekly, and with the understanding that he should not print any of his plays without the consent of the company. All that has hitherto been known concerning Brome's history before 1635 has been inferred from

<sup>29</sup> Despite Mr. Murray's assertions in his Introduction, p. vi and p. xvii.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. deposition of the Duke d'Alençon, p. 267.

<sup>31</sup> Act II. Sc. 10.

<sup>1</sup> C. E. Andrews, *Richard Brome, A Study of His Life and Works*, Yale Studies in English, XLVI, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> See his "Shakspeare and the Blackfriars," *Century Magazine*, Sept., 1910, and Andrews, p. 13.

the commendatory verses prefixed to his plays, from references or allusions in the plays themselves, or from his relations with Ben Jonson. The latter's striking reference to "his man, Master Brome, behind the arras," in the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), and his prefatory verses to Brome's *Northern Lass* (printed 1632):

I had you for a servant once, Dick Brome,  
And you performed a servant's faithful parts . . .

have been interpreted in various ways. Some have thought that Brome was simply Ben's menial servant, and account for the coarseness in his dramas by the assumption that he "describes life from the groom's point of view."<sup>3</sup> Professor Baker,<sup>4</sup> on the other hand, concludes that he acted as a sort of amanuensis to Jonson, while Fleay<sup>5</sup> speaks of him simply as Ben's "apprentice," without saying anything as to the nature of the apprenticeship. Andrews,<sup>6</sup> finally, thinks that "Brome probably began his relations with Jonson as a witty young serving-man who interested his master to such an extent that he undertook his education, as he had already that of the young Nathaniel Field." The reference to Field is significant here, since a strangely neglected bit of evidence would seem to indicate that Brome, like Field, was an actor before he became a playwright, and that, like Field, he may have been indebted to Jonson in both capacities.

This evidence appears in the form of a royal warrant under date of June 30, 1628, reprinted without comment by Mrs. Stopes in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* for 1910.<sup>7</sup> The warrant is one of a miscellaneous list of orders for payment of court performances, allowances for actors' liveries, and the like. It reads as follows:

"Warrant to swear the Queen of Bohemia's players<sup>8</sup>  
groomes of his Majesties chamber without fee,  
viz. Joseph Moore, Alexander Foster, Robert Gylman  
Richard Brome, John Lillie, William Rogers,

<sup>3</sup> Compare *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vi, 225.

<sup>4</sup> See Gayley's *Representative English Comedies*, iii, 417.

<sup>5</sup> See note 11.

<sup>6</sup> P. 4.

<sup>7</sup> See C. C. Stopes, "Shakespeare's Fellows and Followers," *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XLVI, 94; printed from Warrant Book V, 93, 1628-1634, p. 26.

<sup>8</sup> The Lady Elizabeth's Men.



George Lillie, Abel Swinnerton, George Gibbes,  
Oliver Howes; June 30, 1628."<sup>9</sup>

The chances are strongly in favor of the conclusion that the Richard Brome thus mentioned as an actor of some prominence<sup>10</sup> in the Lady Elizabeth's Company in 1628, was the playwright. If so, Fleay's conjecture<sup>11</sup> that Brome's "apprenticeship" to Jonson extended over the seven years 1623 to 1629, will have to be modified; incidentally some new light may be thrown upon the nature of that apprenticeship. "Bengemen Johnson, *player*," borrowed money from Henslowe in 1597 and 1598, and he may have had a share in the Admiral's Men for a time.<sup>12</sup> I see no reason, then, why at some later date Ben Jonson, actor-playwright, might not have taken on a theatrical apprentice, who would perhaps serve him as amanuensis, but also get a chance to act. Augustine Phillips, Shakspeare's colleague in the King's Men, had just such an apprentice. In his will<sup>13</sup> Phillips left 30s. to "my servaunte Christopher Beeston," who later become an actor-sharer and business manager of the Cockpit company. John Heminges, business manager of Shakspeare's company, also had his theatrical apprentice, Alexander Cooke,<sup>14</sup> who later became an actor-sharer in his "master's" company. Similarly, Brome may have been "made free o' th' Trade" of acting (as well as of playwriting) by Jonson. The apprentices of Jones and Downton ("Jones' boy" and "Downton's boy") of the Admiral's Men are known

<sup>9</sup> Murray (*Elizabethan Dramatic Companies*, I, 259) did not know of the existence of this warrant. In his sketch of the history of the Lady Elizabeth's Men between 1625 and June, 1629, he gives but one partial list of actors. This list (based on an incomplete document recorded in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1628-9) is dated December 9, 1628, and names but four actors: "Joseph Moore, Alexander Foster, Robert Gylman, Joseph Townsend, with the rest of their company."

<sup>10</sup> Only the more prominent actors, not the "hirelings," are listed among those who received royal liveries or other court grants. The Richard Brome here mentioned must have been an actor-sharer.

<sup>11</sup> *Drama*, I, 37; compare *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, VI, 224.

<sup>12</sup> See *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Greg, I, 47, 200; II, 289. Jonson's acting at Paris Garden is referred to in Dekker's *Satiromastix*.

<sup>13</sup> See J. P. Collier's *Actors*, p. xxxi.

<sup>14</sup> "I do intreate my Master Heminges" (he writes in his will) to look out for the interests of his orphans. See Malone-Boswell, *Shakspeare*, III, 482.



to have acted in the plays of that company given in 1599 and 1699.<sup>15</sup> And so I think it not unlikely that Jonson put "his man, Master Brome, behind the arras" in *Bartholomew Fair* because Master Brome was acting a small part in that play. It would have been a good-natured bit of advertising for the young actor, in keeping with the mention, later in the play, of Field, "your best actor," who played a part in the piece.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps Jonson, when he recalled how Brome had "performed a servant's faithful parts," had in mind the acting as well as the other services of his former apprentice.

When *Bartholomew Fair* was produced in 1614 Brome must have been somewhere between twenty and twenty-five years old; it was the time when he was undergoing his training for his later activities as an actor-sharer and playwright. In 1623 he collaborated in a play which is not extant; in 1629 his first independently written play was produced. It is impossible to say whether Brome continued long as an actor after 1628, but I think the evidence to which I have called attention indicates that he was one of "the quality" before that date. "I love the quality of playing," says Letoy in *The Antipodes*;<sup>17</sup> and I believe he is voicing Brome's sentiments towards his old profession. Indeed this play and many others of Brome are full of allusions which support the conclusion that Brome, like Shakspeare, Jonson, Heywood, Rowley, Field, Armin, and a host of other Elizabethan playwrights, passed his apprenticeship upon the stage, and that it was in this sense that Jonson called him his "servant."

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<sup>15</sup> *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, p. 154.

<sup>16</sup> See *Bartholomew Fair*, Act V, Sc. 3, and Fleay, *Drama*, I, 172. Similar bits of advertising of the actors appear in many Elizabethan plays. See, for example, the Induction to *The Malcontent*, and Greene's *Tu Quoque*.

<sup>17</sup> See Act I, Scenes 5 and 6; Act II, Scenes 1 and 2, etc.

## THE SOURCE OF DE SALLEBRAY'S *AMANTE ENNEMIE*

A search for the source of a play by so minor an author as de Sallebray may seem, at first sight, a superfluous nicety of little intrinsic value, but literary history abounds in unexpected twists and turns of influences, and, in this case, the source of de Sallebray's *Amante ennemie* is of greater moment than the play itself. Besides, de Sallebray's work is not so entirely devoid of historical value as his ephemeral appearance in French letters has led posterity to believe. He worked but a few years for the stage. His four extant plays were all published from 1639 to 1642, and, from this last date on, no verse of his has been recorded. His first published play was called *Le Jugement de Pâris et le Ravisement d'Hélène*, *tragi-comédie*, 1639. It was followed by *La Troade*, *tragédie*, 1640; by *La belle Egyptienne*,<sup>1</sup> *tragi-comédie*, 1642; and by *L'Amante ennemie*, *tragi-comédie*, 1642. Unpublished works attributed to him are: *L'Enfer divertissant*, *comédie*;<sup>2</sup> *Andromaque*, *tragédie*; and *Le mariage mal-assorti*, which has also been ascribed to Sainville.<sup>3</sup> His literary activity seems to have been confined almost entirely to the stage. The *Recueils* of the time contain only one poem which may possibly be attributed to him; \* and he seems even to have been unusually chary with the complimentary verses to literary friends with which his fellow-poets were so lavish. Lachèvre mentions only one poem of this kind by de Sallebray. It is published with *La belle Quixaire* of Gillet de la Tessonnerie (1639).<sup>5</sup>

His tragi-comedy *L'Amante ennemie*,<sup>6</sup> with which the present

<sup>1</sup> Based on Cervantes' novel *La Gitanilla*.

<sup>2</sup> According to La Vallière's *Bibliothèque du Théâtre fr.*, III, 13, this play was printed.

<sup>3</sup> Sainville, about whose life as little is known as about de Sallebray's, is the author of four unpublished plays. For de Sallebray's plays, see de Beauchamps, *Recherches*; II, 166; Maupoint, *Biblioth. des théât.*, p. 17; La Vallière, *Bibliothèque*, III, 13; de Lérès, *Dict. portatif des Théât.*, p. 325; La Porte and Chamfort, *Dict. dram.*, III, 605; etc.

<sup>4</sup> Signed, L. Sallebray.

<sup>5</sup> Lachèvre, *Fr.*, *Bibliogr. des Recueils collectifs*, II, 464 and IV, 185.

<sup>6</sup> Privilège of April 8, 1642.

article is concerned, is an adaptation to the stage of a French novel, *La Hayne et l'Amour d'Arnoul et de Clairemonde* by P. B. S. D. P. (P. B. sieur du Périer), which appeared almost half a century previously, in 1600.<sup>7</sup> The novels of this little-known author are remarkable from an historical, if not from a literary point of view. Professor G. Chinard has pointed out that another book of his, *Les amours de Pistion et de Fortunie en leur voyage de Canada*,<sup>8</sup> is the first exotic novel in French. His *La Hayne et l'Amour d'Arnoul et de Clairemonde* is the earliest example known of the influence of the Spanish Cid-tradition in France, for, though this novel claims to narrate a story taken from the life of the times and the third edition has for its sub-title *Histoire provençale arrivée de nostre temps* (1627), this pretense must not blind us to the fact that du Périer has woven into the frame of his "contemporary" story some elements of Spanish tradition and legend. It was quite a common practice with the authors of the time to introduce into their "stories from daily life" the customary thrilling situations from the romances of chivalry, the sentimental discourse from the pastoral novels, miracles of witchcraft and metamorphosis, without renouncing their claim that their novels were "véritables" and "de nostre temps."<sup>9</sup>

*La Hayne et l'Amour d'Arnoul et de Clairemonde* begins with the description of a feud of long standing which had made two fathers, the sieurs du Rosier and de Précourt, mortal enemies. The sieur du Rosier has a brave son, Arnoul, "lequel ne promettoit pas de vouloir un jour rien devoir à la vertu de son père." De Précourt has a beautiful daughter, Clairemonde. A disastrous duel

<sup>7</sup> See Gustave Reynier, *Le roman sentimental avant l'Astrée*, (Bibliography.) The author's full name is given on the title-page of the third edition, *La Hayne et l'Amour d'Arnoul et de Clairemonde. Histoire provençale arrivée de nostre temps. Par le sieur du Périer, Paris, Jean Corrozet, 1627.*

<sup>8</sup> Garnier acclaimed Antoine du Périer as the discoverer of Canada. For further details and for a discussion of the date of *Les Amours de Pistion et de Fortunie*, see G. Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la litt. fr.*, pp. 60-62.

<sup>9</sup> Magicians, wonderful shipwrecks, glorious fights of the hero against overpowering odds, or even satyrs, appear in stories claiming to be "entirely true." Cf. *Les Bergeries de Vesper* of Guillaume Coste (1618); *L'Erocaligénésie ou la naissance d'un bel amour* (1602), etc.; cf. G. Reynier, *Le roman sentimental avant l'Astrée.*



results in the death of de Précourt, slain by du Rosier with the help of his son Arnoul. Two more deaths follow: du Rosier dies later from his wounds and the wife of du Précourt from grief, so that only the children are left to carry on the family vendetta. Clairemonde vows to take revenge for her father upon Arnould du Rosier, "qu'elle tenoit l' un des homicides de son père, destinant sa vie a ceste seule action pour mourir plus contente après." Like Ximena she proclaims that her hand is promised to any knight who shall vanquish Arnoul. Three of her suitors challenge him, but are killed. At last, Clairemonde resolves to take the "duty" of vengeance in her own hands. She and her servant Allonne, disguised as lute-players, present themselves at Arnoul's castle, under the assumed names of Herman (Clairemonde) and Fourbin (Allonne). They are well received, and almost instantly Clairemonde falls in love with Arnoul. She finds herself now in the same position as Ximena in the *Mocedades del Cid* and as Chimène in Corneille's *Cid*: she has to struggle with the same moral problem, to solve the same conflict between love and honor. Du Périer devotes more than a hundred pages to the description of the crisis of antithetical impulses in Clairemonde, who resembles a first sketch of Corneille's Chimène. Scenes and situations are found in *La Hayne et l'Amour d' Arnoul et de Clairemonde* which are duplicated in both the *Mocedades del Cid* and in *Corneille's Cid*. The most striking similitude is the well-known scene wherein Don Rodrigue offers Chimène his dagger or his sword, and implores her to kill him. Chimène refuses her lover's demand and argues that she is his accuser, not his judge:

Las Mocedades (verses 1177-1181):

Justo fuera sin ayрте  
que la muerte hiziera darte;  
mas soy parte  
para solo perseguirte,  
pero ne para matarte.

Corneille's *Cid*: Va, Je suis ta partie, et non pas ton bourreau.

Du Périer (p. 192): "Il n'est pas raisonnable, Arnoul, que vous fassiez office de juge et de partie, que vous accusiez et condamnerez tout ensemble," etc.



I am, however, not here occupied with the relation of du Périer's novel to its probable Spanish source, nor with its relation to both the *Mocedades del Cid* and Corneille's *Cid*. In a later study I shall endeavor to throw light on this subject. For the present purpose it is sufficient to point out that du Périer's novel is the earliest example known of the influence of the *Cid* literature in France; that it antedates the *Mocedades del Cid* by about fourteen years,<sup>10</sup> and yet contains scenes which are found in this play and which passed from there into Corneille's masterpiece; and, finally, that the similarities which are found between de Sallebray's *Amante ennemie*, the *Mocedades del Cid*, and Corneille's *Cid* are not due to direct imitation of either the Spanish or the French play, but to the influence of du Périer's novel, which de Sallebray has followed very closely. He has merely changed the names of the characters: Arnoul is called Tersandre, Clairemonde is rebaptized as Claironde, etc. The most important changes consist in the introduction of a confidant for Tersandre (Arnoul), and of a domestic of Claironde's (Clairemonde's) uncle, who recognizes her in man's attire and thus allows de Sallebray to end his play with a traditional *coup de théâtre*.

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### CHAUCER'S 'ELCANOR'

For now at erste shul ye here  
 So selly an avisioun,  
 That Isaye, ne Scipioun,  
 Ne king Nabugodonosor,  
 Pharo, Turnus, ne Elcanor,  
 Ne mette swich a dreem as this! (*House of Fame*, II, 512-7)

Pharo we know, and Turnus we know, but who is Elcanor?<sup>1</sup> He and his dream have long been one of the standing Chaucer

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Hämel.—*Der Cid im Spanischen Drama*, p. 7. The first edition (1618) was disavowed by de Castro in the *Preface* of the 1621 edition of his early plays.

<sup>1</sup> See Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, III, 253. For Turnus Dr. Skeat refers to the visit of Iris, *Aen.* IX, 1 ff. But "Turnus sacrata valle sedebat"; this is less like a vision than the visit of the Fury Allecto, VII, 413 ff.

Tectis hic Turnus in altis  
 iam mediam nigra carpebet nocte quietem. (413-4)

cruxes. Dr. Skeat gave it up. Dr. Bright suggested Hamilear, whose veridical dream of the fall of Syracuse is mentioned by Valerius Maximus, *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*, I, vii. 8.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Heath, in the *Globe Chaucer*, suggested Elcana, Samuel's father, who has no dream.<sup>3</sup>

The explanation is probably to be found in the Old French *Cassidorus*. This thirteenth century prose romance, which has never been printed,<sup>4</sup> is the third and longest of the continuations or imitations<sup>5</sup> of the prose redaction of the *Sept Sages de Rome*. Cassidorus, the hero of the romance, in the course of his adventures falls in love with Helcana, daughter of a Syrian king Edipus. Forced at one time to flee, and to live in man's costume, she calls

After the Fury has spoken,

Olli somnum ingens rumpit pavor, ossaque et artus  
perfundit toto proruptus corpore sudor (458-9).

The reference to Isaiah seems rather to vi. 1 ff. than to I, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Mod. Lang. Notes*, IX, 241.

<sup>3</sup> Elkanah (*I. Samuel* I), the father of Samuel, might have been confused in memory with Manoah, the father of Samson (*Judges*, XIII, 3, 11) and Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist (*St. Luke*, I, 11), to both of whom angels announced the prophets' births. But the name does not exactly fit, and the suggestion is no more than plausible.

There are also such visionless personages as Alcanor, *Aeneid*, IX, 672; x, 338 (mentioned by Skeat); Acanor, *Prose Merlin* (S. A. T. F., 1886, I, 209); Elpenor, *Odyssey*, x, 552; xi, 51 ff.; xii, 10; Elpinor, King of Libanor (*Roman de Troie*, 12327 and later; Elephenor in Dares and Dictys); Escanor (and Canor) in the 13th century romance so named written by Girard d'Amiens (ed. by Michelant for the Stuttgart Litt. Verein (*Bibliothek*, vol. CLXXVIII), and summarized by G. Paris in *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxxi, 153 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> The name appears in various forms. There is a late thirteenth century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, français 22548, 1720 ff.; the work extends into ms. franç. 22549. In the former the romance is preceded by the *Sept Sages* and *Marques de Rome*. There was also a 14th century manuscript (codex XXXIX. g. II. 17) in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Turin; see Pasini, *Codices MSS. Biblioth. taurinensis* (Turin, 1749), II, 474, who calls the work *Le Romant de Kallidorum*. On fol. 76<sup>vo</sup> are the words "Li Istoire d'Elkanum & de Peliarmenum son frere qui desirer le voloit," and at the end "Ci fine li Roumans de Kallidorum d'Elkanum & de Peliarmenum." Unhappily the manuscript was damaged past use in the fire of 1904.

<sup>5</sup> These are *Marques de Rome*, *Fiseus* (or *Laurin*), *Cassidorus*, *Peliarmenus*, *Kanor*.

herself Helcanor or Helkanor.<sup>6</sup> This Helcana-Helcanor appears in a dream to Cassidorus on his return to Constantinople (folio 186<sup>vo</sup>). As he is about to leave the city to rejoin her, one of the princes of the city stops him and tells a tale to show that he should not marry; this happens twelve times, and twelve times Helcana-Helcanor appears to him in a dream and tells a tale to show that he should.<sup>7</sup> Obviously there is a hitch in this identification of Chaucer's allusion in the fact that Helcana-Helcanor is not the dreamer, as Chaucer implies, but the dreamed-of. However, the identity of the name and the astonishing character of the dreams make the identification acceptable. The lady's change of name probably accounts for Chaucer's error; he thought of Elcana as the dreamed-of, and Elcanor as the dreamer. It is a fair conjecture that he erred through unfamiliarity with the *Cassidorus*, had read it but once some little time before; wherein he probably showed his usual good taste, for the *Cassidorus* seems to strike readers as a trifle absurd. Chaucer meant an anticlimax, which agrees with the light tone of the *House of Fame*, in ending with Elcanor after the celebrated and impressive visions in the Bible, Cicero and Virgil. He never took popular and prose romances seriously.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> "Elkanor" in the Turin MS. folio 31ro; see Godefroi, *Dictionnaire*, II, 656. Chaucer's form is "Elcanor" in the Fairfax, Bodley and Pepys MSS. and Caxton's edition; "Alcanore" in Thynne. Helcana and Cassidorus have a son named Helcanus. One Kanor, a follower of Cassidorus, figures in one or more of the later continuations, the last of which is called "Kanor." A few particulars about *Cassidorus* and other continuations of the *Sept Sages* may be found in Alton's edition of the *Marques de Rome* (Stuttgart litt. Verein, CLXXXVII, pp. v-vii, xiii), reviewed in *Romania*, XIX, 493; Gröber's *Grundriss der rom. Philologie* (1902), II, i, 995; *Sept Sages*, ed. by G. Paris, S. A. T. F. 1876, p. xxiv; Paris' *La Littérature française au Moyen Age* (2nd edit.), 109. I am more than commonly obliged to the well-known scholar, M. G. Huet, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, for giving me further particulars.

<sup>7</sup> First time, MS. 22548, folio 188ro; last time, MS. 22549, folio 2vo.

<sup>8</sup> *Sir Thopas*, 2087 ff.; *N. P. T.*, 4401-3; *Sq. T.*, 287.



## REVIEWS

*Esquisse d'une histoire de la tragédie française.* By GUSTAVE LANSON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1920. xii + 155 pp.

When M. Lanson lectured on French tragedy at Columbia University in 1916-1917, a syllabus of the course was printed and distributed among his students and a few other scholars. President Butler and Professor Todd, assisted by Professors Gerig, Babcock, and Atkinson, have now published this syllabus, enlarged by introductory statements, a frontispiece, and slight changes of the text.<sup>1</sup> It has been made more serviceable by a *table des matières*, the numbering of the pages, and certain typographical alterations. One misses an index of titles and authors' names, though this omission is less serious than it would be if the chronological order of presentation were less strictly followed. A special bibliography is rendered superfluous by the fact that the author makes frequent reference to his *Manuel bibliographique*, underscores the most important works there mentioned, and adds in many cases the titles of more recent publications. As the syllabus form is retained, the reader, to profit by the work, must already have considerable acquaintance with the subject and with scholarly method. It is consequently not for undergraduates or for the general public. To say this is to repeat what the author and his American editors know very well. When I asked M. Lanson three years ago whether he would make these lectures into a book, he replied, "Quand aurai-je le temps?" Fortunately, instead of keeping us waiting for such leisure, he has allowed the publication of these notes, for in so doing, and in spite of its frequently tantalizing brevity of statement, he has given to special students the best treatise that has appeared for many years on the history of the French stage. The author's unique mastery of the bibliography of his subject, to which he has himself extensively contributed, his remarkable power in weighing evidence, explaining literary phenomena, and appreciating aesthetic values are here placed at the student's service.

<sup>1</sup> Especially on pp. 7, 8, 60, 86, 90.



The notes are closely packed with thought, always suggestive when too brief to be explicit. Even when there is nothing new to the reader in the facts and ideas expressed, it is valuable for him to know the relative importance that M. Lanson assigns to them, the manner in which he groups them to explain the evolution of the type. No real student of the French stage can do without the volume.

The author does not make the mistake of defining his *genre* and thus running the risk of excluding some of its most important members. Instead, he traces its history from the middle-ages to the present day, showing the elements considered essential at this time or that. He does, however, define and make special study of the tragic element, which he explains as follows:

Le *pathétique* naît de la souffrance et de la plainte; le *dramatique* résulte du conflit, de l'incertitude, de l'attente anxieuse; le *tragique* est la manifestation, dans un cas douloureux, des limites de la condition humaine et de la force invisible qui l'étreint. . . . Le tragique, toujours pathétique, n'est pas nécessairement dramatique, il l'est en proportion de l'incertitude et de la lutte qu'il contient.

This definition leads him to study to what extent French tragedy is tragic, what it offers as a substitute for the tragic, and to say something of the tragic element in non-dramatic *genres*. He first discusses the existence of this tragic element in mediæval plays and the meaning then assigned to tragedy, when the fact of its representation had been forgotten and the requirements had been reduced to an historical subject; royal persons, bloody deeds, an elevated style. He next traces the development of Renaissance tragedy through six stages to Jodelle's *Cléopâtre* and analyses its characteristics, the lack of psychology, the emphasizing of the victim, the fact that the tragic element was *donné* rather than *produit*. He holds that the basic concept of this form of tragedy was the same in France and Italy as in Spain and England, in spite of the fact that academic models were so closely followed in the former countries that writers came to do little more than "enfiler des morceaux choisis." Yet the experiment was worth while, for it introduced the study of the *métier*, the idea of regularity in form, the aesthetic aim.

He pays considerable attention to problems of representation, to the irregular plays that appeared towards the end of the sixteenth century, to the school plays, which he describes as constituting a

sort of *théâtre libre*, to the work of Hardy in both tragedy and tragi-comedy, and to the achievements of Corneille's rivals. Through his mastery of these subjects he is able to speak of Corneille's accomplishment with an authority that cannot be granted those whose knowledge of the French classical drama is limited to the work of its leading authors. He shows how Corneille, completing what his predecessors had begun, placed the tragic action in the heart of his characters. "Les événements qui font l'action, le mouvement, l'intérêt, sont des sentiments et des volontés." And these are not the result, but the cause of the tragic events. The hero becomes the active element. Suffering is subordinate to action. Before the *Cid* nobody had constructed an *intrigue serrée*. Intrigue, absent from Greek tragedy, was brought from Latin comedy to French tragedy directly or by way of the tragi-comedy. "Corneille révèle l'art de créer l'intérêt dramatique par des situations fortes, logiquement exploitées." M. Lanson studies with great care the new form of art that resulted from this method. I regret that I have not the space to quote him at length, for it is impossible to abbreviate what is already reduced to a minimum. His characterizations are often striking, as when he describes Cornelian heroines. "Ce sont des sentimentales lucides, raisonneuses, énergiques, mettant leur foi ou leur fureur en maximes; des âmes de nihilistes ou de suffragettes."

Excellent are the four lectures on Racine, the keen analysis of his art, product of the French tragedy; with its emphasis upon love and psychological action, and the Greek with its poetic and legendary atmosphere, its tragic and lyrical intensity. The minor authors, contemporaries and successors of Corneille and Racine, are also characterized in considerable detail. The decadence of tragedy in the eighteenth century is thoroughly discussed. Three searching chapters on Voltaire take up in turn his plays and his dramatic theories, the formation of his ideas, the various influences which subsequently altered them, his reasons for turning to tragedy, and the manner in which, while continuing the classical tradition, he departed in a number of important respects from the usage of his predecessors. It is his work from *Brutus* to *Tancrède* that counts, for after the latter one finds in him an old man's hostility to the "nouveauautés qui prolongent et dépassent ses propres auidaces." The chapter on Diderot is important, if it serves only to make more widely known the fact that "lorsque la critique de

Lessing et le théâtre allemand pénètrent chez nous, c'est, en très grande partie, Diderot qui nous revient."

The lectures on the nineteenth century are unfortunately hurried. They are chiefly devoted to the discovery of the tragic element. He finds this occasionally in the melodrama, thanks to its popular mysticism, in Hugo chiefly in his lyric moods, often in Musset and in Balzac's novels, seldom in those of George Sand or Anatole France. "Il y a plus de tragique dans le premier acte et le dénouement des *Corbeaux* de Becque que dans tout Augier et Dumas fils." These last chapters, while highly suggestive, are far too brief for the period they cover. It is altogether regrettable that he has only a part of one lecture to give to three such very tragic dramatists as Maeterlinck, Hervieu, and de Curel. He finds modern conditions favorable to the expression of the tragic element on account of its "psychologie de la sensibilité lyrique," its use of the hidden forces of nature and fate, its reaction against the abuse of intrigue and of dramatic artifice.

With so admirable a work I have little fault to find. I would only question a few statements that seem to me inaccurate or incomplete. P. 20. The chorus is used in part to separate the acts, "d'où pas de chœur, en règle générale, à la fin du cinquième acte." This absence is also due to the fact that Seneca and the Greeks usually had no chorus at the end of their tragedies. P. 39. In accounting for the rise of tragi-comedy in France, it would be well to refer, not only to the example of Italian plays, but to those forces which M. Lanson has already mentioned as producing irregular tragedy, the confusion of mediæval and Renaissance *genres* by the actors and the fondness of the public for certain characteristics of the older stage. P. 32. Reference to the "retour aux chœurs vers 1630" should be accompanied by the statement that the only play of any importance that shows them at that time is Mairêt's *Silvanire*. P. 45. The reference for the date of *Pyrame et Thisbé* should be to M. Lachèvre, who has established it, rather than to Dr. Käthe Schirmacher, who accepts the incorrect date given by the frères Parfaict. P. 46. Pichou, Mareschal, and probably Boisrobert began writing no later than 1630. P. 97. In an interesting chapter on Corneille's last plays, M. Lanson says that *Othon*, *Pulchérie*, and others constitute "une comédie très originale, et unique dans notre littérature, la comédie de la cour et du cabinet des princes." Here he seems to have gone too far, for



the type does not differ essentially from the later plays of Du Ryer, which preceded them by more than a decade, *Nitocris*, *Anaxandre*, or even *Thémistocle*. Pp. 73, 74. Another class of subjects could be added to those mentioned, that of mediæval history and legend, to which belong *Herménigilde*, *Blanche de Bourbon*, *Charles le hardy*, *Sigismond*, *Jeanne d'Arc*, *Pertharite*. P. 76. In discussing the source of *Venceslas* and its Spanish model, M. Lanson refers to an article by Hascovec, but the incident there discussed is much less likely to have been the source of the plays than is the murder of Vogislas by Svatopluk in the latter half of the twelfth century.<sup>2</sup> P. 83. Does not the statement that Racine was "indifférent à la politique" need qualification?

As plays were often acted several years before they were printed, it is important to state whether the date given with each play refers to its first representation, or to its first printing. If this is not done, the student will think a more famous play preceded one which may have been acted quite as soon, but whose earliest known date is that of its *imprimatur*. For instance, how is he to know that four of the dates given in the list of ten *tragédies sacrées* on p. 73 are those of representation, four others of printing? He is still further confused by the fact that "impr." is used with the dates assigned to the two remaining plays, which leads him to infer that in the other cases the date of representation is always meant. A better method would be to give the date of printing in each case and follow it, when possible, with the date of representation, accompanied by the abbreviation "repr." P. 46. 1630 is a better date for the first representation of *Silvanire* than 1629. P. 60. Rigal dates *Polyeucte* 1641-1642, not 1641. P. 61. Marty-Laveaux's dates for Corneille's plays from *Héraclius* to *Pertharite* are too closely followed. P. 73. How can so definite a date as "fin 1641" be assigned to Du Ryer's *Saül*? Finally, there are a few typographical errors, some of which are due to American printing.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my article in *Modern Philology* for November, 1917, and Dubravius, *Historica Bohemica*, Hanau, 1602, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Such are the placing of a period after *Mme* and *Mlle* (pp. 70, 71, 78) and the setting of commas before *et* in a series according to English rather than French usage. If, contrary to seventeenth century custom, accents are to be placed on a word like *Agésilan* (p. 49), why not put them on *Cardenio*, *Argenis* (p. 49), *Cleagénor* (p. 51)? P. 18. *Aman*, *Avant*



These slight mistakes are easily corrected. They do not diminish the high excellence of the work, which remains a model for those who believe in the historical approach to literature. The facts have been established either by M. Lanson or by scholars with whose researches he is thoroughly familiar. The value of these contributions is brought out, their place fixed in the general scheme. The characteristics of the *genre* at various epochs are indicated. The relations of the works and their authors to the life of the period, the various sides of dramatic art, the theaters, the audience, scenery, costume, acting, are all discussed. The lectures have throughout an exhilarating atmosphere of uncompromising thinking and keen appreciation. When one compares them, even in their skeleton form, with the productions of purely aesthetic critics, one is apt to feel that the work of the latter, when unsubstantiated by historical investigation, is merely brilliant trifling. On the other hand, it is most stimulating to those who dig and blast to see what a structure can be built with the materials they have helped extract.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER.

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*A Good Short Debate between Winner and Waster, An Alliterative Poem on Social and Economic Problems in England in the Year 1352. With a Modern English Rendering. Edited by Sir Israel Gollancz, Professor of English Language and Literature, King's College, London [Oxford University Press, 1920].*

Professor Gollancz has rendered further valuable service to students of Middle English by making accessible another of the

*parler* is confusing at first glance; if the second title were not in italics, the meaning would be clearer, as is the case with "*la Veuve, au lecteur*" on p. 54. P. 33, l. 22. The play meant is *Jacob*, not *Joseph*. Pp. 47, 59. Tristan's play should be written *Mariane*, without the *m* that appears in Hardy's. P. 69. *Othon* should not be in italics here. P. 79, ll. 7, 8. Italics should be used for the titles of these novels. Read, p. 19, l. 12, contemporains; l. 13, réalité; p. 46, l. 8, Rotrou; p. 50, l. 28, conventionnelle; p. 60, l. 3, nouveauté; l. 12, révélée; p. 79, l. 10, l'; p. 113, l. 5, Chancel. On this page there should be a space between lines 18 and 19. On p. 131, l. 15, read *Agamemnon*.

most important alliterative poems, *Winnere and Wastoure*, a poem filled with economic and social references.

The edition consists of preface, text, an alliterative translation into modern English, notes, and glossary. Though the poem breaks off abruptly at line 503, it is probable that we have practically all of the poem. Professor Gollancz says: "Probably very little of the poem is lost. The dreamer no doubt was aroused from his vision by the sound of trumpets, and found himself resting by the bank of the burn, the tale ending with some pious reflection by way of conclusion." Gollancz might have pointed out another bit of evidence. The scribe has carefully estimated the space available for copying the poem, for at line 153 he begins writing in a much smaller hand, and on folios 181 and 181 b he writes in very crowded double columns. Line 503 is at the end of the second column on the last folio of the ms. Again, the debate has been finished and Winner and Waster have already been sentenced to dwell where each is loved most,

Aythere lede in a lond þer he es loued moste, 459.

It is almost certain that very little of the poem has been lost.

Professor Gollancz has gathered a mass of evidence pointing to 1352-3 as the date of composition. Some of the references cited merely show that the poem was written between 1351-1366, the limits Professor Hulbert has set for the possible date.<sup>1</sup> Numerous other references, however, refer, as Gollancz has well shown, to the winter of 1352-3. Gollancz concludes his discussion of date with these words: "The cumulative value of all this evidence clearly points to the winter of 1352-3, as the date of composition, for the poet is evidently writing concerning events which are just happening, or are fresh in his memory."<sup>2</sup> Professor Gollancz has

<sup>1</sup> *Mod. Phil.*, xvii, 34-37. Professor Gollancz has given up his original dating of the poem, which Professor Hulbert has shown to be impossible.

<sup>2</sup> Preface, p. 6. Bradley, *Athenaeum*, Apr. 18, 1903, 498-9, suggests this date, but gives as evidence only Chief Justice Shareshull's statement of his reasons for summoning Parliament in January, 1352 (quoted by Gollancz, Preface, p. 6). Bradley concludes: "It would not be difficult to show that this theme [the threatened conflict between the wasteful military nobility and the various bodies growing rich at its expense] was naturally suggested by the matters discussed in the Parliament of 1352, but this I leave for others." In a study made before Professor Gollancz's edition

established at least a very strong probability for the date 1352-3, and until his arguments for this date have been proved inconclusive, *Winnere and Wastoure* may be regarded as among the earliest of the extant alliterative poems which may be dated by external evidence.

This definite dating of an undated poem and the excellent discussion of the meaning of the debate and of the banners of the two armies, constitute, I think, Professor Gollancz's most notable contribution to the study of *Winner and Waster*. He shows that the author set out to write a pamphlet on the outstanding problems of Edward III's reign, "especially between the dates of Crecy and Poitiers." Winner's army is composed of the wealthy merchants and others who hoarded as much as they could: the Pope, the lawyers, and the friars. Waster's army is composed of the wealthy, but reckless and spendthrift, military class. "Indeed, the position of this class," says Gollancz, "in face of the rise of the new merchant class—the new rich, with all the power of wealth, is an outstanding feature of the poem, and perhaps the main point at issue."

After reading the scholarly Preface, the reader is surprised to find that the accuracy and good judgment of this part of the edition are absent from the editor's treatment of the text. The poem is boldly rewritten in an effort to obtain smooth readings and to get meanings out of obscure passages.<sup>3</sup> And there is an even more serious fault in the text. Although Professor Gollancz has corrected many of the errors in his earlier reprint, he has in this new edition misread the manuscript in many places. In some instances his misreading has led him to emend lines which make perfect sense in the manuscript. I note the following errors in the text:

appeared I followed Bradley's hint and, by studying the chronicles of the period, the history of this century, and the acts of Parliament for the years 1351-1366, I tried to show that the poem can refer only to the years 1352-3. This study, from a slightly different point of view, corroborates Gollancz's dating of the poem.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Hulbert will discuss these emendations in his review of the poem for *Mod. Phil.* I am indebted to Mr. Hulbert for permission to use his copy of the MS., which I have collated with Gollancz's text and with my rotograph of the MS. Since facsimiles of folios 181 and 181 b are given in Gollancz's edition, the correct manuscript readings for lines 353-503 may easily be determined.

<i>Manuscript</i>	<i>Gollancz's Text</i>
4 Bot	But
9 southewarde	south-warde
53 Schowen	Showen
189 wittnesse	witnesse
205 wele	well
254 Ratoūs = Ratouns	ratons (emended to raton[e]s).
300 Owthir it freres it feche	Owthir it freres feche
302 sleeves	sees (emended to se[w]es).
334 frumentee	frumentes
340 clouen <sup>4</sup>	cleuen
377 towne	towns
393 þ <sup>t</sup>	Misprinted as þat.
399 graūt = graunt	grant
405 laūde = launde <sup>5</sup>	lande
434 fee <sup>6</sup>	see
442 þo	þe
476 þurgh	thurgh
477 tauerne	tonne
483 sege <sup>7</sup>	sete
485 sperre? <sup>8</sup>	spred
488 lenger	longer
496 chefe <sup>9</sup>	chese
500 sil... <sup>9</sup>	s(iluer)

The text is accompanied by a translation into modern English verse. "The debate between Winner and Waster touches so many

<sup>4</sup> The *o* of *clouen* has a stroke through it which makes it resemble an *e*, but the stroked *o* here is entirely different from the scribe's *e*.

<sup>5</sup> These spellings occur elsewhere in the poem.

<sup>6</sup> & if my peple ben prode me payes alle þe better

To fee þam faire & free to-fore with myn eghne [lines 433-4 of the MS]. The author is fond of piling up alliterative words. *Fee* here means 'hire.'

<sup>7</sup> The letters of this word are very crowded. The word is either *sege* or *seete*, but not *sete*.

<sup>8</sup> The *p* is crossed as if for the abbreviation *er*. It is possible, however, that the stroke on the tail of the *p* is of no significance.

<sup>9</sup> In the note to line 496 Gollancz tries to explain "if þu wilt wele chese." "If þu wilt wele chefe" means "if you will well prosper" or "if you will wealth gain."

The MS. has *s + il* (blurred). Gollancz: "*s + letters rubbed out.*"



historical and economic problems that I have deemed it advisable to append a modern English rendering of the poem. This may be useful for those who wish to deal with the subject-matter." The editor's alliterative translation is so vigorous and it reproduces the spirit of the original so sympathetically that it may seem like hunting for faults to point out that his desire to reproduce the original alliteration and his incorporation of numerous emendations either obscure or change the meaning of the original. The careful student of the poem must in many cases consult the unemended original to find out what the manuscript actually has. A few examples will make this point clear. The manuscript in line 177 has

ffor pay are the ordire þat louen oure lady to serue.

Professor Gollancz emends *ordire* to *ledes*, which he translates as 'liegemen.' Again, *For sicke wikked werkes wery the oure Lorde*, 285, is translated as "For such wicked works, worry thee God." In the Glossary the word is correctly defined as "pr. 3 s subj., curse." In 307 *beryn* is translated as "beau sir." In 302 the manuscript reads:

Thi sone and thi sektours ichone slees othere.

*Slees* was read as *sees*, which was emended to *se[w]es* and translated

Thy son and executors, each sueth the other.

Lines 337-8 are given in the text as

And iche a segge þat I see has sexe mens doke.

If this were nedles note, anothir comes afir,—

In the Glossary the difficult word *doke* is defined as 'portion' and *note* as 'work,' expenditure.' In the translation these lines appear as

Each several guest has six men's share.

Were this not enough, another course follows.<sup>10</sup>

The author of *Winnere and Wastoure* has used a most difficult vocabulary. Some of the rarest words, *albus*, *charbiande*, *crete*,

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also *segge*, 89; (cleng) and (e), 'clinging,' for MS. *gleterand*, 275. The translation contradicts the definitions given in the Glossary in the case of *wryeth*, 6, *rechen*, 363, *hend*, 419. In 19 *or* is through an oversight defined as 'early' from M. E. *oper*. In the translation the correct meaning, 'or,' is given.

*doke*, *fawked*, *heghwalles*, *hurdes*, *myndale*, and *potet*, I have been unable to find in any of the other M. E. alliterative poems. Most of these rare words, it will be noticed, occur in alliteration and are presumably what the author wrote. It is significant also that the most unusual alliterative combinations and the rarest words are found in passages, such as long lists of birds or of dishes, in which the author is limited in his choice of suitable alliterative words. For many of these words Professor Gollancz has offered extremely clever but sound suggestions, which, in nearly every case, are worthy of serious consideration. He deserves the highest commendation for his excellent glossary and his valuable discussion of rare words.<sup>11</sup>

The Explanatory and Illustrative Notes aid materially in the interpretation of the poem and indicate its relation to other poems of the satirical debate type. The prevailing excellence of these notes, however, is marred in a few places by dogmatic statements for which no satisfactory reasons are given. For example, in the note to line 7 (line 21 of the MS.):

And Now es no frenchipe in fere bot fayntnesse of hert

And now es no frenchipe [o]n fere bot fayntnesse of hert (Goll. text)

Professor Gollancz says that *frenchipe* is used in the special sense of filial affection. Now, this line has been transferred from its position fifteen lines below in the MS. ("line 7 is in the MS. between ll. 21, 22, but evidently belongs here"), where it makes perfect sense. At that point *frenchipe* refers to the friendship that "whylome" existed between "lordes in londe" (19) and the

<sup>11</sup> Professor Gollancz's ingenious explanation, in the note to line 475, of *potet* = *poted* = *potēd* = *potend* = *potener* ("the contaction for *er* being easily mistaken for *d*) = *pautener*, O.F. *pautonniere*, a bag, purse," accompanied as it is by a transposition and by two emendations (MS. *potet beryn* to *ber[ande]* *pote[ner]*) is an exception to his usually sound suggestions and is positively fascinating in its subtlety.

There are several other minor matters of vocabulary that should be noted. *Are*, 409, may be regarded as a verb and not as the adverb, 'formerly.' "That are had lordes in londe & ladyes riche" would then be interpreted as "Who are regarded as lords in land and ladies rich," which, I think, fits the context better. *Boste*, 241, in *fere*, 7, *kythe*, 134, *merke*, 356, I should translate as 'threaten,' 'together,' 'country,' 'mark' (the coin). *What*, 119, I take as the object of *kneue* and not as the exclamation *what* = 'Lo.'

"makers of myrthes" (20) and means simply 'friendship.' Again, the *now* of this line is in contrast to *whylome* of line 19, for the author is contrasting the good days of the past, when poetry was encouraged by lords in land, with the present-day neglect of poetry. The editor has emended the line, has moved it up fifteen lines, and has given *frenchipe* an unusual meaning to make it fit the new context.

In reference to line 103,

Thynke I dubbede the knyghte with dynttis to dele,

Gollancz says: "Perhaps the poet wrote 'duk,' as the alliteration requires. Cp. ' & haf dyzt zondere dere a duk to haue worped'—*Sir Gawayne*, l. 678." I see no reason whatsoever for this statement. The line from *Sir Gawayne* does not contain the same alliteration. And surely *dubbede the knyghte* is a common enough phrase. It occurs, moreover, in line 499 of this very poem:

I thynk to do it in ded & dub þe to kynghte.

Then, too, the line already has three alliterative words, one in the first half and two in the second.

In lines 263-293 Winner attacks Waster for riotous living and extravagant spending, which destroy Waster's inheritance and leave him in poverty:

and thou wolte to the tauerne by-fore the toune-hede  
Iche beryne redy with a bolle to blerren thyn eghne  
hete the whatte thou haue schalte and whatt.thyn hert lykes  
wyfe wedowe or wenche þat wonne sthere aboute  
Then es there bott fille In & feche forthe florence to schewe  
wee hee and worthe vp wordes ynewe  
Bot when this wele es a-waye the wyne moste be payede fore  
Than lympis 3owe weddis to laye or 3oure londe selle  
ffor siche wikked werkes very the oure lorde (ll. 277-285 of the ms.).

Gollancz says, "Florence to schewe" means 'for Florence to appear'; ' & lo, Florence is there.' Florence was evidently a popular name for a wanton woman." The citations given by Gollancz are all late, from c. 1700 on, and merely show that in modern cant and dialect speech Florence means a slattern or a wanton. "Florence" I regard as the object of "feche forthe," which otherwise has no object, and "Florence to schewe" I think means 'florins



to show,' as is shown by the phrase "the wyne moste be payede fore."<sup>12</sup>

Since I have necessarily devoted most of my space to a discussion of the weaknesses of Professor Gollancz's edition, I may inadvertently have given the impression that the number of these weaknesses is relatively large. But this is by no means the case. This edition of *Winnere and Wastoure*, though it is marred by a poor text and by occasional dogmatic and too-ingenuous statements, constitutes, because of the excellence of its preface, notes, and glossary, a valuable contribution to the study of *Winnere and Wastoure* and other Middle English alliterative poems. It is a book that will amply repay the careful examination of every student of Middle English literature.

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*The Use of TU and VOUS in Molière.* By P. B. FAY. University of California Publications, 1920, Vol. VIII, No. 3, pp. 227-286.

In this monograph the author proposes "to examine in detail the use of *tu* and *vous* in Molière's plays, to determine, as accurately as possible, the field which belongs to each, and especially to try to explain the psychological or stylistic reasons which underlie the rather frequent changes from *vous* to *tu* and the reverse."

Several methods of presentation are suggested. The author has chosen the one used by Schliebitz in *Die Person der Anrede in der französischen Sprache* (Breslau, 1886). He classifies his material according to the relation between the speaker and the person addressed. He finds that in the upper and middle classes the polite form is used between husband and wife except in three cases. Fathers, in addressing their children, seldom use either form to the exclusion of the other. When mothers address their children,

<sup>12</sup> Gollancz in his note to this line remarks: "*Fore*: probably added by the scribe." But doesn't *fore* mean 'for'? *Pay for(e)* is a common phrase. In line 477 Gollancz prints *tonne* for the MS. *tauerne*. His note in explanation of *tonne*, which he regards as the name of some particular tavern, is rendered unnecessary by a reference to the MS. The notes to lines 108, 236, 290-294 are also unconvincing. In the notes to lines 286 and 407 misprints occur.



brothers and sisters one another, or uncles and aunts their nephews and nieces, the form, as we should expect, is *vous*. Between those of higher station and servants, between servants themselves, the form is *tu*, which is perfectly natural. In short, one might summarize, using the author's own phrases as criteria, by saying that when Molière's characters wish to be abusive or to express affection, anger, scorn, familiarity, a confidential attitude, the *tu* form is usual; for irony, indignant surprise, parental authority, reproach, severity, formality, *vous* is the form generally used.

If we are to draw any definite conclusions as to Molière's usage of the pronouns of address, our information must be more definite and more extended than what is presented here. The author fails to make his study sufficiently statistical. He does not show clearly enough the evidence on which he bases his deductions as to what pronoun is the normal form of address in a particular play. If he is either to sustain or to disprove the theory of Schliebitz, who says (page 41) that with *l'Avare* (1668) there is between parents and children a shift from *tu* as the normal, unemotional form to *vous*, he should give us the evidence and not deal in generalities. The result of this non-scientific approach is that the phrasing of his article is at times vague. "It is true," he says (page 237, note 16), "that the facts do to a certain extent seem to point in this direction [that is, to a change in usage after *l'Avare*], but there are so many exceptions. . . ." We should like to know definitely how many cases and how many exceptions there are so as to be able to weigh more accurately the evidence. Again: "The causes underlying these changes [that is, from *tu* to *vous* between fathers and sons or daughters] may in most cases, though not always, be readily inferred," than which there is nothing more vague or unscientific. And once more: "But it is possible, I believe, to discern certain general tendencies to which many of the cases appear to conform." He should have presented the actual statistics, showing the general tendency and the exceptional cases.

His interpretations are in general correct, though in one instance he seems to have gone far afield. In this case (p. 243) he offers the irritation caused by Dorine's repeated interruptions as explanation for the shift from *vous* to *tu* when Mariane is addressed by her father. The shift would seem rather to be due to a more familiar, persuasive, or wheedling attitude on the part of her father.

Our author says himself that there are not "startling general conclusions in regard to Molière's use of *tu* and *vous*." He has neither proved nor disproved the statement of Schliebitz and has added very little incidental information to our knowledge of Molière's usage. A better method would be to study the psychology of individual cases, treat the plays chronologically, and submit the numerical evidence of the use of *tu* and *vous*. Basing the study on such factors is the only way to show the truth or falsity of Schliebitz's theory and hence to discover if there is any change from contemporary usage in Molière's plays. This still remains to be done.

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*Anthony Aston, Stroller and Adventurer*, by WATSON NICHOLSON, Ph. D. Published by the Author. South Haven, Michigan, 1920. 98 pp.

Dr. Nicholson's book concerns itself with one of the lesser figures of the eighteenth century stage, who has hitherto, even to most close students of the period, been scarcely more than a name. But the real interest and significance that are seen to adhere to the unconventional person of Anthony Aston fully justify this small volume, in which is assembled all the available material on that engaging farceur and soldier of fortune.

The main basis of the biographical study, which occupies the first half of the brochure, is the extremely rare "Sketch of the Life, &c. of Mr. Anthony Aston, Commonly call'd Tony Aston. Written by Himself," which Dr. Nicholson, in 1914, came upon in the British Museum appended to *The Fool's Opera*, a slender dramatic piece by Aston, written under the pseudonym of Mat. Medley.

Unfortunately Dr. Nicholson's elation over his find betrayed him into grave indiscretion. He says (p. 7) "It appeared in no library catalogue that I had ever seen," and later (p. 42) "The British Museum probably possesses the only copy in existence. It is the only authoritative account of the life of Anthony Aston thus far unearthed, and its existence was not suspected until I discovered it a few years ago."

As a matter of fact, the full title appears under Aston's name in the British Museum Catalogue. Moreover, this is not the sole extant copy, nor is Dr. Nicholson the first to employ the *Sketch* for purposes of research. In 1896 Judge Charles P. Daly, in his *First Theatre in America*<sup>1</sup> (p. 19), refers briefly to a copy of this little book owned by Mr. Thomas J. McKee of New York, who was then preparing a paper (never completed owing to his death) on Aston's career, for the Dunlap Society. A third copy of Aston's work is now to be found in the Library of Congress.

Extensive use of the pamphlet was made by Mr. O. G. Sonneck in *Early Opera in America*<sup>2</sup> (pp. 4-8), the first part of which was reprinted practically intact from the *New Music Review* of June to August, 1907, where it originally appeared. On the basis of the *Sketch* Mr. Sonneck first dated accurately the introduction of professional acting into America. He quotes three extracts bearing on Aston's experiences in this country.

Unhappily for his confident claims, then, Dr. Nicholson was by no means the discoverer of a unique and hitherto unknown copy of the player's autobiography. Nevertheless he has done a good service in making the Aston material accessible. After the biographical study, attractively written and sound in its research, are added three reprints: the *Sketch*, W. R. Chetwood's short anecdotes concerning Aston from *A General History of the Stage* (1749), and Aston's *Brief Supplement* to Colley Cibber's *Apology*, which contains several autobiographical references. Thus the book includes probably everything that is known about the life of this intriguing if humble follower of Thespis.

Tony's activities, however, were by no means confined to the stage. Starting his career at the end of the seventeenth century as a student of law, he soon renounced the Inns of Court for Drury Lane, but shortly he left London and took to the road with a strolling company. Then the army beckoned, and he sailed for Jamaica to fight against the French and Spanish. In the new world his life was a succession of adventures. Shipwrecked on the coast of South Carolina, he proceeded to Charleston, where for a time in 1703 he "turned player and poet," and gave to America

<sup>1</sup> Published in New York by the Dunlap Society.

<sup>2</sup> Published by G. Schirmer, 1915. Mr. Sonneck was at that time Chief of the Division of Music, Library of Congress.



its first sight of professional acting. The winter of 1703-4 was spent in the further pursuit of his vocation in New York. On his return home, he re-entered, perhaps after a brief participation in the expedition to Portugal, the ranks of the strollers, and at the head of his own small company, consisting chiefly of his wife and son, with a repertoire of scraps from other men's plays and tags of his own invention, he spent the remainder of his life<sup>3</sup> peddling his wares throughout England and even into Scotland and Ireland—the remainder except for brief intervals when the offices of tapster and publican seem to have engaged his talents. Fame he gained if not fortune; Chetwood declared that he "is as well known in every Town as the Post-Horse that carries the Mail."

Mr. Nicholson's account is of value not only as a record of Aston's career but as an illustration of the shifts and subterfuges that early eighteenth century strollers resorted to in the struggle to maintain themselves by their crude and lowly ministration. Tony himself, among the most competent of his caste, was an imitator and wag but in no sense an original comedian. What he lacked in application and art he made up for in versatility, coarseness and boast.

Aston's two known plays or "operas" are in every way negligible, but his two pamphlets as reprinted by Dr. Nicholson are vastly diverting. They display, to be sure, an undisciplined taste, but this cannot weigh against the immense gusto and the shrewd wit manifested on every page. His *Brief Supplement*, consisting of descriptions of various famous actors and actresses of his day, contains many discerning comments on their art, showing that Tony knew good acting when he saw it; and his extremely frank, unidealized portraits of face and form make genuine flesh and blood people of his subjects. This pamphlet is one of the most human things ever written about the theatre. It is good to have such documents reproduced in accessible form—but it is not well to overlook the investigations of one's predecessors.

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<sup>3</sup> Ashton died about the middle of the century, though the exact year is not known.



## CORRESPONDENCE

## "IN THE EVENING PRAISE THE DAY"

When Schiller in *Wallensteins Tod* (v. 3577, Act V, sc. iv, 60) wrote

Und doch erinnr' ich an den alten Spruch:  
Man soll den Tag nicht vor dem Abend loben.

he did not of course know how old the proverb actually was. Nor do we. But several parallels from the Middle Ages have been printed since Schiller's day and it is interesting to collect them and to review certain speculations about their age.

Perhaps the oldest instance—it may possibly be dated in the tenth or eleventh century—is found in the Eddic *Hávamál*, an Old Norse collection of gnomic lore (str. 81):

At kveldi skal dag leyfa, konu es brend es,  
máki es reyndr es, mey es gefin es,  
ís es yfir kómur, ol es drukkit es.

(Praise the day at even, a wife when dead,  
a weapon when tried, a maid when married,  
ice when 'tis crossed, and ale when 'tis drunk.)<sup>1</sup>

Heusler adds a new Icelandic parallel (*Möttulssaga*, 22, 8: at kveldi er dagr lofandi) and remarks that the notion "Be slow to praise" has taken form more than once as a *Priamel*, a rhetorical heaping up of apothegms as in the lines above, once indeed in India. Possibly, he concludes, this Eddic stanza may have been the original *Priamel*, the model for the others, although in the choice of its six members and in the alliterative formulation it is an independent, Old Norse product.

Concerning this particular instance more will be said below, for the present it will be sufficient to note that the first half-line exactly parallels the German proverb and that the same idea is variously expressed in the following epigrams. Somewhat later is the earliest instance of known age, a sententious remark in Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*, which was composed in the last quarter of the twelfth century. Professor Hinton, who has dated the various fragments of the work, assigns the portion in which the proverb occurs to the year 1182. Map says:

<sup>1</sup> Olive Bray, *The Elder or Poetic Edda*, London, 1908, p. 83. Dietrich ("Zu *Hávamál*," *Zs. f. deutsches Altertum*, III [1843], 414) cites medieval analogues to the substance of these admonitions, but none is closely parallel to the first of them. Cf. "þat skal leyfa sem liðit er," Jónsson, *Arkiv for nordisk filologi*, xxx (1914), 108, No. 246. The latest study of the *Hávamál* is Heusler, "Sprichwörter in den eddischen Sittengedichten," *Zs. des Vereins f. Volkskunde*, xxv (1915), 108-115 and xxvi (1916), 42-47, see especially pp. 42-43.

Sed vero laus in fine canitur, et uespere laudatur dies.<sup>2</sup>

Apparently about contemporary with the admonition of the Arch-deacon of Oxford are certain Latin proverbs preserved in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Lat. 6765, saec. xii), which are as follows:

Que debetur ei, laus vespere danda diei.  
Vespere detur ei, si laus est danda diei.  
Vespere laudetur, si pulcra dies perhibetur.<sup>3</sup>

It also occurs in the vernacular about the same time, being particularly popular in medieval French, e.g.,

Au vespre loue len le iour.<sup>4</sup>

Schepp, who collects eleven more variations on the theme, concludes that the original form of the proverb in Old French was

Al vespre loë en le jor e al matin son hoste.<sup>5</sup>

The second injunction appears to be peculiar to the French. The only Latin (or other) example I have noted with this conclusion, viz.,

Uespere laudatur lux, hospes mane probatur

is from the *Proverbia Rusticorum*, a collection of proverbs current in northern France in the thirteenth century and the first collection to contain the vernacular along with the Latin for school purposes.<sup>6</sup> No German occurrence of the proverb seems to be reported earlier than the manuscript of the *Schwabacher Sprüche*, which is assigned by its editor to middle Germany at the end of the fourteenth century. In that collection, made by an ecclesiastic to serve as a basis for sermons, the proverb appears as

Ein guten tag sol man auff den obent loben.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Dist. II, cap. xvi (ed. Wright, p. 85; ed. James, p. 80, ll. 24-25). Professor Hinton's article is "Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*: Its Plan and Composition," *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XXXII (1917), 123.

<sup>3</sup>J. Werner, *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sinnsprüche des Mittelalters*, Heidelberg, 1912, pp. 74 (Q 6), 99 (V 25 and 26). See also Seiler, *Zs. f. deutsche Philologie*, XLV (1913), 291. There are important additions to Werner in Slijper, *Tijdschrift*, XXXII (1913), 261 ff. and Weymann, *Münchener Museum*, II (1914), 117-45; but these I have not seen.

<sup>4</sup>Högberg, "Zwei altfranzösische Sprichwörtersammlungen in der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Uppsala," *Zs. f. frz. Sprache und Litteratur*, XLV (1919), 469, No. 8.

<sup>5</sup>*Altfranzösische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen aus den höfischen Kunst-epen . . . und aus einigen didaktischen Dichtungen*, Greifswald Diss., 1905, pp. 41-42. Paul Meyer (*Romania*, XXXI [1902], 476) cites an example without giving source or date, but it is the same as Schepp's fourth variant.

<sup>6</sup>Müllenhoff and Scherer, *Denkmäler*, II (1892), 133 and 141.

<sup>7</sup>The collection was first published by Hofmann (*Sitzungsberichte der kgl. bairischen akad. der wiss.*, II [1870], 25-38), and is reprinted with

A century and a half later (1550) it runs

Guoten tac man zabende loben sol.<sup>8</sup>

In both of these instances the employment of the auxiliary *sol* will later be seen to be significant. Two of the three manuscripts of the Middle English *Proverbs of Hendyng*, a poem in which each stanza concludes with a gnomic phrase, contain our proverb. In one version it reads:

At eve man seal þe dai heri.<sup>9</sup>

This instance is particularly interesting because the bitter and worldly *Proverbs of Hendyng* are supposed to contain rather more of the native English paroemiological lore than do such international collections as *Adrian and Ritheus*, the *Disticha Catonis*, or *Salomon and Marcolf* (although the mysterious Hendyng purports to be the son of Marcolf). Moreover, it will be noticed that the English proverb follows the model of the *sceal*-gnomes of the Exeter and Cotton MSS., which represent an ancient Germanic manner of phrasing a proverb. Although the similarity in this regard between the Old Norse and the Middle English forms is striking it does not imply borrowing, but rather employment of the same convention.—Note also the modern Danish

En god Dag skal man rose om Aftenen,

which follows the old model.<sup>10</sup>—Beyond the Middle Ages I have not sought to trace the proverb, it is no doubt to be found in the standard collections.<sup>11</sup>

It has already been said that the proverb in some of its forms (English, German, and Scandinavian) follows an old rhetorical

useful notes by Seiler, *Zs. f. deutsche Philologie*, XLVII (1918), 243 ff., see particularly p. 254, No. 131. Seiler's comparison of "Nescis, quid vesper serus vehat" (Varro ap. Gellius, 13. 11. 1) and "Quid vesper ferat, incertum est" (Liv. 45. 8. 6) does not seem to fit exactly the idea behind the proverb.

<sup>8</sup> Laurin (cited by Heusler from Zingerlè, *Die deutschen Sprichwörter im Mittelalter*, p. 145).

<sup>9</sup> Varnhagen, *Anglia*, IV (1881), 183, str. 34, cf. p. 197, str. 33: At even me shal preisen þe feire dai. Kneuer (*Die Sprichwörter Hendyngs*, Diss., Leipzig, 1901) misunderstands the phrase entirely, since he cites as parallel: "Tieus rit au main ki au soir pleure." Cf. Meyer, *loc. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> H. G. Bohn, *Polyglot of Foreign Proverbs*, 1881, p. 365; cf. p. 168, "Schönen Tag soll man loben, wenn Nacht ist."

<sup>11</sup> E. g., Düringsfeld, *Das Sprichwort als Kosmopolit*, I, 85; Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Sprichwörter der germanischen und romanischen Völker*, II, no. 54; W. C. Hazlitt, *English Proverbs*, London, 1907, p. 363, "Praise day at night and life at the end," (from Herbert, *Outlandish Proverbs*, 1640), etc. It does not seem to be classical in this particular form, although the notion was familiar enough to the Greeks and Romans (dicique beatus Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet—*Or. Met.* 3. 136; *ἄρα τέλος μακροῦ βίου*—Herod. 1. 32), cf. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 369, "vesper."



type. And the similarity of the Old Norse stanza to certain Finnish metrical proverbs (*kanteletar*) has led to an interesting but probably fruitless discussion. The Finnish verses as translated by Euling run as follows:

Rühm dein neues Ross erst morgen,  
Deine Frau im zweiten Jahre,  
Erst im dritten deinen Schwager,  
Und dich selber nie im Leben

and

Rühm dein Ross nicht vor dem Morgen,  
Nicht den Sohn, bevor er Mann ist,  
Nicht die Tochter vor der Ehe,  
Und dich selbst nie vor dem Tode.<sup>12</sup>

He remarks that these stanzas are artistically constructed in that they exhibit a climactic arrangement, which does not appear in the Old Norse. Richard M. Meyer (*Die altgermanische Poesie*, pp. 434, 517) asserts that they were borrowed by the Finns from the Germanic races with which they were in contact during the first centuries of the Christian Era. But Euling, more cautiously and no doubt more correctly, sees only a community of motive, and not borrowing.<sup>13</sup> And Comparetti (cited by Euling) declares that the time of the contact cannot be determined.

Whatever the possibilities of borrowing may be and whatever the chance that a bit of indogermanic proverbial wisdom which has been transmitted through the ages is before us, it is clear that Schiller spoke more wisely than he could have known in saying "den alten Spruch."

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#### GEORGE TICKNOR ON CHATEAUBRIAND

To those following the discussion of Chateaubriand and the American journey, the following passages from *The Life, Letters and Journal of George Ticknor* (London, 1876) will be of interest. Under date of May 28, 1817, Ticknor, who was a traveler in Paris, writes:

"I dined to-day again at Mad. de Staël's. There were few persons there, but she likes to have somebody every day, for society is necessary to her. To-day, however, she was less well, and saw none of us. At another time I should have regretted this; but to-day I should have been sorry to have left the party for any reason, since, beside the Duc de Laval, and M. Barante, whom I already knew, there were Chateaubriand and Mad. Récamier, two persons whom I was as curious to see as any two persons in France whom I had not yet met. . . .

<sup>12</sup> *Germanistische Abhandlungen*, xxv, *Das Priamel bis Hans Rosenplüt*, p. 125.

<sup>13</sup> He cites a number of parallels, which need not be repeated here since they have in common merely the general notion of withholding praise until worth has been demonstrated.



"Chateaubriand is a short man, with a dark complexion, black hair, black eyes, and altogether a most marked countenance. It needs no skill in physiognomy to say at once that he is a man of firmness and decision of character, for every feature and movement of his person announce it. He is too grave and serious, and gives a grave and serious turn to the conversation in which he engages; and even when the whole table laughed at Barante's wit, Chateaubriand did not even smile;—not, perhaps, because he did not enjoy the wit as much as the rest, but because laughing is too light for the enthusiasm which forms the basis of his character, and would certainly offend against the consistency we always require. It was natural for us to talk about America, and he gave me a long and eloquent description of his travels from Philadelphia to Niagara, and from Niagara across the unbroken forests to New Orleans; but I must confess he did not discover that eagerness and vanity on the subject which I think he does in his *Martyrs* and his *Itinerary*. . . . On the contrary he seemed rather to prefer to talk of Italy and Rome, of which his recollections seemed more lively than of any other part of his travels; and, indeed, I doubt not he would like to return there rather than to revisit any country he has yet seen, for he spoke of Rome as a 'place where it is so easy to be happy.' His conversation, like his character, seems prompt, original, decisive, and, like his works, full of sparkling phrases, happy combinations and thoughts, sometimes more brilliant than just." (*Op. cit.*, I, 113, 114.)

Under date of June 2, 1817 Ticknor continues:

"I called this morning on Chateaubriand. He is now poor, for his occupation is gone, and he lives in a *hôtel garni*, not far from my lodgings. We talked a good deal about our American Indians and the prevalent notions of civilizing them; upon which he has the rational opinions that nobody can entertain, I suspect, but one who has seen them." (*Op. cit.*, I, 115.)

From the foregoing, written ten years before the *Voyage en Amérique*, there is evidence from a highly reputable witness that this early Chateaubriand was fully persuaded he had made the trip from Philadelphia to Niagara and New Orleans, though there is strong intimation that his American muse showed signs of deserting him. He speaks of our early Indian problems in a way to carry conviction to Ticknor that he knew of them first hand. The conversation at Mme de Staël's might be added to the list of instances given by M. Bédier in the early pages of his well-known articles as examples of his general remark: "Aussi, les souvenirs de ces hautes entreprises avaient comme pénétré la vie de Chateaubriand, et vingt ans, trente ans plus tard, dans le train journalier de l'existence, mille réminiscences involontaires évoquaient soudain à ses yeux la nature du Nouveau-Monde." (Bédier, *Rev. d'Hist. Litt.*, 1899, p. 502.) The Ticknor evidence also adds a little to the depth of that *foi si profonde* of which M. Bédier speaks. To declaim to an American upon the subject of America was something more of an exercise of faith than to paint *le désert du Nouveau-Monde* to Europeans such as Mme Joubert and Mme de Beaumont in the twilight of the garden of *la Muette*.

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## THE ECHO-DEVICE

Several references to the echo not included in Mr. Elbridge Colby's valuable study *The Echo-Device in Literature* (New York Public Library, 1920) may be of interest to students.

## I. Non-Dramatic Literature:

- (a). One of the "sonnets" in Henry Wotton's translation, *A Courtlie Controversie of Cupid's Cantels* (1578), is an echo-song (cf. Scott, *Eliz. Translations from the Italian*, p. 36).
- (b). Barnfield's *Cynthia* (sonnet 13).
- (c). Richard Brathwaite's *Barnabee's Journal* (1618). A burlesque of "Eccho."
- (d). Thomas Walkington, in the prefatory letter to his 1639 edition of *The Optick Glasse of Humours* (originally printed in 1607), says that he wrote "an Echo."
- (e). Nathaniel Richards's "The Divine Eccho, Between the Good Angell, Man in despaire, and the Devill," a nine-page production appearing in his *Poems Sacred and Satyricall* (1641) is another exception to Mr. Colby's statement that almost all the echo-poems deal with unrequited love.
- (f). In connection with the early appearance of the Echo in England and the use of the device for purposes of religious controversy should be considered the following passage in a letter of August 3, 1566, by Guzman de Silva, Spanish Ambassador in England:

"A picture was recently made in Antwerp, representing, on one side, those who are called Gueux, attempting to tear down the placards relative to religion and the inquisition that are placed on a tree, and on the other side, the clergy defending the same. To this, words had been added by the Protestants with a reply in the form of an Echo, and this has been printed, and sold here." The Bishop of London, continues the Spaniard, tried his best to prevent the sale of the work (*Calendar State Papers, Spanish* 1558-67, p. 571). Just what is meant by the "reply in the form of an Echo"?

## II. Dramatic Productions:

- (a). *The Entertainment at Elvetham* (1591), by N. Breton(?) and others. An echo-song.
- (b). *The Cocker's Prophecy* (1594), Scene iii.
- (c). Marston's *Sophonisba* (1602), IV, i.
- (d). Beaumont and Fletcher's *Prophetess* (lic. 1622), V, iii.

- (e). Heywood's *Captives* (1624), II, i.
- (f). Randolph's *Amyntas* (1638), last scene.
- (g). Robert Baron's *Gripus and Hegio* (III, iii), a pastoral drama incorporated in his *The Cyprian Academy* (1647).
- (h). William Peaps' *Love in it's Extasie* (1649), III, iv.
- (i). Cosmo Manuche's *The Loyal Lovers* (1652), Act V.
- (j). Sir William Lower's *The Enchanted Lovers* (1658), III, i. An echo-song.
- (k). Walter Montague's *The Shepherds Paradise* (pr. 1659), Act V.

These instances of the echo-device in drama, in addition to being additional evidence of the popularity of the trick, especially on the court and academic stages, further illustrates two points made by Mr. Colby: (1) The increasing frequency of the device to advance the plot; (2) the fondness of pastoral drama for the Echo.

In conclusion, it may be noted that the Echo continued to appear in a certain type of drama even after the Restoration. This is true in spite of D'Israeli's statement that Butler's ridicule in 1663 drove it out of use. In III, iv of D'Avenant and Dryden's *Tempest* (1670), Ariel performs the function of Echo and an echo-song also occurs. Very similar to the device employed in Peele's *Arraignement of Paris* and certain masques are two later cases. In the first act of Shadwell's *Psyche* (1675) is "a short Symphony of Rustick Musick, representing an Echo"; and in V, vi of Charles D'Avenant's *Circe* (1685) "Phansy enters with the pleasant Dreams—the Pleasant Dreams sing and dance an Entry to the Song, to which Musicke there is an Echo in the Clouds."

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#### MILTON AND OCHINO

Mr. Louis A. Wood, in a dissertation entitled *The Form and Origin of Milton's Anti-Trinitarian Conception*,<sup>1</sup> advances the theory that Milton was indebted to the Italian Reformer, Bernardino Ochino, for his heretical conception of the Trinity, as well as for the doctrine of polygamy embodied in the treatise *De Doctrina Christiana* and the description of the Infernal Council in *Paradise Lost*.

On page 42 Wood notes that Milton makes no mention of Ochino in the list of divines cited in the Divorce pamphlets, where his name might be expected to appear had Milton read him at the

<sup>1</sup> London, 1911.



time of their composition, and his argument rests solely on some striking parallelisms of thought and on the fact that Ochino's writings were known and esteemed in England. It is odd that both Wood and his reviewers should have overlooked an allusion to Ochino in Milton's works. It is on page 114 of the *Commonplace Book*,<sup>2</sup> under the heading *De Matrimonio*: "Sebastianus Castalio Allobrox Bernardinum Ochinum secutus, cujus dialogos latinos fecit, polygamiam adstruere videtur. Thuan. Hist. 1. 35. ad finem. p. 271." The passage to which Milton refers reads as follows in the later editions of Thuanus, one of which Milton used: "Castalio vero . . . Bernardino Ochino segregi, cujus et dialogus Latinos fecit, praecipue in polygamium adstipulari creditus; unde pleraque contraria inter eos scripta emanarunt."<sup>3</sup>

The implication would seem to be that Milton knew little further either of Castalio or of Ochino when he set down this note.<sup>4</sup> Certain it is that his indulgent attitude toward polygamy is quite independent of anything in Ochino's *Dialogi*.<sup>5</sup> It is evident already in notes made from various sources in the *Commonplace Book* before 1639, long antedating, so far as we know, a specifically formulated doctrine of divorce. There is, of course, nothing in these facts to militate against Wood's idea that Milton at some time read Ochino's works and was influenced by his antitrinitarian conception. If we possessed Milton's lost *Index Theologicus* we might perhaps expect to find doctrinal citations from the *Dialogi*, but I cannot help feeling that if Milton had actually known Ochino at first hand he would have alluded to him in his published writings, as he does frequently to the other Italian reformers, Sarpi and Pietro Martire, who were, like Ochino, welcome renegades from the stronghold of Catholicism. The parallels between Ochino's *Tragoedia* and *Paradise Lost* are negligible in view of the long tradition of treatments of this theme and of Milton's obvious indebtedness to Tasso.

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<sup>2</sup> Edited by A. H. Horwood for the Camden Society, 1877.

<sup>3</sup> Thuanus, *Historia sui Temporis*, London, 1733, Vol. II, p. 381.

<sup>4</sup> Circa 1644/5. See my forthcoming study of the chronology of the *Commonplace Book* entries.

<sup>5</sup> Wood, p. 49, thinks that Milton had his attention drawn to Ochino by the latter's writings on divorce and then became a convert to his doctrine of polygamy.



## A CHAUCER ITEM

In his review of my dissertation, Professor Moore expressed regret that I did not print the entry in which reference is made to Henry Gisors as Chaucer's deputy in the office of controller of the customs.<sup>1</sup> I have at last been able to verify my copy of this entry and give it herewith:

Rex dilectis et fidelibus suis Nicholao Brembre et Johanni Philippot collectoribus customarum et subsidiorum suorum in portu ciuitatis sue Londonie salutem. dilectus nobis Galfridus Chaucer Armiger contrarotulator customarum et subsidiorum nostrorum lanarum coriorum et pellium lanutarum in portu predicto nobis humiliter supplicauit vt cum ipse per certis negociis sit et per certum tempus futurum erit in tantum occupatus quod ipse circa officium suum contrarotulatoris quod in portu predicto habet intendere non potest absque inquietudine nimis graui: velimus ei licenciam concedere quod ipse officium predictum per quendam locum suum tenentem exercere et occupare possit: nos eius supplicacioni ex causa predicta fauorabiliter inclinati: licenciam huiusmodi ei usque ad festum omnium sanctorum proximum futurum duximus concedendam. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod dilectum nobis Henricum Gisors quem idem Galfridus locum suum tenentem in officio predicto coram nobis in cancellaria nostra deputauit cuius eciam sacramentum de officio illo bene et fideliter loco dicti Galfridi faciendo cepimus ad officium illud vice prefati Galfridi exequendum recipiatis et ipsum Henricum omnia que ad officium predictum in portu predicto pertinent vsque ad idem festum omnium sanctorum libere et absque impedimento aliquo facere et exercere permittatis. Ita semper quod idem Henricus in officio illo interim continue moretur et se bene et fideliter gerat in eodem et rotulos suos officium illud tangentes manu sua propria scribat. Volumus enim quod altera pars sigilli nostri quod dicitur Coket in portu predicto in custodia sua remaneat per tempus supradictum. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xxxiii die Junij  
per breue de priuato sigillo.<sup>2</sup>

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## BRIEF MENTION

*Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst*, dargestellt von Bernhard ten Brink. Dritte Auflage bearbeitet von Eduard Eckhardt (Leipzig, Chr. Herm. Tauchnitz, 1920). The first edition of this notable book appeared in 1884; the second, supervised (*durchgesehen*) by

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Language Notes*, xxviii, 193.

<sup>2</sup> *Close Rolls* 224. mem. 36.

Professor Kluge, in 1899, which was seven years after the author's death. This second edition was translated into English by Dr. M. Bentineck Smith in 1901 (Macmillan & Co.). The section-numbering is the same thruout these three forms of the work; this agreement is, unfortunately, not maintained in the newly revised edition. The English translator very helpfully supplemented the references to the Six-Text edition by references to Skeat's *Chaucer*, but this feature has also been disregarded by Dr. Eckhardt. However, there is a gain in the extension of the verbal index, which now embraces chapters I and II (not only II as heretofore). In tracing the redistribution of details, this extension supplies the right help. Thus, the interesting word *reysed* (*Prol.* 54), discussed by Zupitza in his review of the first edition, has been carried from § 41 to § 88, where it is more precisely derived from German thru O. F. *reise*, 'military expedition.'

In a brief preface, Dr. Eckhardt tells that he assumed the preparation of this edition at the solicitation of Professor Kluge; that the book was ready for publication in 1914, when the war intervened; and that the consequent delay has proved to be an advantage in bringing to his use the studies of Dr. Wild (*Wiener Beiträge zur engl. Philologie* 44, 1915, reviewed by Dr. Ekwall, *Beiblatt zur Anglia* 27, 164, 1916), and Dr. Bihl (*Anglistische Forschungen* 50, 1916). A bibliographical list is given of the principal aids in the editor's effort to cancel (*tilgen*) *das Veraltete und Verfehlte*, and additional references of value are incidentally given in the text, as, for example, to F. Eilers (p. 18), to Luick (p. 10, note 3), and especially to the editor's own extensive and important article on "Die neuengl. Verkürzung langer Tonsilbenvokale" (*Engl. Stud.* 50, 1916-17). On the other hand no disadvantage has been incurred by references to unimportant or untrustworthy studies, such as Professor E. F. Shannon's examination of Chaucer's octosyllabic verse (*J. of Engl. and Germ. Phil.* XI, 277 ff., 1913).

Since this Grammar first appeared, some thirty-six years ago, there has been an accumulation of references to it in the Chaucerian studies of a notably fruitful period; and in its peculiar supremacy it will surely long continue to be unrivalled. As revising editor Dr. Eckhardt has encouraged prophecy. But why has he overlooked the practical advantage of keeping the section-numbering in agreement thru all the editions and consequently thruout books and articles relating to Chaucer? The confusion is particularly disturbing in the complicated matter of the first chapter. Here the first variation is occasioned by needlessly creating a new § 16 for matter that could have been differently placed. The new numbers are now in excess by one, until § 36 is passed. At this point the new numbers fall behind the old by two (*e. g.* § 37 equates with former § 39); then at § 43 this difference is reduced to one,

but is again increased to two when former § 97 is subordinated to become division *b* of § 95. All this shuffling of the section-numbers should have been avoided, even at the cost of an occasional infelicity in the distribution of the matter.

The report of what is most changed in this new edition may, with advantage, be cited in Dr. Eckhardt's own words: "Verfehlt sind vor allem ten Brinks Lehre von den schwebenden Vokalen, und seine zahlreichen Ableitungen aus dem Niederländischen und Niederdeutschen." One becomes aware at once, in §§ 3 and 6, how the first of these subjects has exercised the care and resourcefulness of the editor. A foot-note to § 3 is appropriately employed to announce the variation from the preceding editions; but one feels it to be inappropriate to refer to ten Brink in the third person (as on p. 10) within the text of his own book, and this is rendered doubly unsuitable by ten Brink's occasional expression in the first person, as in §§ 330, 331 (formerly 333, 334). The second category of changes has also required punctilious care. The method may be observed in comparing former § 218 with the revised § 215. Here the importation of *gere* from former § 210, note, and the citation of recent conjectures exemplify the editor's endeavor to bring the book up to date. At many points thruout the book new citations and references make this endeavor manifest. However, reverting to § 215, it would have been appropriate to record the troublesome *gere* of *Blaunche* 1257. This poem also calls to mind the omission, in all the editions of this Grammar, at § 195 (198) of the pp. *cude*, which occurs in lines 787 and 998 of *Blaunche* in a usage (now dialectal) for which the *NED.* (s. v. *can*) has no citation before Lydgate.

In § 4 the capability of stress shown by the second syllable of *worthy*, *singinge*, *frendshiþe*, is still left in mystery: "sei es bloss dem Metrum zu liebe, sei es auf Grund einer tiefer wurzelnden Tendenz der Sprache." This is a challenge, and Dr. Eckhardt's investigation (*Engl. Stud.* 50) should have prepared him to accept it, and to rewrite the paragraphs relating to one of the most characteristic laws of English utterance, the law of accentuation that effects the change in the quantity of the vowel of the first member of substantive compounds, and in the radical syllable of derivatives. The grammarians have long been transmitting an erroneous interpretation of these changes. Of this Dr. Eckhardt is aware, and promises the required correction at the beginning of his article (*l. c.* p. 201): "Die meisten grammatiker erklären die verkürzung in *wisdom*, *husband*, *whitsuntide* und ähnlichen fällen aus der auf den tonsilbenvokal folgenden doppelkonsonanz. In *southern*, *national*, *twopence*, *holiday* usw. ist aber die verkürzung ebenfalls eingetreten, obgleich hier nur einfache konsonanz vorliegt. . . . Die doppelkonsonanz kann also als grund der verkürzung in *wisdom*, *husband*, *whitsuntide* nur in zweiter reihe in betracht kom-



men; deren eigentliche ursache muss eine andere sein, und zwar dieselbe wie in *southern, national, twopence, holiday*." To make this statement correct one must cancel 'nur in zweiter reihe'; but Dr. Eckhardt inconsistently does not permit that, as is shown in a later section (*l. c.* p. 276), where he attributes the short vowel of the first syllable of *wisdom* and *husband* solely to the 'doppelkonsonanz,' and accordingly allows this explanation to remain unchanged in § 6  $\beta$  of the Grammar. This charge of inconsistency cannot be withdrawn, for Dr. Eckhardt is surely not to be sustained in restricting the effect of 'double consonants' to Middle English, and assuming other causes for the same effects in the subsequent periods of the language (*l. c.* p. 284).

The true explanation of this process of back-shortening, as Sweet calls it, lies in the recognition of the secondary accent on the second member of substantive compounds and on certain derivative syllables. This accent supplies the constant and adequately effective factor in the problem. At no period of rhythmic composition is this secondary accent without the effect of an inherent principle of the language; in prose-utterance the same is true, but less obvious to the unmethodical observer. The native categories of the secondary accent are clearly brought to view in Anglo-Saxon versification; and by following these categories thru the later periods of the language the demonstration of the announced proposition is made irrefutable by the revelation of that inherent law of English utterance which is the sufficient cause of back-shortening. This process set in apparently when the earlier accentuation of the language became less acute. The more grave accentuation favored an approximate levelling of the adjacent accents (primary and secondary) under a hovering or circumflex accent. The component parts of the word (with the two accents) were thus fused into a closer unity of utterance (the unity of the *Sprechtakt*) and shared in a redistribution of the accent of the word as a whole, with a consequent result of shortening or keeping short the vowels of the syllables which in mere parathesis would not have been changed.

To be concrete, the former statement assumes all historic secondary accents to be of equal or of adequate potency (under the prevailing fashion of grave accentuation) in effecting the discussed relation between the quantity of the vowels of simple words and the vowels of compounded and derived words. A few representative words, in Modern English form, will serve the purpose of the illustration: *wisdom, friendship, husband, nothing, body, worthy, cleansing, holiday*. The failure to recognize in the categories suggested the constant and adequate factor in back-shortening leads to the perpetuation of the inorganic divisions and classifications elaborated in § 6 of this Grammar. The inconsistencies to which this tradition leads may also be conveniently observed in Professor Emerson's distinction between the 'weak' final vowel of *body* and



the strong secondary stress of *redy, sory* (*A Middle English Reader*, §§ 73, 77). It is the frequent lengthening of the consonant following the shortened vowel that has given rise to the traditional error in this problem. A result has been mistaken for a cause. Deferring the argument in its details, it must serve the present purpose merely to add that the function assigned to the secondary word-accent in the process of back-shortening is to be inferred from the Chaucerian rhythms—not to look beyond Chaucer; and that this inference is to be strengthened by correcting at many minor points the scansion of lines in the division of this Grammar devoted to versification,—the division that Dr. Eckhardt has transmitted essentially without revision.

As a whole this Grammar has been brought into somewhat closer agreement with the present state of technical knowledge, and Dr. Eckhardt will be rewarded by the appreciative thanks of all serious students of Chaucer for what he has done to perpetuate the extraordinary usefulness of this book. An English version of this new edition is, however, not so much required as a newly planned Chaucerian Grammar, supplying a more complete systematization of what scholars have contributed to the subject since ten Brink's day.

J. W. B.

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*Writing Through Reading*, by Robert M. Gay (Atlantic Monthly Press, 1920), is a frank recurrence to old-fashioned methods of teaching English composition—the method of Rufus Choate, translating the classics; of Franklin, reproducing the essays in his odd volume of *The Spectator*; of Stevenson, playing the sedulous ape to a succession of masters. The reproduction of another's thought is not offered as a complete substitute for original composition. From one-half to one-third of a student's practice in writing, Professor Gay suggests, may profitably be spent in the use of "forms of reproduction"; that is, translating, paraphrasing, condensing, imitating prose, and imitating verse. To each of these forms the author devotes a brief chapter, accompanied by happily chosen exercises.

The result is an exceedingly interesting book. Professor Gay's selections are made with such tact, and his comments are so readable that the method which he advocates enjoys in his hands all the advantage of an attractive presentation. This is fortunate, for it is a method which at its best demands in the student a teachable and a patient spirit. Professor Gay's book may not be well adapted to use in a freshman class of a thousand. Yet there are classes which can use it profitably. We have got so far from the study and practice of what our fathers called *belles lettres*, and have so devoted ourselves to the notion that English is merely a tool wherewith to do the business of life, that it is well for us to be recalled

to the earlier point of view. Imitation and emulation are, after all, the methods by which every artist must begin. In devising exercises for the use of these methods in English classes, Professor Gay has performed a useful service.

J. C. F.

Mairet's *Illustre Corsaire* (1641). There has recently come into my possession an edition of this tragi-comedy which I do not find mentioned in any bibliographical work. The first edition, Paris, Courbé, 1640, 4to., is the only one named by Maupoint, de Beauchamps, La Vallière, Nicéron and Soleinne. The frères Parfaict and Lérès give merely the supposed date of representation, 1637. Mouhy, with his usual inaccuracy, dates the first edition both 1637 (*Théâtre François*, I, 250) and 1640 (*ibid.*, II, 214). Bizos in his dissertation on Mairet refers only to an edition of 1642, published by Courbé and Jonas de Bréquigny.

The edition that has been overlooked is entitled "L'ILLVSTRE / CORSAIRE, / TRAGI-COMEDIE, / DE MAIRET, / Sur l'Imprimé / A PARIS / Chez AVGVSTIN COURBE', Imprimeur / & Libraire de Monseigneur Frere dn Rpy, [du Roy] / dans la petite Salle du Palais, à la Palme. / M. DC. XXXXI." It begins, like the first edition, with a dedicatory epistle, an *advertissement*, and a sonnet in honor of the duchesse d'Esguillon. It contains 104 pages. The dedicatory epistle and the verse throughout the volume are printed in italics. The type-page (measured, p. 75) is 12.70 by 6.80 centimeters. The size and the fact that the wire-marks are perpendicular show that it is a 32mo., though the signatures are those of a 4to.

In addition to slight changes of accentuation or spelling, *i* for *y*, *z* for *s*, etc., the following variants occur: "Que le simple entretien d'une escriture morte" (1640, p. 7) becomes "Que le silence entier d'une peinture morte" (1641, p. 16); "vos" (1640, p. 10, l. 4) becomes "nos" (1641, p. 18, l. 14); "augmentant" (1640, p. 47, l. 1), "augmente" (1641, p. 44, l. 18); "bientost" (1640, p. 51, l. 6), "tantost" (1641, p. 47, l. 14); "merveilles" (1640, p. 58, l. 2), "merveille" (1641, p. 52, l. 10); "ennemis" (1640, p. 66, l. 18), "ennuis" (1641, p. 59, l. 25); "et de l'un de l'autre" (1640, p. 83, l. 7), "et de l'un et de l'autre" (1641, p. 71, l. 4); "sujet" (1640, p. 100, l. 7), "besoin" (1641, p. 83, l. 7); the speech of Ismène (1640, p. 49, l. 9) is incorrectly assigned to Tenare (1641, p. 46, l. 11); that of Evandre (1640, p. 112, l. 1) to Erphore (1641, p. 91, l. 4). The change of "ennemis" to "ennuis" is required by the meter; the addition of "et" in the following case, by both meter and correct usage.

H. C. L.

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## GARRICK, COLMAN, AND *THE CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE*

With the exception of the plays of Goldsmith and Sheridan, *The Clandestine Marriage* was probably the best English comedy of the second half of the eighteenth century. Its authors were George Colman, the elder, and David Garrick, respectively one of the most widely known dramatists of his generation and one of the greatest actors that England has produced. The part each had in the writing of the play was in dispute even during their lives, and has remained in dispute until the present. It is my purpose to examine the evidence both internal and external that has any bearing upon the indebtedness of the play to each of its two authors, and to state the conclusions that can be drawn from such an examination.

Since much of the discussion will pre-suppose familiarity with the details of this now slightly known play, it will be advisable to give a brief account of the plot:

Fanny Sterling, the daughter of a rich city-merchant, has been clandestinely married to Lovewell, a worthy but impecunious kinsman of an amorous nobleman, Lord Ogleby. Sir John Melvil, a nephew of Lord Ogleby, and the lord himself accompanied by Canton, a Swiss valet, and Brush, another servant, arrive at the Sterling house to complete arrangements for Sir John's marriage with Miss Sterling, Fanny's elder sister. Unfortunately, Sir John, upon seeing Fanny, falls in love with her, and is discovered by the elder sister on his knees before her. The sister is naturally very indignant. Because of parental objection to Lovewell, it seems unwise to announce the marriage, even though Fanny is with child. Fanny and Lovewell decide that in order to warn Sir John, she should explain the whole affair to Lord Ogleby. While she is telling Lord



Ogleby the story, however, she is interrupted at a point which makes it seem to the lord that she is really in love with him. The denouement comes when Lovewell is discovered in Fanny's room. The whole situation is cleared satisfactorily for Fanny and her husband. Other characters are Mrs. Heidelberg, the vulgar widowed sister of Sterling, a chambermaid, several lawyers, and Betty, Fanny's maid and confidante.

The play was first produced at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane on February 20, 1766 ([Genest, J.,] *Some Account of the English Stage, from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830*. In ten volumes. Bath, 1832. vol. v, pp. 92-3). It was later printed as by George Colman and David Garrick, with the motto on the title-page,

*Huc adhibe vultus, et in unâ parce duobus:  
Vivat, et ejusdem simus uterque parens!*

It was reviewed in *The Critical Review*, vol. XXI, pp. 221-225.

The author of the article on *The Clandestine Marriage* in *Biographia Dramatica* makes certain remarkable statements about the respective parts of Colman and Garrick in the play. He says, "We have usually heard that Garrick's share of this piece was Lord Ogleby and the courtly family; and Colman's, Sterling and the city family. But the following was related to us by a gentleman who declared that it was from the mouth of Mr. Colman himself; 'Garrick composed two acts, which he sent to me, desiring me to *put them together*, or do what I would with them. I did put them together, for I put them into the fire, and wrote the play myself'" (*Biographia Dramatica; or a Companion to the Playhouse* . . . Originally compiled, to the year 1764, by David Erskine Baker, Continued thence to 1782, by Isaac Reed, F. A. S. And brought down to the End of November 1811 . . . by Stephen Jones. In 3 volumes. London, 1812. vol. II, p. 106). In the discussion of *False Concord*, a farce by the Rev. James Towneley, acted at Covent Garden, March 20, 1764, and not printed, it is noted that "It is worthy of remark, that in this farce were three characters (Lord Lavender, Mr. Sudley an enriched soap-boiler, and a pert valet) which were afterwards transplanted, with the dialogue of some scenes, nearly *verbatim*, into *The Clandestine Marriage* (brought out two years afterwards), under the names of Lord Ogleby, Mr. Sterling, and Brush" (*ib.* p. 218). This alleged fact was disclosed by "Mr. Roberdeau in his *Fugitive Verse and*

*Prose*, 1801; Mr. R. having married a daughter of the late Mr. Towneley" (*ib.*).

When George Colman, the younger, in 1820, published in London *Posthumous Letters from Various Celebrated Men; Addressed to Francis Colman, and George Colman, the Elder*, he did not allow such statements as these to pass unchallenged. In the *Addenda* to his volume he printed a defence of his father which included in his father's handwriting a document submitted to David Garrick apparently before the play was begun. In this document, Colman suggests numerous details concerning both characters and plot.

In his discussion of the characters, Colman first of all suggests that the Earl of Oldsap—to be played by Garrick—should be an old Lord who thinks every woman in love with him. Because of this belief he ogles at every woman he meets. Colman completes his remarks about the earl with this significant statement: "But this notion you are more fully possess of than I" (*Posthumous Letters*, p. 334). He then mentions as the other characters, Lord Sapplin, son of the Lord; Traffick, a rich city merchant, anxious to be thought "generous and genteel, w<sup>ch</sup> serves more effectually to expose his Bourgeoise manners"; Lovewell "privately married to Miss Bride—warm, and sensible" [it will be noted that Colman sometimes substitutes for the names of the characters the names of the actors who were to play the parts, J. M. B.]; "Mrs. Clive, Kennedy, or Bradshaw—Sister to Traffick—and something of the same character in Petticoats—only that he is rough & hearty in his manner, & she affects to be delicate & refined. Her dialect is particularly vulgar, aiming at the same time to be fine, not by murdering words in the slip-slop way, but by a mean twang in the pronunciation, as *Qualaty — famaly, &c*": "Miss Pope — eldest daughter to Traffick, a keen smart girl, full of spirit, sense, wit, humour, mischief, & malice": "Miss Bride—youngest daughter to Traffick,—a sensible girl, of a soft & amiable temper, not without proper spirit."

Turning from the characters, Colman proceeds to make a rough draught of the general scheme of the play: "A Treaty of Marriage is supposed to be set on foot between the Court and City Family, in w<sup>ch</sup> it is intended that Lord Sapplin, Garrick's Son, shall be married to Miss Pope, eldest daughter to Traffick; It

happens, however, that the young Lord has contracted a violent affection for Miss Bride, who is *before the beginning* of this play clandestinely married to Lovewell. The efforts made by Lord Sapplin to bring about his match with Miss Bride, instead of Miss Pope—the perplexities arising therefrom to the young Couple, Lovewell and Miss Bride—the growing jealousy, & malicious artifices of Miss Pope—& then naturally involving the old Earl (Garriek) in circumstances tending to shew his character—together with the part wch Traffick & his Sister may naturally take in this affair—to make up the Story of the Play.”

Colman comments upon the fact that he is simply making a sketch of his plan, that his purpose is “merely to enable you to think in the same train with me: & that you may be still better acquainted with *the stuff of my thoughts*, I have here subjoined some loose hints of Acts, Scenes, manner of conducting the Story, of shewing the characters to advantage, &c” (*ib.* p. 336). He suggests that perhaps the plot might be still further “pleasantly embarrassed by introducing a character (a *good* one) openly intended to be married to Miss Bride.” The result of this plan he believes would be to make the situation of Lovewell and Miss Bride more difficult and would direct Miss Pope’s jealousy to the wrong object.

In quoting Colman’s hints for the Acts and Scenes, I shall italicize the details that were incorporated in the finished play. In Act I *he wishes to let the audience know* (1) *of the marriage* and (2) *of Lord Sapplin’s attachment to Bride instead of to his intended wife* [inserted in Act II]. He suggests that this will best be done and Lovewell will be raised somewhat above the others *if the latter is made a relative, perhaps nephew of the earl. Because of this relationship the young lord will the more naturally make him his confidant.* Furthermore, *the old earl could be shown dressing* [inserted in Act II], “& he might speak of himself—hold his son cheap as a man of gallantry—talk of what *he cd* do with the women—that even now all the family are more in love with him, &c, &c—a short lawyer scene (*à la Hogarth*) with some family-strokes on mortgages, settlements &c might perhaps be introduced [inserted in Act III]. If the City Family are at all produced in this Act, they may be supposed in expectation of the arrival of the Lords—Preparations making on all hands—Traffick



*talking of his venison, turbot, pine-apples, &c. His sister on tenterhooks to receive persons of family & Miss Pope's Elevation & Pride abt her noble match, & contempt of her sister—&c" (ib. p. 338).*

For Act II, Colman suggests that *the Lords should have arrived between Acts I and II*, and that in Act II, Scene I, Oldsap be shown with the women. *A humorous scene might be produced by having Traffick show his garden and remark upon the modern improvements in it.* Colman says, "You will not find many materials for this in y<sup>r</sup> own garden at Hampton; but you may among y<sup>r</sup> neighbors." *Lord Sapplin might find a chance to make a declaration to Miss Bride—she will speak of the indelicacy of his transferring his attentions to her, and will not encourage him. Miss Pope is to be aroused to jealousy by some incident and will then become incensed against both Lord Sapplin and her sister.*

At the beginning of his remarks upon Act III, Colman says, "N. B. Though I mark the acts thus, I by no means wd suggest to you that I have here planned out anything like the form of the business of the Play" (ib. p. 339). He suggests that *Lovewell and Miss Bride shall decide that since Lord Oldsap apparently has taken a kindly interest in her, she should tell him of Lord Sapplin's attentions and also of her marriage. While she is telling the first part, she becomes embarrassed, and leaving without a full confession, leads him to think when she says her affections are elsewhere, that she is in love with him. Miss Pope may complain to him of Lord Sapplin and Miss Bride, but in that case Lord Oldsap will deny this and say he can tell her where Miss Bride's affections are placed.* Colman believes that if the character intended to be married to Miss Bride were now introduced, he might be used as a tool by Miss Pope if she should tell him of the wrong that was being planned against her, and should ask him to counteract the plot. *Miss Bride and Lovewell agree that Lovewell shall now tell Lord Oldsap of the marriage, but before he can get fully under way, Lord Oldsap confesses his love for Miss Bride. Lord Oldsap is to break the whole matter to the family, by speaking to Traffick's sister, who first thinks he is making love to her. When she finds she is mistaken, she treats him with contempt.*

Colman ends his paper by remarking, "Of the Denouement I have not as yet even conceived those imperfect ideas I have got of

some other parts. Think of the whole, & think in my train, if it appears worth while, & when you have thrown yr thoughts on paper, as I have done mine, we will lay our heads together, Brother Bayes."

The younger Colman believed that it was after a consultation with Garrick that his father wrote the latter part of the following Loose Hints of Act V:

"Scene of Sterling, Ogleby, lawyers &c on filling up blanks, & settling all the clauses of the settlement—disputes arise, & Sterling ag<sup>st</sup> both matches, declaring that he will not marry his family into a Chancery suit—in the midst of their disputes enter Miss Sterling laughing immoderately, & brings in Betty trembling, who, being *interrogated* discovers the whole of the Clandestine Marriage.

#### V.

"Lovewell, & Fanny, & Betty in Fanny's apartment—Betty may tell them that Mr<sup>s</sup> Lettice has been pumping her—Lovewell tells Fanny that finding the misconstruction of Ld. O., he was just on the point of explanation when Sir John appeared—but that he will certainly break it the next morning to Sir John—and this night shall conclude her anxieties on the clandestine marriage—(sc. 2). Another apartment, Miss Sterling & Mr<sup>s</sup> H. in their night-cloaths [sic]—to them Lettice, who tells them she has been on the watch, & saw a man go into Miss Fanny's room—They immediately conclude it to be Sir John—and Miss Sterling resolves to expose her sister & Sir John—the family alarmed—various night figures—Betty brought in trembling, who discovers the whole affair—then Lovewell & at length Fanny, who being pardoned, Sir John's match breaks off, & the piece concludes by Sterling & Ogleby both joining in good humour about Fanny & Lovewell" (*ib.* pp. 343-4).

From even a most casual comparison of the completed play with the notes sent by Colman to Garrick, it is evident that whichever author wrote the first three acts, Colman was responsible for the early part of the plot in almost every respect. In Act I, Fanny and Betty let the audience into the secret at once. Lovewell is made a kinsman of Lord Ogleby. The Sterling family is preparing to receive the distinguished guests. Sterling, as pre-arranged, discusses the food for his dinner: "But, pray, sister Heidelberg, let the turtle be drest to-morrow, and some venison; and let the gardener cut some pine-apples, and get out some ice. I'll answer for wine, I warrant you: I'll give them such a glass of Champagne as they never drank in their lives; no, not at a duke's

table" (*The Dramatick* [sic] *Works of George Colman*. In four volumes, London, 1777. Vol. I, p. 179).

The characters of Mrs. Heidelberg, Miss Sterling, and Lord Ogleby as elaborated in Act I and the following acts are simply amplifications of Colman's notes. When Mrs. Heidelberg speaks to the housekeeper, Mrs. Trusty, about the anticipated arrival of the guests, she says, "Oh, here, Trusty; do you know that people of qualaty are expected this evening?" (*ib.* p. 175). Or, again, she says to Fanny, "Go, child! you know the qualaty will be here by and by; go, and make yourself a little more fit to be seen [*exit Fanny*]. She is gone away in tears; absolutely crying, I vow and pertest. This ridicalous love! We must put a stop to it. It makes a perfect nataral of the girl" (*ib.* p. 177). Miss Sterling, thinking of her marriage with Sir John, makes her sister exceedingly uncomfortable: "My heart goes pit-a-pat at the very idea of being introduced at court: gilt chariot! pye-balled horses! laced liveries! and then the whispers buzzing round the circle! Who is she? 'Lady Melvil, Ma'am!' Lady Melvil! my ears tingle at the sound . . . if Mr Lovewell and you come together, as I doubt not you will, you will live very comfortably, I dare say . . . perhaps I may meet you in the summer with some other citizens at Tunbridge. For my part, I shall always entertain a proper regard for my relations: You shan't want my countenance, I assure you" (*ib.* pp. 174-5). Miss Sterling's characterization of Ogleby is even more strikingly like Colman's notes: "He is full of attention to the ladies, and smiles, and grins, and leers, and ogles, and fills every wrinkle in his old wizen face with comical expressions of tenderness. I think he would make an admirable sweetheart" (*ib.* pp. 178-9).

The only suggestions not utilized in this act are those of having a lawyer-scene and of showing the old earl dressing. It is interesting, however, that the former is used in Act III and the latter in Act II. The arrival of the lord's servant at the end of Act I prepares for the arrival of the guests between acts as suggested by Colman.

At the beginning of Act II the original plan was modified by the introduction of a servant-scene in Lord Ogleby's ante-chamber, followed by the appearance of the lord himself. The plan is further modified by Sir John's telling Lovewell that upon visiting his room early in the morning he had found it empty. This scene,



as anticipatory to Act V was in all probability suggested by Garrick. After the garden-scene, Sir John admits to Lovewell his love for Fanny, and failing to induce Lovewell to convey a letter to her from him, was in the act of declaring his love to Fanny herself when Miss Sterling discovered him. This scene gave the occasion that Colman desired to arouse Miss Sterling to jealousy.

The lawyer-scene suggested for Act I was inserted in Act III. Mrs. Heidelberg was made a more prominent figure by emphasizing the power she wielded in the family by reason of her money. The relations between Mrs. Heidelberg and the others in the group take up most of this act.

The suggestions made by Colman for Act III, in regard to the complications among Fanny, Lovewell, and Lord Ogleby were followed finally in Act IV, and carried out to the letter. The matter is further complicated by the request that Lord Ogleby makes to Sterling for his daughter's hand.

It is noteworthy that the first suggestions for Act V were not used, except in part for Act IV, and that the last suggestions were followed in the main. The order of disclosure was altered somewhat, however. Betty came out of Fanny's room first, but did not confess. She was followed by Fanny and finally by Lovewell.

From a survey of the internal evidence it is apparent, therefore, that Colman was responsible for the basic characterization of most of the chief *dramatis personae*, including Lord Ogleby, and also for the most important details of the first four acts. For more specific information we must turn to external evidence.

George Colman, the younger, suggests the method which his father and Garrick followed in their collaboration: "The probable process was, that they consulted, first, as to the general plan, and, secondly, as to the conduct of the incidents and scenes; then wrote *separately* and then compared and modified, *together*, what each had composed" (*Posthumous Letters*, p. 333). He states, furthermore, that his father had told him Garrick did not write all of Lord Ogleby, that, for instance, Colman wrote the whole of Lord Ogleby's first scene. This evidence is important, as coming from Colman's son, but his last statement, as we shall see later, is controverted by one of his father's own letters.

The elder Colman's letters from Garrick give considerable information in regard to the progress of the play and the methods of

collaboration. *The Clandestine Marriage* was apparently well under way as early as 1763, for in December of that year Garrick wrote from Naples to Colman, "I have not yet written a word of the fourth or fifth acts of 'The Clandestine Marriage,' but I am thinking much about it" (Peake, R. B., *Memoirs of the Colman Family, including their Correspondence with the most distinguished Personages of their time*. In two volumes. London, 1841, vol. I, p. 93). This reference would place the date of Colman's notes at least three months before the first production of *False Concord* on March 20, 1764, and should dispose of the charge of plagiarism as far as the conception of Lord Ogleby is concerned. It is also significant that Garrick was abroad at the time of the first production of *False Concord*. He wrote to Colman from Rome, April 11, 1764, a very intimate letter in which he said about *The Clandestine Marriage*, "Speed your plough, my dear friend; have you thought of 'The Clandestine Marriage'? I am at it" (*ib.* p. 102). Since Garrick continued abroad during 1764, it is improbable that his part of the play could have been plagiarized. Furthermore, it is probable that had any great part of it been filched from another work, the borrowing would have been exposed at once instead of a half-century later. In a letter from Paris, dated November 10, 1764, Garrick says, "Did you receive my letter about our Comedy? I shall begin, the first moment I find my comic ideas return to me, to divert myself with scribbling; say something to me upon that subject. I have considered our three acts, and with some little alterations they will do; I will ensure them" (*ib.* p. 126).

If we may judge from these letters and from the length of time that elapsed between the inception and completion of the play, it would seem probable that neither author was burningly enthusiastic about his task. By September 24, 1765, however, the work was nearing an end. On that date, Doctor Hoadly, in a letter to Garrick, says, "I am pleased to hear that Mr. Colman's Comedy, two acts of which you shewed me at Hampton some years ago, is in such forwardness, as I found, by his talk at his own house last winter that he had not worked any farther upon it; I did not let him know I had seen any part of it, or was privy to the scheme, which surely is a good one. God bless you both" (*ib.* pp. 156-7).

From the beginning, it would seem that Colman expected Garrick to play the part of Lord Ogleby. For some reason, how-

ever, when the play was completed, the great actor refused to undertake the part. Thomas Davies, Garrick's friend and biographer, attributed his change of mind to his advanced age and his frequent attacks of the gout and stone (Davies, T., *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick, Esq.* . . . a new Edition in two volumes. London, 1808, vol. II, p. 102). Tate Wilkinson, the actor, said that Garrick wrote the part of Lord Ogleby before he went to Italy. When he returned, he decided not to play that part, both because of his health and also because, "if he himself should play Lord Ogleby, it would lead into applications from authors to request his performing in their pieces; to prevent which, he had come to a determination not to study any new character whatever, and desired Mr. King would do the part" (Wilkinson, T., *Memoirs of his Own Life*. In four volumes, York, 1790, vol. III, p. 254). At first King would not take the rôle, but he was at last persuaded. When he recited part of a scene to Garrick in a tremulous voice, "Garrick was all astonished, and thundered out, 'By G—d, King, if you can but sustain that fictitious manner and voice throughout, it will be one of the greatest performances that ever adorned a British theatre'" (*ib.* p. 255). Peake, the biographer of the Colmans, says that Garrick was unwilling to study a new part, and hints that it may have been because of a resemblance between Lord Ogleby and Lord Chalkstone in Garrick's own play, *Lethe*. He suspects that a meddler carried to Garrick some remarks made by Colman upon his collaborator as a manager (Peake, *op. cit.* vol. 1, p. 157).

Whatever was the cause of Garrick's refusal to play the part of Lord Ogleby, his failure to fulfill Colman's expectations brought about a break between the two friends. On November 9, 1765, James Clutterbuck, writing to Garrick, says,

Colman and you are men of most quick sensations, and are apt sometimes to catch at words instead of things, and those very words may probably receive great alterations by the medium through which they pass. I know you love one another, and a third person might call up such explanations as would satisfy ye both; I myself should not doubt being able to do it were we assembled together. He had communicated his griefs (but no acrimony, I assure you) before your letters came and I commiserate his disappointment. Had I not been in the secret of the joint enterprise I suppose he would not have opened his mouth to me; but being so, the comedy



was read to my Molly and me last Wednesday night, and our concern, for that it is not likely to be finished and represented, equalled the delight we had in hearing the piece: I cannot help thinking there is but one person in the world capable of playing Lord Ogleby, *et hinc illae Lachrymae!* but who can help it?" (*The Private Correspondence of David Garrick with the Most Celebrated Persons of his Time*; . . . In two volumes. London, 1831, vol. I, pp. 206-7).

The most interesting evidence both in regard to this quarrel and in regard to the authorship of *The Clandestine Marriage* is to be found in a letter written by Colman to Garrick, December 4, 1765. It corroborates in every detail the conclusions drawn from the play itself:

Since my return from Bath I have been told, but I can hardly believe it, that, in speaking of 'The Clandestine Marriage,' you have gone so far as to say, 'Colman lays a great stress on his having written this character on purpose for me, suppose it should come out that *I wrote it!*' That the truth should come out is my earnest desire; but I should be extremely sorry, for your sake, that it should come out by such a declaration from you. Of all men in the world, I believe I may venture to say that I should be one of the last to take any thing to myself of which I was not the author . . . but you know that it was not I, but yourself, who desired secrecy in relation to our partnership, and you may remember the reasons you gave for it. You know, too, that on the publication of the play the whole affair was to come out, and that both our names were to appear together on the title-page. . . . In your letter to Clutterbuck . . . you tell him, 'that you had formed a plan of a comedy called *The Sisters*; that if the piece did not succeed, you had promised to take your part, with the shame that might belong to it, to yourself.' I cannot quote the words of your letter, but I am sure I have not misrepresented the purport of it, though the whole is diametrically opposite to my notion of the state of the partnership subsisting between us. You have the plan of 'The Sisters' by you; read it, and see if there are in it any traces of the story of 'The Clandestine Marriage.' You returned me the rough draught which I drew out of that story, and thinking it might be of use in conducting the plot I happened to preserve it: let them be compared, and see what is the resemblance between them. The first plate of Hogarth's 'Marriage à la Mode' was the ground I went upon: I had long wished to see those characters on the stage, and mentioned them as proper objects of comedy, before I had the pleasure of your acquaintance, in a letter written expressly in your defence against the attacks of your old arch enemy Shirley. . . . I understood it was to be a joint work, in the fullest sense of the

word; and never imagined that either of us was to lay his finger on a particular scene, and cry, 'This is mine!' It is true, indeed, that by your suggestion, Hogarth's proud lord was converted into Lord Ogleby, and that, as the play now stands, the levee-scene, at the beginning of the second act, and the whole of the fifth act, are yours: but in the conduct as well as dialogue of the fourth act, I think your favourite, Lord Ogleby, has some obligations to me" (*The Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, vol. I, pp. 209-210).

In Garrick's reply to this letter there is no attempt to deny Colman's assertions. Soon, however, the quarrel was over. On the one hand, the actor was able to prove to Colman's satisfaction that he had not intended to injure him; on the other hand, Colman was reconciled to the thought of having King take the part of Lord Ogleby. In less than three months after this letter was written, the play was on the stage.

From an examination of the preceding evidence certain facts are clear. In the first place, the story that Colman burned Garrick's manuscript is absurd. There is absolutely no indication of friction between the men before the play was finished. Had Colman been guilty of such an outrage there would undoubtedly have been some mention of it in their correspondence. In the next place, as has been suggested, the charge of plagiarism falls to the ground (1) because Garrick was not in London during the production of *False Concord* (2) because Colman's plans for the play were conceived before *False Concord* was produced, and (3) because contemporary writers were silent in regard to any hint of plagiarism.

In regard to the play itself it is evident that the draft which has been quoted and that mentioned in Colman's letter of December 4, 1765, are one and the same, and that the conception of *The Clandestine Marriage* as a whole must be credited to Colman. The characters, also, with the exception of the Swiss valet, Canton, and his comrade Brush, owe their individuality largely to him.

The evidence all points toward Garrick's authorship of Act V and the levee-scene in Act II. If he was the author of these portions of the play, it is probable that he was at least largely concerned in the other scenes where Ogleby and Canton appear. Their dialogue is so distinctive and so unvarying that it could not well have been written by two hands. Apparently Garrick had more share in writing Act IV than he had had in writing the

preceding acts, but it is clear from the letter of December 4 and a comparison of the play with the draft, that Colman should be given credit for much of the ground-work. Because of its connection with Act V, we may assume that the scene in which Melvil rallies Lovewell for his nocturnal wanderings is due largely to Garrick.

Further than this we cannot go. It would not be safe to assume that every departure from Colman's early plan is traceable to the superior stagemanship of Garrick. Act V, it is true, is the best act in the play, but Garrick was always at his best in short flights. Unlike Colman, he had not written any long original plays: he delighted in sketches, in re-workings, in short adaptations. Yet in spite of these facts, in those portions of the play where there has been a definite shifting of scenes for dramatic effect, it is probable that Garrick's brain, if not his pen, was the determining factor in the change.

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#### JUAN DE LUNA'S *LAZARILLO* AND THE FRENCH TRANSLATION OF 1660

In Dr. Chandler's bibliography of romances of roguery, he cites among the early editions in French of the *Lazarillo de Tormes* one dated "1660, Paris, Cotinet (Luna's)." <sup>1</sup> The title-page of this edition reads: LA VIDA DEL (sic) LAZARILLO DE TORMES, y de sus fortunas y adversidades. LA VIE DE LAZARILLE DE TORMES, Et de ses infortunés & aduersitez. Reueuë & corrigée par H. DE LUNE, natif de Castille, Interprete de la Langue Espagnolle. Et traduite en François par L. S. D. A Paris, Chez ARNOVD COTINET, rue des Carmes, au petit Jesus. MDCLX.

The Spanish text, which, according to the title-page, purports to be Luna's emended version of 1620, is printed on the left-hand pages of the book, the French rendering appearing opposite, on the right-hand pages. That the Spanish text as it appears here is the original from which the French translation was made is evident from the exactness with which the two correspond. But

<sup>1</sup> F. W. Chandler, *Romances of Roguery*, New York, 1899, part I, p. 406.



that it is not, in Part I, the text of Juan de Luna's version, the following comparison will show. Out of a large number of discrepancies, a few of the most striking selected from the first pages of *Tractado Primero*, are here set forth.

## TEXT OF 1660 EDITION

(Cuenta el Lazaro su vida y quien era su padre. (Sub-title.)

Pues sepa V.M. ante todas cosas, que (p. 10).

...los llama bienaventurados (sic) (p. 12).

...metiase a guisar (p. 14) (AN).

...y limpiaba la ropa (p. 14).

...ella y un hombre Moreno (p. 14).

...aquillos (sic) que las bestias curauan (p. 14).

...vinieron en conocimiento. (p. 14).

...entraua se en la casa. (p. 14).

Yo al principio de su entrada pesaua me con el, y auia le miedo viendo el color y mal gesto que tenia: (p. 14).

...mas de que vi que (p. 14).

...mi madre vinose a darme (p. 14).

...huya del con miedo para mi madre (p. 16).

Respondiendo el riendo, (p. 16).

... (que assi se llamaua) (p. 16).

...: y hecha presquisa (sic) (p. 16).

...porque el vno hurra (sic) de los pobres (p. 18).

...y para ayuda de otro tanto (p. 18).

...como niño respondia y descubria quanto sabia con miedo; (p. 18).

...servir a los que al presente biuian en el meson (p. 18).

(No chapter division.) (p. 20).

## TEXT OF LUNA'S EDITION

En que Lazaro cuenta cuyo hijo fue.

(Omitted.)

...llama a los tales bienaventurados.

...pusose a guisar

...y a labar la ropa

...ella y un negro

...los que en la cauallerica seruian

...trauaro (sic) estrecha amistad.

(Omitted.)

...al principio pesaua me dello por el miedo que del tenia viendo su color, y mal gesto:

...mas quando vi que

...mi madre me dio

...huya del de miedo y temor

...: el riendo le llamo

...que assi se llamaua el negro

...y hecha pesquisa del caso

...si vno hurta a los pobres

(Omitted.)

...como niño con el miedo descubria, quanto sabia

...servir al meson

CAP. SEGUNDO Como Lazaro se puso a servir, y a destar vn ciego.

...ella me encomendo a el (p. 20).	...ella sin dificultad me puso con el
...que ella confiaua en Dios (p. 20).	...que confiaua en Dios
...me <i>tratasse</i> bien (p. 20). (AN.)	...me <i>tratasse</i> bien
...pareciendole a mi amo (p. 20).	...donde pareciendole
...a su contento (p. 20).	...segun su deseo
...y ambos llorando (p. 20, 22).	...que llorando con mi
Y assi me fuy para mi amo, que esperandome estaua. (p. 22).	...Y assi me fuy a donde mi amo esperandome estaua.
...y llegando a la puente, esta a la entrada della un animal (p. 22).	...a la entrada de cuya puente esta un animal
Y el ciego mando me que legasse cerca del animal y alli puesto me dixo: (p. 22).	Y mandome el ciego llegase cerca del, y haziendo lo, me dixo:

The italics in the foregoing quotations are points at which a slight difference is noted between the Spanish text given by L. S. D. and the text of the first edition as restored by M. Foulché-Delbosc.<sup>2</sup> Five or six more of the same kind, mostly differences of spelling, are to be found in the pages from which these quotations are taken. But, with these exceptions, the text corresponds exactly with that of Foulché-Delbosc. On the other hand, these thirty quotations, taken from the first seven pages only of the translator's text, can be multiplied many times in the rest of Part I, and show so great a variance as to make it evident that the translator did not use Juan de Luna's version.

The text under consideration shows the following further differences from the Luna text: The Prologue is entirely wanting; and the chapter divisions and sub-titles peculiar to the Luna version are all omitted. The chapter on Lazaro's friendship with certain Germans, which forms the concluding chapter of nearly all the editions of the original text from 1561 on, is also the last chapter of Part I of this edition.

Part II of the translated text is undoubtedly Juan de Luna's. It may be this that accounts for his name on the title-page.

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<sup>2</sup> *La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes, Restitución de la edición príncipe*, por R. Foulché-Delbosc, Madrid, 1900.

## THE RIMING CLUE IN DANTE

It is well known that here and there in the *Divine Comedy*, tho not with the invariability and symmetry usually characteristic of his technique, Dante's love of symbolism and double significance has moulded even his rime. The most familiar instance of this, no doubt, is the word *Cristo*, which, on the four occasions of its occurrence as the rime-word, is permitted to rime only with itself.<sup>1</sup> Then there are the two pairs of passages, noted by Professor Grandgent in his edition of the *Divina Commedia*, in which likeness of rime draws our attention to similarity of sense: the rimes in *-uri* which connect the blasphemers Vanni Fucci of *Inferno*, xxv,<sup>2</sup> and Capaneus of *Inferno*, xiv,<sup>3</sup> and those in *-eda* which relate the prophecy in *Purgatorio*, xx,<sup>4</sup> to the one in *Purgatorio*, xxxiii.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to these, we may note a connection between the *maledetto lupo* riming with *cupo*, addressed to Plutus as representative of Avarice in the Fourth Circle of the *Inferno*,<sup>6</sup> and the *maledetta . . . lupa* riming with *cupa*, likewise addressed to Avarice on the Fifth Shelf of *Purgatory*;<sup>7</sup> and it is to be observed that these latter lines alternate precisely with those ending in *-eda* already cited from *Purgatorio*, xx. There is also the singular repetition of the two rime-words *tarda* and *riguarda* used with *Piccarda* in *Purgatorio*, xxiv,<sup>8</sup> which we find in the other passage in which the name of Forese's good and beautiful sister falls upon the rime.<sup>9</sup>

And since there is so little in Dante that comes by chance, it may even not be meticulous to remark the number of times that these rime-clues, if it be not overbold to call them such, occupy the same respective lines in different cantos: thus in *Purgatorio*, xx, and *Inferno*, xxv, the verses involved are 11-13-15; in *Inferno*, vii,

<sup>1</sup> *Par.*, xii, 71-73-75; xiv, 104-106-108; xix, 104-106-198; xix, 104-106-198; xxxii, 83-85-87.

<sup>2</sup> *Inf.*, xxv, 11-13-15.

<sup>3</sup> *Inf.*, xiv, 44-46-48.

<sup>4</sup> *Purg.*, xx, 11-13-15.

<sup>5</sup> *Purg.*, xxxiii, 35-37-39.

<sup>6</sup> *Inf.*, vii, 8-10-12.

<sup>7</sup> *Purg.*, xx, 8-10-12.

<sup>8</sup> *Purg.*, xxiv, 8-10-12.

<sup>9</sup> *Par.*, iii, 47-49-51.



and *Purgatorio*, xx and xxiv, 8-10-12; and in *Paradiso*, xiv and xix, 104-106-108. In only two cases, however, does this identity of line-numbers occur in any couple of parallel passages supposed to be so connected with each other; that is, in the last two mentioned, which are two of the four *Cristo* passages, and in the *lupolupa* pair.

Although there are several sets of evidently associated passages where there is no such clue to be found in the rimes, still these instances suggest that in the attempt to establish another such association, a similarity in the rime-scheme would contribute a small bit of supporting evidence. This has apparently been overlooked by Mr. J. C. Carroll in developing his interesting hypothesis that the *donna santa e presta* who prompts Virgil to dispel the vision of the Siren on the Shelf of Sloth<sup>10</sup> (usually identified with the *virtù che consiglia* of the preceding canto<sup>11</sup>), is none other than Matelda, the girlish genius of the Earthly Paradise, whose cheerful innocent activity is the best weapon against that melancholia or neurasthenia which is Sloth, as well as against the sins of the flesh typified by the Siren. Mr. Carroll's statement of his theory is as follows:<sup>12</sup>

As symbol of the Active Life, it would be natural that she should rebuke this sin of Sloth, and the sins she leads to. In his picture of her in the Earthly Paradise, Dante seems to contrast her, point by point, with the deformed faculties and members of the other. Her tongue is singing *Delectasti*. Venus herself could not outshine the light of her "honest eyes." He remembers her feet and the movements of them, as of a lady in a dance. Her hands were picking flowers; and her colour was that of "one who warms herself in rays of love." One by one the stammering tongue and eyes askew, the distorted feet and maimed hands and pallid colour are reversed, as if intentionally. And finally, it is surely strong corroboration of this view that the very word "alert" (*presta*) . . . is expressly applied to Matelda.<sup>13</sup>

What Mr. Carroll has omitted to note is that the word *presta* actually falls upon the rime in both passages, so that the linking rime in *-esta*,<sup>14</sup> marking another of such pairs of associated

<sup>10</sup> *Purg.*, xix, 26.

<sup>11</sup> *Purg.*, xviii, 62.

<sup>12</sup> John S. Carroll, *Prisoners of Hope, an Exposition of Dante's Purgatory*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1906, p. 251.

<sup>13</sup> *Purg.*, xxviii, 83.

<sup>14</sup> *Purg.*, xix, 26-28-30, and xxviii, 83-85-87.

passages, is perhaps a further corroboration of his theory. And the curious may still further observe that the second set of *presta* rimes occupies the same respective lines in the canto (83-85-87) as does the last set of *Cristo* rimes,<sup>15</sup> thus making another small link in the delicate chain.

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### QUEEN ANNE'S ACT: A NOTE ON ENGLISH COPYRIGHT

Throughout most of the Seventeenth Century, the Stationers' Company of London held a virtual monopoly of the book-trade by controlling practically all of the licensed presses. Copyright consisted of entry in their *Register*; only a member of the company might enter a book; and the object was to protect, not the author, but the printer who, by virtue of this entry, "owned" the copyright. An author could get protection only, as did Wither, by a special grant of letters patent from the crown. Thus, in due course, various members of the "Worshipful Company" had become the "proprietors" in perpetuity of most of the English classics—not to mention Homer, Virgil and Horace—and bought and sold rights and shares which they had commonly obtained without either paying the author or getting his consent. In 1694, however, the Licensing Act of Charles II finally expired; and, from that time, the guild had to defend its privileges, not through a monopoly of presses, but through a monopoly of publishing, enforced by a refusal to sell works not properly entered under the name of one or more of the Company's numbers. This method was fairly effective; but what the booksellers really wanted was an Act of Parliament to give legal finality to their case. In 1703, 1706, and 1709, they petitioned for a bill; and the final result was the famous Copyright Act of Queen Anne (8 Anne c 19/5). Swift is supposed to have made the original draft; and the title suggests that it was not quite what the booksellers themselves would have drawn up: *An Act for the Encouragement of Learning by Vesting Copies of Printed Books in the Authors*. Any one might,

<sup>15</sup> *Purg.*, XXVIII, 83-85-87, and *Par.*, XXXII, 83-85-87.

without fee, copyright an original book; but nine copies had to be given, one to the King's Library, one to the Stationers Company, one to Sion College, and one to each of the two English and the four Scotch universities. These copies had to be delivered under rather light penalties; and, in case of failure to comply, prosecution had to begin *within three months*. The copyright was vested in the author or his assigns for fourteen years with the right of extension to twenty-eight.<sup>1</sup>

This law took from the booksellers the old monopoly of registry, placed upon them the burden of dispensing nine copies of each book *gratis*, and, in return, gave them no protection. Their consequent evasion of it is eloquently set forth in an obscure tract attributed to Edmund Law, Bishop of Carlyle<sup>2</sup>:

Under this act, very few books of value have been obtained [by Cambridge University], the Booksellers being determined not to lose so many Copies of the largest Paper,<sup>3</sup> as this Act requires to be delivered and chusing rather to forfeit all benefit of it, and trust one another, by never entering their Books in the Register of the Stationers' Hall; or when this method is not safe enough, entering only one Volume of each sett; that being deemed effectual to prevent any other of the trade from printing such sett upon them. And thus, when complete setts of works have been claimed for any of the aforesaid Libraries, or even offers made to purchase the remaining Volumes not entered as the Acts direct, the Bookseller has not only refused to part with them gratis, but even to sell the remaining Volumes to such claimants, unless those other Volumes, that had been delivered, were likewise paid for at the same time.

Should a Prosecution be undertaken for the small Penalties appointed by these Acts, since the Clerk of the Stationers' Com-

<sup>1</sup> For a more elaborate discussion of matters summarized in this paragraph, see A. Birrell, *Copyright in Books*, London, 1899, 45-96. The actual workings of the Queen Anne Act seem to be rather inadequately treated by Birrell and by Aldis (*Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, xi, 311 ff.). Both take for granted that the law worked in practice as it seems to read. More satisfactory is *Copyright* by R. R. Bowker, Boston, 1912, 24 *et seq.*; but it merely summarizes the legal aspects of the case.

<sup>2</sup> *Observations occasioned by the Contest about Literary Property*, Cambridge, 1770. There is a copy in the Treasure Room of Harvard Library, bound up in Tr. 35. The ascription to Law is penciled on the title-page.

<sup>3</sup> The nine copies were supposed to come from the first, therefore the best, edition, often a folio with spacious margins; and this was a particular grievance; for the tax on paper was one of the chief items of expense in the book-trade.



pany, to whom application is made, only gives in his Accounts quarterly at the soonest, the Time fixed for commencing such Prosecutions must elapse before the University &c. can regularly make their demand, and receive notice whether it will be complied with or not; by which means the several Societies entitled to such a number of Books, are in a great measure deprived of the benefit intended for them by these Acts.

The Stationers Company in short, continued to go on in their old ways, to recognize no rights of the author, to give nothing to the Universities, and to maintain their monopoly by a boycott on independent concerns. Still, however, they needed some color of legal support. Parliament had failed them; and now they appealed to the courts to uphold their "ancient" and "traditional" rights. Chancery was favorable, and granted injunctions without time-limit against the impressions of country booksellers.<sup>4</sup> The Stationers even tried to bring a dummy case before Lord Mansfield in order to obtain a decision, once and for all, in their favor; but, after three hearings, the hoax was discovered.<sup>5</sup> The Queen Anne Act, however, fell into almost complete desuetude.

This economic situation gave the profits of literary work almost entirely to the bookseller. Jacob Tonson, "the gentleman usher to the Muses," could retire into Herefordshire at sixty, and leave his bookshop to descend in succession to his nephew and grand-nephew. Lintot died rich in 1736; and his grand-daughter made a fortune of £45,000 in partnership with Richardson. In 1759, Robert Dodlsey could turn over to his brother James the thriving business "At Tully's head." Authors, meanwhile—even some of those whose works sold the best—were often in distress.<sup>6</sup> Thomson

<sup>4</sup> London booksellers, moreover, did not deliver in the country: even as late as 1781, Cowper notes the great difficulty of getting books at Olney, *Letters*, ed. Wright, London, 1904, I, 246-7, 396. This helps to explain the illiteracy of rural England in the Eighteenth Century. Country booksellers could not print the classics, and the London trade did not supply the country.

<sup>5</sup> Birrell, *op. cit.*, 99-138.

<sup>6</sup> This fact has often been noted. In his *Life of Johnson*, Macaulay remarks that literature had never been "a less gainful calling." He attributes this condition to the decline of patronage and to the comparative paucity of the reading public at large. But, however large the public, the copyright situation gave the profits to the bookseller, not to the author. Stephen blames the authors' poverty on their shiftlessness (*Literature*

got virtually nothing from *The Seasons*, in spite of its popularity; and Fielding's plays and novels, although both were ubiquitously read, hardly alleviated his difficulties. Gray, later in the century, made a scant forty guineas from his *Elegy* and *Odes*,<sup>7</sup> although they are said to have brought Dodsley almost £1,000<sup>8</sup>; the opulent Walpole found literature an expensive amusement; and Johnson, the most celebrated writer of the age, was never affluent.<sup>9</sup> Various reasons operated in individual cases to cause this situation: Smart was improvident, and Johnson lacked business ability. The fact remains, however, that booksellers managed to pay low prices and gain large profits.<sup>10</sup> Only too common was the case of Dr. Whitby, who trudged all about London with his manuscript under his arm, only to discover that every firm made him exactly the same offer: they had all agreed on the matter *in camera*.<sup>11</sup> No wonder that the *Monthly* refers to the "rapaciousness" of booksellers and the "knavery of literary pirates";<sup>12</sup> that the writer of *The Case of Authors* (1758) found the literary trade a hopeless struggle of

*and Society in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1907, 94 *et seq.*). This was true in certain individual cases, but surely no more so in the Eighteenth Century than in the Seventeenth or the Nineteenth. Some authors, moreover, like Congreve and Gray, had a supercilious attitude toward the career of letters, and they would naturally be an easy prey to booksellers; but the fact remains that, whatever an author might do, the law, as it actually worked, gave him no protection.

<sup>7</sup> Gray is generally believed, on Mason's authority, to have given his poems *gratis* to the booksellers. Mason probably received this impression from Gray's disapproval of writing for money. As the MS. letters of Mitford *et al.* in Harvard Treasure Room show, however, Gray sold Dodsley for £42, the rights to all his poems except one final printing, the posthumous edition edited by Mason. What arrangement was made for the Foulis edition of Glasgow, I do not know; but, in any case, that was, at the time of printing, beyond the pale of English copyright law.

<sup>8</sup> Straus, R., *Robert Dodsley, Poet, Publisher and Playwright*, London, 1910, 159. Naturally, not all publishers were so successful. See Plomer, H. R., *A Short History of English Printing*, London, 1900, 22 *et seq.*

<sup>9</sup> Very unusual is the case of Sterne who is said to have received £700 from Dodsley for two new volumes and a second edition of *Tristram Shandy* (*Letters of Gray*, London, 1913, II, 137-8); but there was a great demand for the book.

<sup>10</sup> See the list of publishers' prices, Aldis, *op. cit.*, XI, 321 *et seq.*, and D. N. B. *sub* Lintot.

<sup>11</sup> *Observations*, etc., *op. cit.* 8.

<sup>12</sup> *Mon. Rev. L.*, 82.

"wit" versus "money";<sup>13</sup> and that Foote's ridicule of "a Catch-penny Bookseller" gave "pleasure"<sup>14</sup> to the *Monthly* reviewer.

The objections of authors were numerous.<sup>15</sup> In 1747, Warburton wrote a plea for the rightful enforcement of Queen Anne's Act,<sup>16</sup> Johnson, in 1759, complained in a letter to the *Universal Chronicle*, against the plagiarizing of his papers from the *Idler*; and, in 1764, Mason quarreled over copyright with James Dodsley.<sup>17</sup> A *Vindication of the Exclusive Rights of Authors* urged the *literati* to action;<sup>18</sup> and various schemes resulted. William Stevenson in black letters informed the public that his *Poems* were entered as the Act directed.<sup>19</sup> Lloyd, following Churchill's example, inscribed every copy of his *Methodist* with his initials,<sup>20</sup> and so also did the anonymous author of *The Frequented Village*.<sup>21</sup> *The Case of Authors* in 1758 had urged the men of letters to "out-combine the very booksellers themselves"; and the Literary Society was instituted. A few books were actually printed; but there was no means of publication, except by the Company's booksellers, who charged at least 28% on "pamphlets" from 6d to 2s, and 15% on books of 5s and over.<sup>22</sup> Some authors tried to publish by subscription;

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII, 348; *Crit. Rev.*, v, 175. The prints of the day reflect this. See Rowlandson's water-color and Wigstead's cartoon the *Bookseller and the Author* in *Paston's Caricature in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1905, plate civ and p. 71.

<sup>14</sup> See review of Foote's *Author*, *Mon. Rev.*, XVI, 361.

<sup>15</sup> Up to the mid-century, the artist was no more protected than the man of letters. Finally, Hogarth forced through an act (5 Geo. II) to protect his satirical drawings. Unfortunately, it gave no protection to written compositions; nor did it apparently keep others from using Hogarth's name to advertise their own work (*Crit. Rev.*, VII, 274).

<sup>16</sup> *A Letter from an Author to a Member of Parliament concerning Literary Property*, London, 1747. It appeared anonymously, and the *Brit. Mus. Cat.* questions Warburton's authorship; but Hurd included it in his edition of Warburton's *Works*.

<sup>17</sup> *Straus op. cit.*, 115.

<sup>18</sup> *Crit. Rev.*, XIV, 86. The difficulty, not to say impossibility, of access to some of these pamphlets, has obliged the writer to rely considerably on contemporary reviews.

<sup>19</sup> See *Crit. Rev.*, XX, 124.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, XXII, 75. This was not a new device; Mrs. T. C. Phillips in her *Apology* for her conduct, London, c. 1742, had used it when the booksellers refused to bring out her book, and she was obliged to issue it herself.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXII, 391.

<sup>22</sup> *Observations*, etc., *op. cit.*, 7.



Pope's *Homer* had had its list of stars and garters; and Robert Hill published his *Poems* by the subscription of "mechanics and shop-keepers of various denominations";<sup>23</sup> but such enterprises, the Stationers often "stifled at birth"; or at all events, they could delay the imprint.<sup>24</sup> Thomas Malton, in his *Essay Concerning the Publication of Works on Science and Literature by Subscription*, declared that the method was "usually found by authors to be a very troublesome business,"<sup>25</sup> and, in 1790, Cowper thought himself lucky to get enough subscriptions for his *Homer* merely to pay the cost of printing.<sup>26</sup> The process was long and cumbersome; and most authors "obliged by hunger and request of friends," had to sell their wares at once and outright—even for a "mere trifle."<sup>27</sup> In short, combination did not overthrow the bookseller, nor did subscription circumvent his economic control: Walpole might print Gray's *Elegy* at his private press; but Dodsley was necessary to publish it.

Meanwhile, the book trade thrived with the increase of the reading public. Booksellers in Scotland looked with increasing envy at their fortunate brethren of London; and finally Alexander Donaldson, "the Caledonian Dodsley," opened a shop in the metropolis for the sale of cheap Scotch editions.<sup>28</sup> His coming was heralded by *Some Thoughts on the State of Literary Property*, a tract which was aimed at the London monopoly.<sup>29</sup> In 1767, another pamphlet, attributed to Lord Dreghorn,<sup>30</sup> came out, this time from Donaldson's own press at Edinburgh: *Consideration on the Nature and Origin of Literary Property*. He established his shop and the battle was on. Suit for damages was soon brought against him for selling pirated copies; and the first trial went badly;<sup>31</sup> but, on appeal to the Lords, the case was finally decided

<sup>23</sup> *Crit. Rev.*, XXXIX, 340. According to the *Monthly* only the greatest poet dared to publish "without the kindly shelter . . . of a good subscription." III, 334.

<sup>24</sup> *Observations*, etc., 10.

<sup>25</sup> *Mon. Rev.*, LVII, 322.

<sup>26</sup> Cowper, *Letters*, op. cit., III, 487. <sup>27</sup> *Observations*, etc., 7-8.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Aldis, in *Camb. Hist.*, XI, 315.

<sup>29</sup> London, 1764; it was published anonymously; but the imprint "for Alexander Donaldson" shows its inspiration.

<sup>30</sup> So ascribed in TR 32, Harvard Library.

<sup>31</sup> See *A Letter from a Gentleman in Edinburgh to his Friend in London*, concerning Literary Property. 1769 [?London] ascribed in Harvard Library, TR 32, to Edmund Law, Bishop of Carlisle, to whom was also ascribed the *Observations* of 1770.

in his favor in the spring of 1774.<sup>32</sup> The question apparently involved was that of the duration of copyright; whether the Queen Anne Act superseded the Stationers' ancient claims of perpetual property, or whether it was merely supplementary to them. At the same time, charges for printing pirated editions were brought against him before the Court of Session in Scotland<sup>33</sup>; and the decision was against the upholders of perpetual copyright.<sup>34</sup> The monopoly was broken; the publishing business was thrown open to competition; and this, in due course, gave authors an opportunity to bring their works into a free market, operating on a fair basis of supply and demand.

At the time, many authors did not realize this advantage: they saw only that perpetual copyright was no longer within their grasp, and that legal chaos prevailed. The literary were in a ferment.<sup>35</sup> Half a dozen tracts *pro* and *con* appeared at once.<sup>36</sup> Walpole felt himself in an anomalous position: "It does not appear to me," he wrote Mason, "that the case of authors *i. e.* of those few<sup>37</sup> writers who like me have published by means of a bookseller and have not reserved the right of copy in themselves, has ever yet been considered in either of the debates. At present, I have lost all right and title in all my own things, merely because my bookseller neglected to enter them in Stationers' Hall."<sup>38</sup> Mrs. Macaulay's *Modest Plea for the Property of Copyright*<sup>39</sup> declared: "If literary property becomes common, we can have but two kinds of authors, men in opulence and men in dependence." Beattie was indignant, and wrote Mrs. Montagu that Mason "is tempted to throw his *Life of Gray* (which is now finished or nearly so) into the fire, so much is he dissatisfied with the late decision on property."<sup>40</sup>

<sup>32</sup> On this second trial, Birrell gives considerable detail. See 124 *et seq.* Lord Mansfield did not attend.

<sup>33</sup> See James Boswell, *The Decision of the Court of Session upon the Question of Literary Property*, Edinburgh, 1774.

<sup>34</sup> Lord Monboddo dissented.

<sup>35</sup> Walpole *Letters*, ed. Toynbee, Oxford, 1904, VIII, 423, 433-4.

<sup>36</sup> See *Mon. Rev.*, I, 81 *et seq.*, 202 *et seq.*, and 273 *et seq.*

<sup>37</sup> Probably not as "few" as Walpole supposed.

<sup>38</sup> Walpole *Letters*, ed. Cunn., VI, 432.

<sup>39</sup> Reviewed in *Gent's Mag.*, XLIV, 124 *et seq.*

<sup>40</sup> Forbes, *Life of Beattie*, N. Y. and Boston, 1807, 240.

What most alarmed the literary—and with some reason—was the possibility of Scotch infringement of even the twenty-eight years copyright which the Queen Anne Act allowed.<sup>41</sup> Mason's edition of Gray came out in 1775; and Murray, a Scotch bookseller, quoted from it some fifty lines in his *Poetical Miscellany*. Mason, chiefly from principle—for the penalties could not amount to more than a few pounds—commenced an action in Chancery to recover damages. Murray offered to settle out of court; but, as this would have evaded the legal question, Mason refused.<sup>42</sup> Murray then published a pamphlet, *A Letter to W. Mason, A. M. Precentor of York, concerning his edition of Mr. Gray's Poems, and the Practices of Booksellers*,<sup>43</sup> in which he denounced Mason as a "mercenary author."<sup>44</sup> The Rev. John Whitaker, a friend of Murray's embraced the occasion to call Mason a "weak divine"; and Johnson signified his displeasure, and damned him as a "Whig."<sup>45</sup> Mason's law-suit, however, gained its ends; in 1778, he received a judgment in his favor that established the validity of the Queen Anne Statute against violation from across the Tweed; and, although many legal details remained to be adjusted, the author was at last fairly safe from robbery either by a greedy monopoly or by a literary pirate.

The control which the Stationers had held down to the last quarter of the century affected writers and readers alike; the former were obliged to seek in the church or in the university the living which patronage had ceased to provide; the latter either gained little taste for books, or found it difficult and expensive to get them. The Stationers Company retreated slowly; it gave up the monopoly of presses, the monopoly of registry; it evaded the Queen Anne Act, and held its old position by a trade boycott and

<sup>41</sup> Enfringement of copyright under the guise of reviewing or summarizing was common even in England, *Crit. Rev.*, VI, 495; IX, 229; XIX, 233. Secret importations from Holland, moreover, such as robbed Lintot of his profits in Pope's *Homer*, were fairly common.

<sup>42</sup> Walpole *Letters*, Cunn. ed., VI, 437, 454n and 464; *Vide* also S. Smiles, *A Publisher and his Friends*, London, 1891, I, 15. It gives a rather one-sided view of the matter.

<sup>43</sup> *Vide* Nichols, *Lit. Anecd.*, III, 730; also *Gent's Mag.*, XLVII, 332.

<sup>44</sup> This charge was doubly unfair: not only did the suit cost Mason more than he could ever gain; but the income from the *Gray* was being devoted to charity, *Walpole Letters*, Cunn. ed., V, 336-8 n.

<sup>45</sup> Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, Hill ed., III, 294.



by court injunctions; but, as education progressed and as the public demand for books increased, the boycott grew less efficient; and finally the courts gave away. In 1747, Mason had offered to edit Milton's minor poems *gratis* for Dodsley; but Tonson controlled the copyright, and the scheme was dropped.<sup>46</sup> In 1762, Donaldson published an edition in Edinburgh, brought copies up to London, and sold them in spite of Tonson. In 1775, Blandon printed *Paradise Lost* in London itself; and the fiction of Tonson's "property" right was over. Cowper or Hayley might edit Milton, and anyone might print or publish the text. An author's royalties were safe, at least so far as Great Britain was concerned, for his twenty-eight years; then his book, if it had permanent value, became public property; and the bookseller could no longer dictate arbitrary terms to the reading public or to the man of letters.

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#### NOTES ON BEN JONSON'S *CATILINE*

The following notes are offered as supplementary to a recent commentary on the *Catiline*, published by Dr. L. H. Harris, New Haven, 1916.

ii, 191. Fulvia's gibe at Sempronius and her lovers,

Yes, and they study your kitchen more than you,

is taken from Tiresias' comment on the wooers of Penelope, Horace, *Sat.* ii, 5, 79-80,

Venit enim magnum donandi parca iuventus,  
Nec tantum Veneris quantum studiosa culinae.

iii, 1-50. The Consul's speech is taken freely from the beginning of Cicero's Second Oration on the Agrarian Law. Compare lines 4-6,

where, if he erre,  
He findes no pardon; and for doing well,  
A most small praise, and that wrung out by force,

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<sup>46</sup> Straus *op cit.*, 114-5.

with Cicero, 2, 5,

cuius errato nulla venia, recte facto exigua laus et ab invitis  
expressa proponitur;

19-25,

But a new man (as I am stil'd in Rome)  
Whom you have dignified; and, more, in whom  
Yo' have cut a way, and left it ope for vertue  
Hereafter, to that place which our great men  
Held shut up, with all ramparts, for themselves.  
Nor have but few of them in time been made  
Your Consuls so; new men, before me, none, etc.,

with 1, 3,

Me . . . hominem novum consulem fecistis, et eum locum  
quem nobilitas praesidiis firmatum atque omni ratione obvallatum  
tenebat me duce rescidistis, virtutisque in posterum patere  
voluistis. Neque me tantum modo consulem . . . sed ita fecistis  
quo modo pauci nobiles in hac civitate consules facti sunt, novus  
ante me nemo, etc.;

32-39,

But my care,  
My industrie and vigilance now must worke,  
That still your counsellors of me be approv'd  
Both by yourselves and those to whom you have,  
With grudge, prefer'd me; two things I must labour,  
That neither they upbraid, nor you repent you.  
For every lapse of mine will now be call'd  
Your error, if I make such,

with 3, 6,

Quod si solus in discrimen aliquod adducerer, ferrem, Quirites,  
animo aequiore; sed mihi videntur certi homines, si qua in re  
me non modo consilio, verum etiam casu lapsum esse arbitra-  
buntur, vos universos, qui me antetuleritis nobilitati, vitupera-  
turi. Mihi autem, Quirites, omnia potius perpetienda esse duco  
quam non ita gerendum consulatum, ut in omnibus meis factis  
atque consiliis vestrum de me factum consiliumque laudetur;

and 47-52,

I know well in what termes I doe receive  
The common wealth, how vexed, how perplex'd;  
In which there's not that mischiefe, or ill fate,  
That good men feare not, wicked men expect not.  
I know, beside, some turbulent practises  
Alreadie on foot, and rumors of moe dangers,

with 3, 8,

Ego qualem Kalendis Ianuariis acceperim rem publicam,  
Quirites, intellego, plenam sollicitudinis, plenam timoris; in qua  
nihil erat mali, nihil adversi, quod non boni metuerent, improbi  
expectarent; omnia turbulenta consilia, etc.

The opening words of this speech, "Great honors are great burdens," represent a familiar Latin play on the words *honus*, *onus*. Cp. the proverb "Est onus omnis honor;" Ovid, *Her.* ix, 31, "non honor est sed onus."

iii, 85. "Most popular Consul." Cp. Cicero, *De Lege Agraria*, ii, 4, 9, "dixi . . . me popularem consulem futurum," etc.

iii, 108. "And watch the watcher." Cp. Juvenal, vi, 347, "sed quis custodiet ipsos Custodes?"

iii, 280. "The farre-triumphed world." Cp. Ovid, *Amores*, i, 15, 26, "Roma triumphati dum caput orbis erit."

iii, 753. "Emulous Carthage." Cp. Sallust, *Catiline*, x, 1, "Carthago aemula imperi Romani;" also, Horace, *Epod.* xvi, 5, "aemula nec virtus Capuae," etc.

iv, 64-65 (cp. v, 103-4).

What may be happy and auspicious still  
To Rome and hers.

Cp. the frequent formulae of the sort in Livy; e. g., i, 28, 7, "quod bonum faustum felixque sit populo Romano," etc.; also Cicero, *Div.* i, 102, "maiores nostri . . . omnibus rebus gerendis 'quod bonum faustum felix fortunatumque esset' praefabantur."

iv, 755-757,

like Capaneus at Thebes,  
They should hang dead upon the highest spires,  
And aske the second bolt, to be throwne downe.

Cp. Statius, *Thebais*, x, 936-939 (of Capaneus),

Pectoraque invisus obicit flammantia muris,  
Ne caderet; . . . . .  
. . . . . paulum si tardius artus  
Cessissent, potuit fulmen sperare secundum.

v, 56-63. The speech of Petreius to his soldiers,

Chiefly, when this sure joy shall crowne our side,  
That the least man who falls upon our partie  
This day (as some must give their happy names



To fate, and that eternall memorie  
 Of the best death, writ with it, for their cuntry)  
 Shall walke at pleasure in the tents of rest,  
 And see farre off, beneath him, all their host  
 Tormented after life, etc.,

should perhaps be compared with Cicero's Fourteenth Philippic, xii, 31,

O fortunata mors, quae naturae debita pro patria est potissimum reddita! . . . Etenim Mars ipse ex acie fortissimum quemque pignerari solet. Illi igitur impii, quos cecidistis, etiam ad inferos poenas parricidii luent; vos vero, qui extremum spiritum in victoria effudistis, piorum estis sedem et locum consecuti. Brevis a natura vita vobis data est, at memoria bene redditae vitae sempiterna.

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## CHAUCER AND THE "FOWLE OK"

A robbery *per se* committed five centuries and more ago may not be of much importance; when, however, it concerns the poet Chaucer the matter assumes proportions of interest. The poet, according to the records, was robbed near the "fowle ok" September 3, 1390; and exactly three days later he was robbed twice,—at Westminster, and at Hatcham, Surrey.<sup>1</sup> Whether there were three robberies inside of four days, or whether through blunders in the documents there were but two has never been definitely decided. Mr. Selby<sup>2</sup> did not attempt, in his exhaustive investigation of the robberies, to identify the Foul Oak incident with either of the other two. Mr. Kirk<sup>3</sup> thought that if the accounts are to be taken literally there were three holdups, though elsewhere<sup>4</sup> he considered Skeat's identification as "probable." Skeat<sup>5</sup> had remarked that the robbery at "Hatcham, Surrey (now a part of London, approached by the Old Kent Road and not far from Deptford and Greenwich;" was identical with the one near the Foul Oak. Thus,

<sup>1</sup> *Life-Records*, 2nd series (1875), Part I.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* (1900), p. xl; cf. *ibid.*, Part IV, p. 292 note.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xli note.

<sup>5</sup> *Works*, I, p. xli.

according to Skeat, there were but two robberies—at Westminster and at Hatcham, a view that several writers have held by implication or in express terms: for example, Lounsbury,<sup>6</sup> Wyatt,<sup>7</sup> Emerson,<sup>8</sup> Pollard,<sup>9</sup> J. W. H[ales],<sup>10</sup> Wells,<sup>11</sup> Liddell,<sup>12</sup> on the other hand, assumes but one robbery; MacCracken<sup>13</sup> says there were two—but both committed “near the Foul Oak in Kent.” Coulton<sup>14</sup> darkens counsel when he writes: the poet “was the victim of at least two, and just possibly three, highway robberies (of which two were on one day) at Westminster, and near ‘The Foul Oak’ at Hatcham.” When to these conflicting accounts are added other contradictory statements—for example the amount of money lost at Hatcham, £9 44d.,<sup>15</sup> is said by Skeat to have been £9 3s. 2d.; by Hales £9 3s. 6d.; and by Pollard £9 3s. 8d.—no apology it is hoped should be necessary for attempting to settle a small point in the life of Chaucer.

In view of the fact that the poet's unfortunate experiences during this first week of September have interested Chaucer scholars for half a century, it seems surprising that an entry in the *Rolls of Parliament*,<sup>16</sup> which seems to clear up the matter, should have been overlooked. Additional interest attaches itself to the story in the *Rolls* in that a business associate of Chaucer—Nicholas Brembre, a prominent Londoner—is concerned.

In 1387 the fatal Parliament charged Brembre with having taken twenty-two prisoners from Newgate, and “les amesnoit hors de Loundr' en le Counte de Kent a une lieu q est appelle le Foul Oke,” where they were beheaded.

This reference, then, definitely identifies Foul Oak with Kent; moreover it was a place, and not a patriarch of the forest; and obviously it was an isolated community, though apparently not far

<sup>6</sup> *Life*, I, pp. 84 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Chaucer* (selections), no date, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Chaucer: Selected Poems* (1911), p. xvii.

<sup>9</sup> *Chaucer* (Globe edition), p. xix; *Ency. Brit.*, 11th ed., VI, p. 14.

<sup>10</sup> *Dict. Natl. Biog.*, x, p. 165. He incorrectly gives the 9th of Sept.

<sup>11</sup> *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, 1916, p. 615.

<sup>12</sup> *Chaucer* (selections), 1902, p. cxvi.

<sup>13</sup> *A College Chaucer*, 1913, p. 595.

<sup>14</sup> *Chaucer and his England*, 1908, p. 63.

<sup>15</sup> *Life-Records*, Part I, pp. 19, 30. One entry (p. 19) indeed gives 43d.

<sup>16</sup> III, p. 231.

from London. It would seem therefore that the records may be trusted<sup>17</sup>: the poet was held up thrice inside of four days. Judging from the amount of travelling about he did during these first days of September, one concludes that Chaucer's duties as Clerk of the Works were somewhat arduous; at any rate the tasks must have been time—and energy—consumers. The poet's life at this particular period could not have been one of such leisure as is supposed to accompany the poetic muse.<sup>18</sup> Nor is it at all likely that his entire two years (1389-1391) as royal clerk were much less strenuous. All this of course has a bearing on the composition of the *Canterbury Tales*, which were then under way.

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<sup>17</sup> Of course the record explicitly states that the holdup was *near* the Foul Oak. Even then, however, it seems impossible to accept the conclusions of Skeat and others,—that the robbery referred to is the one in Surrey (Hatcham). In the first place we must assume the date (September 3) to be incorrect; again, the Foul Oak and Hatcham entries do not agree in the amount of money lost by the poet. Though, to be sure, the Hatcham records vary as to the amount, yet of the three accounts two give £9 44d. (and 43d.) (Part I, pp. 19, 30), and the third £20 6s. 8d. (Part IV, p. 339). Again, it is not certain that the culprits (whether one or two gangs) responsible for the holdups on the 6th, namely at Westminster and Hatcham, were the same persons who held up the poet on the 3rd (cf. Kirk, "Forewords," *Life-Records*, p. xli). Though it may be urged that both at Hatcham and near the Foul Oak the poet lost goods (*moebles*), a horse, and (according to one entry) *nearly* the same amount of money—£20, 6s. 8d. and £20 respectively, which thus suggests but a single holdup, yet a glance at the records of other robberies by the various highwaymen shows that goods and horses were not uncommon booty (cf. Part I, pp. 8, 12 ff.). It should be emphasized that there is no greater difficulty in accepting three than two mishaps, for the highwaymen were particularly active at this time (cf. Part I). Is it significant, finally, that the King was in Kent (at his manor of Eltham) when he pardoned Chaucer of the loss near the Foul Oak (cf. Part IV, p. 292)?

<sup>18</sup> The legal matters pertaining to the robberies occupied the poet's attention off and on for months (cf. Kirk, "Forewords," p. xlii, Part I, pp. 12 ff.).



## THE EARLY SENTIMENTAL DRAMAS OF RICHARD CUMBERLAND

1761-1778: *The Banishment of Cicero*; *The Summer's Tale*; *Amelia*; *The Brothers*; *Timon of Athens*; *The Fashionable Lover*; *The Note of Hand*; *The Choleric Man*; *The Battle of Hastings*; *The Princess of Parma*.

Richard Cumberland, the dramatist, speaks in his *Memoirs* of his plays as "a long list of dramas, such as I presume no English author has yet equalled in point of number." This is a statement disingenuous enough, unless we suppose Cumberland ignorant of the prolific Elizabethans, Marston, Decker, and Heywood. The dramatist is equally pompous, but more truthful when he says, later: "When I attempt to look into the mass of my productions, I can keep no order in the enumeration of them; I have not patience to arrange them according to their dates: I believe I have written at least fifty dramas published and unpublished."

Cumberland's carelessness in losing sight of his dramas has rendered a complete collection of them difficult. He himself in the *Memoirs* indexes thirty-eight dramatic pieces; Genest assigns him forty-three; *Biographia Dramatica* credits him with fifty-four; and a student more patient than the author himself may record others. Neither of the two dramatic dictionaries makes mention of a play called *The Confession*, printed in a collection of plays called *The Posthumous Dramatic Works of Richard Cumberland*. Three other plays may be attributed to Cumberland upon more or less reputable authority.<sup>1</sup>

*The Banishment of Cicero*, written about 1761, and concerned with the conspiracy of Clodius, Piso, and Gabinius against Tully, never found an audience, save David Garrick, whose friendship for Cumberland began at this time. *Biographia Dramatica* finds the unpleasant scenes "too vicious and shocking to come within the decent clothing of tragic muse."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Elders*, a farce acted at Kelmarsh, Northamptonshire; *The Days of Geri*, in a list compiled by Sir Walter Scott; *Palamon and Arcite*, in manuscript form in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> *Biographia Dramatica*, III, 47.

In 1765 Cumberland ventured into a dramatic field for which he was totally unfitted. On December 6, an operetta, *The Summer's Tale*, with music by Abel, Bach, and Arne was produced at Covent Garden Theatre. The piece had a run of nine nights.<sup>3</sup> The play was judged a failure by the critics, but Cumberland brought it forward three years later under another name; it was altered, and acted as *Amelia* at Covent Garden on April 12, 1768. The piece was again acted, with alterations, on December 14, 1771, at Drury Lane Theatre. Mudford, in his *Life of Cumberland*, asserts that *Amelia* is a convincing proof of the dramatist's unwillingness to admit any play of his to be a failure.

On December 2, 1769, at Covent Garden Theatre, was acted *The Brothers*. "It was written," Cumberland affirms, "after my desultory manner, at such short periods of time and leisure as I could snatch from business or the society of my family. . . Neither was it any interruption, if my children were playing about me in the room."<sup>4</sup> The comedy was probably finished early in 1768, for a letter of March 21 of this year to Garrick can hardly refer to another play: "I have," says Cumberland, "a comedy in my possession which has never been in any hands but my own, and is, both in plot and execution, entirely new and original."<sup>5</sup> The offer was apparently refused, but the comedy was subsequently accepted by Covent Garden Theatre. Cumberland's happiest inspiration in the writing of *The Brothers* was a passage in the epilogue which won for him the friendship of Garrick. The play was acted about twenty-two times, and enjoyed many revivals. The popularity of *The Brothers*<sup>6</sup> secured for Cumberland the patronage

<sup>3</sup> Further comment upon *The Summer's Tale* may be found in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1765, *The Universal Magazine* for December, 1765, *The Universal Museum* for December, 1765, *The London Magazine* for December, 1765, and *The Royal Magazine* for December, 1765. All these periodicals contain specimens of the lyrics of the musical comedy.

<sup>4</sup> *Memoirs*, I, 264. Cumberland has a tendency to emphasize his casual method of composition. See Mudford, *Life of Cumberland*, p. 188.

<sup>5</sup> *Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, I, 293. Cumberland to Garrick, March 21, 1768.

<sup>6</sup> A version of *The Brothers* in prose may be found in Miss Macauley's *Tales of the Drama*, p. 239. *The Brothers* was not at first definitely known to be Cumberland's.

*The Whitehall Evening Post* of December 4, 1769, says: "Notwithstanding some reports to the contrary, we can assure our readers that the new

and protection of Garrick, and definitely established him as a writer of "legitimate comedy." Its success gave him courage to begin *The West Indian*. *The West Indian*, acted on January 19, 1771, has been discussed in an earlier issue of this periodical.

The same year which brought forth *The West Indian* offered the first of Cumberland's adaptations of Shakespeare. *Timon of Athens* was acted at Drury Lane on December 4, 1771. This play was followed on January 20, 1772, at the same playhouse, by *The Fashionable Lover*. This production, a comedy of manners with a Scotch hero, found favor second only to that of *The West Indian*. *The Fashionable Lover* was acted, at its first appearance, about fifteen times. There were two revivals of the play at Covent Garden, on May 9, 1786, and April 9, 1808. A performance followed on December 8, 1808, at Bath, and a revival occurred at Drury Lane in 1818, seven years after the author's death. Cumberland was partial to *The Fashionable Lover*, and openly prefers it in the Prologue to either *The Brothers* or *The West Indian*, saying to the audience:

Two you have reared; but between you and me,  
This youngest is the fav'rite of the three.

"I confess," Cumberland says in the *Memoirs*, "I flattered myself that I had outgone *The West Indian* in point of composition."

*The Note of Hand*,<sup>7</sup> a farce, was acted at Drury Lane on February 9, 1774, and later on October 19, at the same theatre,

Comedy called *The Brothers*, is written by — Cumberland; who possesses a considerable post in the Treasury, and is the author of a tragedy called, *The Banishment of Cicero*, and a musical Comedy, entitled *The Summer's Tale*."

Further comment upon *The Brothers* may be found in *The Weekly Magazine* of December 14, and December 21, 1769, *Scot's Magazine* for December, 1769, Boaden, *Life of Mrs. Jordan*, II, 106, Mrs. Inchbald, *The British Theatre*, p. 18.

For American productions of *The Brothers*, see Seilhamer, *History of the American Theatre, 1749-1774*, I, 330 (sometimes named *The Shipwreck*).

<sup>7</sup> *The London Magazine*, February, 1774. See also *The Oxford Magazine*, February, 1774. Further comment upon *The Note of Hand* may be found in *The Sentimental Magazine* for February, 1774, *The Westminster Magazine* for February, 1774, *The London Chronicle* of February 10, 1774; *Memoirs*, I, 388, Mudford, *Life of Cumberland*, p. 318, and *Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, I, 621, Doctor Hoadly to Garrick, April 10, 1774.



*The Election*, "the production of a hasty hour."<sup>8</sup> "Considered as a literary composition," says *Lloyd's Evening Post* of October 21, "this interlude is the most execrable we ever met with," but declares that it is timely: "As all Election matter depends upon being well timed than well written, we doubt not it will be a favorite with the audience when it is more perfect in the Performance, as it really has a very good stage effect." *The Election* manifests Cumberland's usual idealistic tendency: "The author flatters himself it breathes throughout that freedom and independency which is ever so grateful to us all tempered with that loyalty and harmony which is so necessary to promote the general happiness."<sup>9</sup>

*The Cholerick Man*, produced at Drury Lane on December 19, 1774, was another venture of the same year. A character named Old Nightshade bore the brunt of the critics' assaults, and seemed to violate all the decorum of sentimental comedy. Davies denounced him as "a wretch without the least tincture of humanity," and one who was "fit for no place but Bedlam,"<sup>10</sup> and *The St. James Chronicle*, after praising his analogues in the *Adelphi*, *L'École des Maris*, and *The Squire of Alsatia*, almost shouts that he is "a despicable Character, made up of Noise, Nonsense, Outrage, and Madness."<sup>11</sup> "We can scarcely recognize," says the dramatic critic of *Lloyd's Evening Post* of December 19, "the nature and humour exhibited in the paternal severity of Terence's Demea in the grim distortions and wild ravings of Old Nightshade." "Nightshade," says Arthur Murphy, ". . . is in one continued rage from beginning to end. The author should have considered that no man lives in a perpetual whirlwind of passion. . . . If Mr. Cumberland," concludes Murphy, "had copied nature, the audience would have had the pleasure resulting from variety; and the fits

<sup>8</sup> *The Town and Country Magazine*, October, 1774.

<sup>9</sup> *The Town and Country Magazine*, October, 1774.

*Biographia Dramatica* says that *The Election* was never printed, but *The Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1775, contains the following item: "A new musical interlude, called the election, as it is performed at the theatre royal in Drury Lane, 8vo. 6d. Griffin."

Further comment upon *The Election* may be found in *The Universal Magazine* for October, 1774, and *The London Magazine* for October, 1774.

<sup>10</sup> *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick*, II, 273-4.

<sup>11</sup> *The St. James Chronicle*, December 22, 1774.

and starts of his angry boy might have helped to retard, and, at times, to forward the main business of the plot."<sup>12</sup>

Young Nightshade, who reminds the reader of Tony Lumpkin, was thought "too knowing and too shrewd,"<sup>13</sup> at least for a "Country Put;"<sup>13</sup> Gregory fell below the standard set in *The Squire of Alsatia*; and—alas! for Cumberland's learning!—Young Manlove was reckoned "but a faint copy of the ingenious Æschines."<sup>13</sup>

*The Battle of Hastings* was finally accepted by Sheridan, it is supposed, only by the grace of Garrick's influence. The hand of the universal mender of plays is apparent upon every page of the tragedy, and, as usual, Cumberland is amusingly busy, revising, and rewriting. We have, at first, Cumberland's sour thanks for Garrick's candid opinion of an epilogue, with the enclosure of another, fortified by a host of apologies, and a conclusion saying that he "wrote it post-haste directly upon reading Garrick's letter." Of the amendments Cumberland writes: "The whole which you recommend is done: Edwina's simile of the Tower (act the first) is made very impassioned; the conclusion of the fourth act was before your criticism came to hand entirely reformed, and I owed the correction to Miss Young's protest against the simile of the lightning;<sup>14</sup> your observation tallying with what I had done was particularly pleasing."<sup>15</sup> The anticipated criticism is characteristic. The letters reflect Sheridan's and Cumberland's uneasiness. "We have as yet had no rehearsal," he writes Garrick, "nor can I tell when we shall. . . . Without some prudence and patience I should never have got the ladies cordially into their business, nor should I not only have avoided a jar with Mr. Smith,<sup>16</sup> but so far have impressed him in my favor as to draw an offer from him (though too late) of taking the part of Edwin."<sup>17</sup> Cumberland

<sup>12</sup> *Life of David Garrick*, II, 108.

<sup>13</sup> *The St. James Evening Chronicle*, December 22, 1774.

<sup>14</sup> *The Town and Country Magazine* for January, 1778, complains that Cumberland, "a volunteer in the service of his favourite muse Thalia," "aims too much at the sublime, and the gods themselves often were incapable of understanding him."

<sup>15</sup> *Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, II, 283, Cumberland to Garrick, January 4, 1778.

<sup>16</sup> Cumberland writes Garrick: "Mr. Smith has made good my apprehensions, and refused taking any part in my tragedy but that of Edgar."

<sup>17</sup> *Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, II, 283.

wrote Henderson, the actor, concerning the role. On October 25, 1777, Henderson replies to Cumberland: "I am much obliged and honoured by your intelligence respect the Battle of Hastings. . . . As soon as I have gone through the Roman Father, which I now have in rehearsals, I shall dedicate my studies to the Battle."<sup>18</sup> Early in January Henderson is well established as Edgar, for Cumberland tells Garrick that "Henderson returns Saturday next, and we shall have three practices this week."<sup>19</sup> The success of Henderson in Edgar was dubious, and Cumberland chose to blame his friend rather than the heavy and unnatural character he himself had created. "He did not possess," says the dramatist, "the graces of person or deportment, and that character demanded both; an actor might have been found who with inferior abilities would have been a fitter representative for it."<sup>20</sup> "I am not surprised," writes J. H. Pye, in regard to the failure of this actor in *The Battle of Hastings*, "at the fate of Henderson."<sup>21</sup> The first performance of *The Battle of Hastings* was on January 24, 1778. It was acted twelve times.<sup>22</sup>

During the same year in which *The Battle of Hastings* was acted, Cumberland produced *The Princess of Parma*, a tragedy. This play was acted privately, on October 20 and October 21, 1778, in Mr. Hanbury's theatre at Kelmarsh, Northamptonshire. Cumberland himself was one of the *dramatis personæ*.

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<sup>18</sup> *Letters and Poems by the late Mr. John Henderson*, p. 293, Henderson to Cumberland, October 25, 1777.

<sup>19</sup> *Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, II, 285, Cumberland to Garrick, Monday evening (probably February 5, 1778).

<sup>20</sup> *Memoirs*, I, 391.

<sup>21</sup> *Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, II, 291, J. H. Pye to Garrick, February 21, 1778.

<sup>22</sup> Genest, VI, 6-8. See *Ibid.*, VI, 6, for a comparison of *The Battle of Hastings* with Boyce's *Harold*. Further comment upon this play may be found in *Lloyd's Evening Post* of January 26, 1778, *The London Chronicle* of January 25, 1778, *Biographia Dramatica*, III, 51, and Mudford, *Life of Cumberland*, p. 320.



## REVIEWS

*La Pensée italienne au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle et le courant libertin*, par J.-ROGER CHARBONNEL, Paris, Champion, 1919. ix + A-UU + 720 + lxxxiv pp.

During the past quarter-century there has been a marked renaissance of interest in the literature of the French Renaissance as well as in that of the fifteenth century—two important periods of transition in French thought that had been largely neglected by students of both ancient and modern literature. Now that our knowledge of these epochs has been greatly augmented by monographs and other studies of a specialized nature, we are in a better position to understand their cultural background. And for a broad appreciation of the various literary movements, nothing is of greater importance than thorough investigations into the introduction or penetration of ideas from foreign countries. For example, Miss Le Duc, in her interesting dissertation on *Gontier Col and the French Pre-Renaissance*,<sup>1</sup> emphasized the role of diplomats and ambassadors in the dissemination of culture at the close of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth. Again, M. Renaudet traced back to their sources the currents of thought that flowed mainly from the north. And now the present work approaches the subject from a somewhat similar point of vantage. In fact, this study, as its title indicates, is a history of ideas, especially in Italy, and their introduction into France. Its value is such that one can only wish that something similar may be done for other fields, such for instance as the history of the influence of the Church on French thought—a research that can be undertaken only by a scholar thoroughly familiar with medieval theology. It should consist of careful investigations of texts and documents of a widely varying nature, and not of the cursory and incomplete sketch so characteristic of contributions of this kind, some of which unfortunately only serve to give us false impressions. And just as the splendid study of M. Charbonnel will, if not revolutionize, at least help us to revise our conception of the trend of thought in the

<sup>1</sup>Lancaster, Pa., 1918.

seventeenth century, so a work of the type mentioned above will enable us to acquire a far more accurate understanding than we perhaps possess at present of the great epoch which we imperfectly designate as the Dark Ages.

One of the outstanding facts that impress us on approaching the study of the Renaissance in France is the remarkable open mindedness and desire for knowledge manifested by the leading thinkers of that important period. How eagerly they welcomed new ideas! Du Bellay and Peletier were seeking out new paths in poetry and prosody; Meigret, Peletier, and others were attempting to solve problems in language and orthography in quite the same spirit and manner that phoneticians and philologists are trying to apply at present; Bodin, L'Hospital, La Boétie and their co-workers sought to introduce new ideas and methods in government and politics; Rabelais and Montaigne and their disciples and rivals took up questions relating to education and science; Le Fèvre d'Étaples, Calvin (notwithstanding his later dogmatism) and many others turned to religion; and the list might be continued for other lines, such as art, architecture, medicine, astronomy, etc. "L'âge moderne et le siècle de Montaigne, de Pomponazzi, de Bruno, se peuvent rapprocher l'un de l'autre," says M. Charbonnel (p. D). Indeed, this was the century in which thought was to a great extent freed from the trammels that hampered its development in other periods—it was an epoch of transition, in which the vogue of old authorities was shattered, and new ones, whose establishment was largely due to the growth of absolutism, were not yet accepted. At no time in history was the intellectual relationship between France and neighboring countries so intimate, and this condition doubtless was at once the cause and the effect of the widespread interest in foreign travel.

Thanks to these pilgrims, most of whom were scholars, new currents of ideas penetrated into France.<sup>2</sup> And this "confluent," as M. Charbonnel aptly applies a term which is justified by the way in which neo-Platonism, mysticism, Petrarchism and even Aristotelianism became intermingled, served as a new "tournant," or

<sup>2</sup>For a list of Frenchmen who studied at the University of Ferrara in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, cf. Picot, *Étudiants français à l'Université de Ferrare* in the *Journal des Savants*, Feb., 1902. Naudé, an arch-libertine of the seventeenth century, took his doctoral degree at Padua in 1633.

point of departure, for a rejuvenation of thought. It is therefore obvious that the origins, as well as the principles, of classicism, which, according to M. Charbonnel, are still "mal systématisés," need, as a consequence of his investigations, further elucidation. Until recently even the overwhelming influence of Italy on the Renaissance in France had not been sufficiently appreciated.<sup>3</sup> The Libertine movement likewise, which has often been considered as confined to seventeenth-century France, extends its roots far back into the preceding period—most probably as far back as to the positive attitude assumed by the Church in favor of Thomism. It seems, as a matter of fact, to have been this dogmatic exclusiveness that stirred hostile thought.<sup>4</sup> Hence it will be necessary for us to modify to a great extent our acquiescence in the assumption of M. Strowski that the breviary of the Libertines in the seventeenth century was the *Sagesse* of Charron.<sup>5</sup> As stated above.

<sup>3</sup> Works by Picot, Villey, Vianey, Tilley, Renaudet, and others have contributed for the most part to a more just evaluation of the influence of France's southern neighbor.

<sup>4</sup> The reader's attention should be called to the somewhat unusual method of pagination adopted by M. Charbonnel. For example, to the end of the *Table des Matières*, Italic capitals (I-IX) are used. For the preface and bibliography Roman capitals (A-UU) have been adopted. In the appendices the ordinary Roman lettering (i-lxxxiv) has been selected.

A usual failing of French scholars to which M. Charbonnel also falls a victim is the tendency to distort English names and mis-spell English words. Thus, French scholars persist—for unknown reasons—in calling Mr. Christie, Mr. Copley Christie (p. DD); and the familiar name of McIntyre appears as Intyre (Mac) (p. SS). Furthermore, we find 'skeptis' on p. MM—but corrected on p. TT—in which one would possibly not recognize 'sceptics.' Nouns and adjectives of nationality are often not capitalized, as, e. g., *italian* (p. LL), etc.

It may also be noted that the author seems to have failed to explain the abbreviations used in the bibliography (pp. O-UU), which in other respects is most satisfactory. The only omissions found by the reviewer are Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris, pendant les premières guerres d'Italie*, Paris, 1916; A. Tilley, *The Dawn of the French Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1918; and Alma de L. Le Duc, *Gontier Col and the French Pre-Renaissance*, Lancaster, Pa., 1918. But it is quite possible that all of these works appeared after M. Charbonnel had completed his ms. In the reviewer's opinion, M. C. deserves credit for having emphasized the importance of the *Doctrine Curieuse* of Père Garasse. If judged in a negative way, it is valuable for its information regarding the different Libertine movements.

<sup>5</sup> In fact, the main weakness of M. Strowski's otherwise useful *Pascal et*



Libertinism goes even back of and beyond the paganism of the Pléiade. And, strangely enough, by its unswerving devotion to Aristotle, the Church encouraged the very forces which it was seeking to destroy.<sup>6</sup> In the sixteenth century a great impetus was given to the Libertine movement by the publication of the translation of the *Cortegiano* of Castiglione,<sup>7</sup> which, with the *Amadis de Gaule*, had such extraordinary influence on the development of social ideals in France. Furthermore, with the influx of Italians at the French court—due in the early period to Francis I and later on to Catherine de Médicis<sup>8</sup>—the diffusion of Libertine ideas was very great. La Noue, in his *Discours*, states that in 1585 there were one million 'atheists and unbelievers in France. In order to set forth clearly the ultimate sources of Libertinism, M. Charbonnel finds it desirable to give succinct résumés of the philosophy of Plato, Aristotle and the neo-Platonists, and then shows, as mentioned above, how all of these schools became more or less intermingled and confused at the time of the Renaissance (p. 160).

*son temps* (3 vols., Paris, 1907) consists in his tendency to arrive at definite and far-reaching conclusions from insufficient data—generalizations not seldom influenced by preconceived hypotheses, against which the reader must be carefully on his guard. Thus, M. Villey in his brilliant study entitled *Les Sources et l'évolution des Essais de Montaigne*, (Paris, 1908) has shown that M. Strowski was also wrong in insisting on the influence of Pico della Mirandola on Montaigne (cf. Strowski, *Montaigne et F. Pic de la Mirandole*, Bulletin italien, 1905; and *Montaigne*, Paris, 1906).

\*This may serve to explain why, in spite of the vigorous anti-scholasticism of the sixteenth century, Aristotle maintained his sway over the philosophy of the seventeenth century (cf. Charbonnel, pp. 38 and 48). Moreover, notwithstanding the almost universal condemnation of Machiavelli, the development of absolutism under Louis XIV—of which the sources may be found in the instruction of his tutor Mazarin—may also be due in large part to the cult of the Greek philosopher (p. 15).

<sup>7</sup>Translated by Jacques Colin d'Auxerre and edited by Mellin de Saint-Gelays in 1538. Cf. H.-J. Molinier, *Mellin de Saint-Gelays*, Rodez, 1910, pp. 145-148.

<sup>8</sup>It is interesting to note that, following Agrippa d'Aubigné, M. Charbonnel attributes the astuteness and cruelty of Catherine to the influence of Machiavelli (p. 34). But, as indicated above, it was through the popularity of Aristotle that Libertinism was fostered. So much so that whenever it was discovered that a heretic was an Aristotelian, no special objection was raised against him. In that respect M. Charbonnel quotes freely (pp. 80 et seq.) from a splendid appreciation of Aristotle by Silhon, one of the publicists of Richelieu, in his *De l'Immortalité de l'âme*.

Next follow (p. 160) expositions of the doctrines of Ibn-Roschd (1126-1198)—better known as Averroës, St. Thomas (p. 172), and the Astrologers (p. 192), after which the author makes it apparent (p. 244 et seq.) that the Church seemed to be disturbed only when the immortality of the soul was brought into question, for, on account of the prevalence of Epicureanism, this dogma was looked upon by theologians as the keystone of orthodoxy.<sup>9</sup>

In what may be considered the most important chapters of this volume, M. Charbonnel has revealed his critical acumen in stressing the influence of the brilliant, though erratic, Italian philosopher Lucilio Vanini (p. 302). It is quite true that in the *Histoire critique de la vie de Jules-César Vanini*,<sup>10</sup> M. Baudouin has given a careful estimate of the contribution of the Neapolitan to the history of philosophy, which after all is not important, but though he has been mentioned frequently by literary critics, no one seems to have attempted a clear statement of his influence on the cultural background of the seventeenth century. And yet there is little doubt that this popularizer did more to mould liberal thought than any other person of his time. In fact, to understand Gassendi and the Libertine movement, it is necessary to study Vanini, for, as we have already indicated, the wide acceptance of these doctrines was in a way a natural consequence of propaganda by Italians. One feels, therefore, that no student of this epoch, after reading M. Charbonnel's résumés and translations of the tracts of the brilliant Neapolitan, will fail to give him his just deserts.<sup>11</sup>

\* Thereby much of the seeming lack of consistency on the part of the Church—such as persecution of philosophers and scholars like Dolet and Ramus, while ardent Aristotelians and heretical poets were allowed to go scot free—becomes not only explicable but consequential. The course pursued by the Jesuits, which M. C. has analyzed so thoroughly (p. 273), falls in line with what is stated above.

<sup>10</sup> *Revue philosophique*, III, 1879; republished in one volume in 1903, and also reprinted in the *Revue des Pyrénées*, xv, 1903.

<sup>11</sup> A reading of Vanini's treatises helps us to understand why Aristotle continued to exercise undisputed sway over the theological philosophy of the seventeenth century (cf. p. 323). See also Vanini's theory regarding the immortality of the soul (p. 324). For Platonism in Vanini, cf. p. 336. M. Charbonnel deserves our thanks for having translated several of the important tracts of the Italian philosopher in view of the fact that his works are now difficult to obtain. For the same reason it is perhaps only right that the greatest amount of space should be allotted to an author who after all is merely a vulgarizer (86 pp.).

In regard to the frightful penalty inflicted upon Vanini, it may not be out of place to recall that his prosecutor was Guillaume de Catel, the justly celebrated historian of Toulouse.<sup>12</sup> Anent the conduct of the trial, the present reviewer may be justified in quoting a few lines from an article published by him a few years ago relating to a letter written by Catel to the renowned Peiresc:

"Les registres des Capitouls [of Toulouse] et les mémoires du temps, ainsi que ceux de nos jours, ont accusé le savant historien d'avoir mis une apreté indomptable à arracher au Parlement cet arrêt de condamnation. Pour expliquer ce prétendu acharnement, on a supposé une romanesque rivalité d'amour. On a même affirmé que Catel aurait voulu se venger de Vanini, et plusieurs savants auraient jugée digne de foi cette légende invraisemblable. Mais s'il y eut du parti pris de la part de Catel, ce n'est pas là qu'il faut en chercher les motifs. Dans un article sur le testament de Catel, Mgr. Douais a parlé avec éloge de 'la vraie bonté d'âme' dont l'historien fit preuve envers tous ceux qui l'entouraient, sa famille, ces amis et même ses domestiques. Les nombreuses donations faites par lui aux pauvres et aux institutions charitables de Toulouse établissent que sa foi était ardente et sincère. Or, ainsi que ses concitoyens, il a dû partager l'intolérance et les préjugés de son époque. A Toulouse, a-t-on dit, on n'a jamais cessé de poursuivre les incroyants et les athées. Cinq ans à peine avant le procès de Vanini, les collègues de Catel avaient condamné au même supplice le prêtre Jean Duval, accusé de magie. C'est plutôt donc du côté religieux qu'il faut nous tourner pour retrouver les motifs de la rigueur de Catel contre le Napolitain; et le postscriptum de la présente lettre nous paraît pouvoir servir d'appui à notre thèse."<sup>13</sup>

This brief postscript, containing the only mention ever made by Catel of his victim, shows that, notwithstanding his rôle as prosecutor, the learned historian and lawyer came under the spell of the brilliant Italian philosopher and was not sparing in words of praise for his erudition. One must not forget that Catel was unaware of the fact that Pompée Lucilio and Lucilio Vanini were one and the same person; and his brief remarks on this occasion have, therefore, even greater weight. The postscript reads as follows:

"Si ma lettre ne estoit si longue, je vous fairoes le discours d'un insigne athée, philosophe, et médecin, fils de Naples; lequel a esté sur mon raport par les deux chambres condamné et brulé. Il est mort athée, persévérant tousjours, le plus beau et le plus méchant esprit que je aye cogneu. Son nom estoet Pompée Lucilio."

Because of our general ignorance of the extensive Latin literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we usually fail to take into consideration its important part in the history of French cul-

<sup>12</sup> He was the author of the *Histoire des contes de Tolose* (Toulouse, 1623, fol.), and the *Mémoires de l'histoire du Languedoc* (Toulouse, 1633, fol.).

<sup>13</sup> *Une lettre de Guillaume de Catel à Peiresc* in *Les Annales du Midi*, xviii, 1906, pp. 351-357.



ture. Practically all of the intellectual élite were skilled in Latin, to which vehicle, notwithstanding the somewhat verbose and futile declarations of Du Bellay, were consigned their most profound ideas. Hence by limiting our attention, as is customary, to French works alone, we miss what is probably most significant in the thought of the period. The vigorous and well-sustained logic of Vanini, as shown especially in the quotation on p. 352, is not only a splendid specimen of his style, but makes us regret our indifference—if we have been indifferent—to the work of these scholars. Furthermore, that we are dealing with a spirit totally at variance with that of the Church is obvious from the fact that these philosophers reject with scorn the idea of the “faibles d’esprit” so dear to the theologian, and acclaim loudly “la passion pour la gloire,” the dynamic principle of the Renaissance (p. 356).

Regarding Machiavelli, M. Charbonnel assumes the customary point of view, that his great work *Il Principe* was not intended as a satire but rather as a vigorous protestation against the debilitating influence of Catholicism.<sup>14</sup> Likewise the position occupied by Archimedes in the evolution of thought in these two centuries has been largely underestimated, although he was highly appreciated by scholars who, like Leonardo, were surfeited with the endless syllogisms of the scholastics. But more attention might have been accorded to Nicholas de Cusa (1401-1464). As the author of the *De Docta Ignorantia*, *De Visione Dei*, *De Concordantia Cathedræ*, he serves as a connecting link between the German mystics of the fourteenth century and the Italian neo-Platonists of the succeeding period, and thereby plays an important part in the promotion of independent thought.

Then follow succinct as well as comprehensive outlines of the philosophical ideas of Leonardo da Vinci and Giordano Bruno.<sup>15</sup> In regard to the latter we should not fail to note how greatly he was influenced by the neo-Platonism of his time—a fact that has not heretofore been emphasized (pp. 527-529).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. pp. 410 and 422. For his influence on political theory in modern Germany, see p. 435.

<sup>15</sup> The author supplies in the notes extensive translations and quotations from the original texts as well as other material, all of which enables the reader to make his own verifications and to control the conclusions presented.

Next in order may be found expositions of the fundamental principles of the philosophy of Kepler (p. 565), Galileo (p. 567) and Campanella (p. 574), in whose work also traces of neo-Platonism are manifest—a further testimony to the popularity of the author of the *Banquet*. In fact, if Aristotle was the patron saint of the scholastics, practically all of those outside the chosen circle came more or less under the spell of the exponent of love. Even the philosophy of the eighteenth century, notwithstanding its materialistic tendencies, is far more imbued with his doctrines than one is usually inclined to believe.<sup>16</sup>

After repeating (p. 703) that the *Pensées* of Pascal represent mainly a defense of Christianity against the insidious attacks of Libertinism, M. Charbonnel brings his masterly work to a close.<sup>17</sup>

In conclusion, if Libertinism assumed a decidedly transalpine character toward the close of the sixteenth century, a perusal of this work will show that it was not exotic to France. As a matter of fact, it was essentially Gallic—a heritage of the Middle Ages. Its immediate precursor—if that term may be used—was in all probability the *esprit narquois* of the *sotties* and *fabliaux* reappearing in the form of Lucianism during the closing years of the fifteenth century. But, unlike the authors of these works—for example Gringore—who by virtue of being regarded as defenders of the public weal, enjoyed great popularity, the Libertine, because he was not, as a general rule, animated by a lofty spirit, failed to win any large measure of esteem. And this was so true that even when he was a victim of atrocious punishment (as in the case of Vanini), his sad fate elicited little sympathy. Like the clever

<sup>16</sup> Cf. pp. 592-593. The reader is also referred to the résumés of the philosophy of Voltaire (p. 688), Diderot (p. 694) and the three Impostors (p. 696).

<sup>17</sup> There follow several excellent and carefully prepared appendices. It is to be regretted that in the one entitled *Relations intellectuelles entre l'Italie et la France* the author did not make greater use of the study by Emile Picot mentioned frequently above, as well as of the list of French authors and scholars who traveled in Italy in the early sixteenth century (published by M. H. Chamard in the *Revue des cours et conférences*, Paris, 1914, XXII, p. 527), which, though far from complete, is extremely useful.

Numerous omissions from the *Table onomastique* will greatly impair the usefulness of this study as a work of reference. So important a contribution should be made accessible to all by a fuller index as well as a more satisfactory *Table des matières*.

paragrapher of the present day who sacrifices everything to brilliance of wit, his criticism was negative and thereby, most frequently, destructive. Indeed, it was in the period when the spirit of vigorous protestation that animated the past was at its lowest ebb that Libertinism flourished most freely. Briefly, it may be characterized as a kind of decadent opposition to the outspreading and overtowering absolutism of the Church of the seventeenth century. It was a philosophical dilettanteism that had infected all the upper classes of society. During the course of the following century, when the somnolent populace began to re-assert itself, it was doomed to a gradual downfall.

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*Die Frauen rings um Friedrich Hebbel. Neue Materialien zu ihrer Erkenntnis. Mit einem Anhang: Aus Hebbels Freundeskreis.*

Von ALBRECHT JANSSEN. Hebbel-Forschungen VIII. Berlin-Leipzig, 1919. xi + 144 pp.

Certainly the most striking part of this little book is the evidence it brings forward in support of the view that Friedrich Hebbel was the illegitimate son of a Pastor Volckmar, the same man to whom Werner refers as Volckmann, a popular version of the name. The editor of the series (*Hebbel-Forschungen*), while not considering the evidence compelling, does consider it worthy of attention. Even the author, though evidently much in love with his theory, does not claim to have established it conclusively.

Briefly the evidence is as follows. The rumor that Hebbel was Volckmar's son was generally current in Wesselburen from the poet's boyhood days on. After Bamberg came into possession of Hebbel's *Nachlass*, he wrote (1882) to Hugo Schlömer in Wesselburen, as a native of that place interested in founding a committee for the purpose of perpetuating the poet's memory, requesting him to find out what he could about Volckmar, "da angenommen werden müsse, dass dieser der natürliche Vater Hebbels gewesen sei." This letter from Bamberg was lost by the recipient, though his reply referring to the matter, dated 28. 8. 1882, is in Janssen's possession. The fact that Bamberg had dignified the "rumor" by his serious attention, though the investigation had no definite



results, encouraged Janssen, as he tells us, to make another and more determined effort.

Schlömer's grandparents came to Wesselburen in 1820. His grandfather, as *Armenarzt*, frequently treated the poet's mother, so also in her final illness. His grandmother told him in 1869 that Volckmar was Hebbel's father. Janssen found out a good deal about Volckmar, especially from church records. Volckmar, whose father was also a pastor, was born in Curau in 1766, graduated in theology in 1792, came (as *Diakonus*) to Wesselburen in 1797, where he died in 1814. He was a man of wide education, a good writer, brilliantly endowed in fact, but dissolute. He lost both first and second wife within three and one-half years, and in 1804 he took as a third wife his former servant girl, already the mother of two children. On this occasion he promised to receive and bring up these children as if they were his own, as they probably were. His general reputation was such that he was excluded from his pulpit for a time. Unfortunately the author does not tell us when this was. The truth of his hypothesis would involve the conclusion that the pastor remained incorrigible till the end.

The church records also furnished some information in regard to the poet's mother. Until 1875 it was the unvarying custom in Wesselburen to affix the word *Junggeselle* to the name of the man, and the word *Jungfrau* to the name of the girl in reporting a marriage between such persons. In this case the term *Junggeselle* is employed for the artisan Hebbel, but not the title *Jungfrau* for Antje Schubart. The author has official assurance that this is significant. Further, it is noted that the marriage took place in Wesselburen, and not in Wöhrden, where, however, the records show that both parties to the contract had lived several years prior to their engagement—a bit of new information the author brings out. Was this due to their fear of gossip in Wöhrden?

That the young wife of Claus Friedrich Hebbel had abundant opportunity to become acquainted with Volckmar after the removal to Wesselburen is evident from the fact that she worked out in the better families in the village.

As Janssen points out, the hypothesis, if true, would explain several things. First of all the sudden emergence of a genius in a family in which everyone else had been and remained on a low level of intelligence. Also it would account for the remarkable difference in type between Hebbel and his brother, who never rose higher

than his father. The author points out that Hebbel resembled neither his father nor his mother, was not in fact a peasant type at all. It might also explain why Friedrich was the object of his father's ill will and of his mother's special affection, although this could easily be explained by the boy's ambition to rise above the father's level.<sup>1</sup>

Where Bamberg got his idea, whether from the *Nachlass* or not, whether he destroyed what evidence he may have seen, whether Hebbel himself knew anything of such evidence, whether this may have been the reason he never returned to his native village—these questions the author asks to leave unanswered.

While this first chapter in Janssen's book is the most striking, it is not the most valuable. Those of us who attempt to get a clear picture of an author as a whole usually and naturally exhaust our energies on the outstanding problems of his life and productions. There are many minor issues that it seems either impossible or useless to follow up thoroughly. Here we rely willingly, too willingly perhaps, upon previous investigators, who may have had the same feeling about the matter. In this way gradually a false tradition arises. Such has been the case with Hebbel,<sup>2</sup> and it is Janssen's distinct service to have made a new examination of the records, in some cases the first and only examination, with the result that he is able in many instances to correct or supplement the best authorities on the poet. For example, he shows that it was Dethlefsen's wife rather than Dethlefsen himself who took the initiative in furthering Hebbel's education (p. 16). Also, relying on a letter from Hedde, he thinks it proper to date the beginning of Hebbel's poetic firstling (*Ringreiterfest*) back from 1829 to the summer of 1828 (p. 113).

The women discussed are Amalia Schoppe, Elise Lensing, and Christine Enghausen. The author presents the circumstances con-

<sup>1</sup>The author is generally fair in his argument. Hardly, however, in quoting the poet's *furchtbares Urteil* on his father—the well-known passage from the *Tagebuch*—omitting all reference to the milder conclusion of it.

<sup>2</sup>I keenly regret that this book reached me too late to prevent the continuation of a part of this false tradition in my own biography of Hebbel. The error in the date of Amalia Schoppe's death, 1851 for 1858, is to be sure not of that kind, being an unaccountable oversight; but for the dates of her editorship of the *Modespiegel*, 1827-1833 instead of 1827-1845, as Janssen asserts, p. 25, I relied on the *Allgemeine d. Biographie*.

necting them with Hebbel from their side, for a change, instead of from his. Particularly does he desire to vindicate the two former, and he is not in the least careful to shield Hebbel in the process. Rather the opposite. When we read the letters from Amalia Schoppe to a friend, published here (p. 26 f.) for the first time, we get an intimate view of an earnest and lovable personality, and we can easily agree with the author in deploring Kuh's somewhat supercilious characterization of the *sittenrichterliche Jugendschriftstellerin*, partial if true, or any other condescending treatment of a woman who meant so much in the poet's life. The author's conclusion, however, that she and Hebbel stood by nature in profound contrast to each other, is hardly more than could be inferred from the poet's presentation of the case. That she permitted Schoppe to drive her to marry him by a threat of suicide in case of refusal—again a new fact of Janssen's discovery—is enough to characterize her once and forever as incomprehensible to Hebbel. Also it can hardly be said that Janssen's defense of her against Hebbel's accusation of having forced him to sign a polemical article of her own writing is really a defense. That Hebbel exaggerated the importance of the occurrence may be true, but his was just the sort of nature to feel such an affront deeply.

Most interesting is the rounding out of the fate of this woman, so unhappy in her children, as well as the discussion of the final disposition of Hebbel's letters to her. Her son, Alphons, whom she followed to America after he had dishonored their name in Germany, refused to return the letters upon the poet's request after his mother's death, and replied, rather rudely, that he had destroyed them. The author is convinced that these letters included the early ones, though that does not seem to me conclusive from his argument. It is a pity that his presentation of this part of his material is not clearer.

Regarding Elise Lensing the author says: "Verleumdung und Zynismus haben ihr Bild beschmutzt; ich habe versucht, es rein zu waschen." He repels as totally unfounded and malicious Gutzkow's assertion that she was the cast-off mistress of a wealthy merchant at the time Hebbel met her, and denies that she had had a "past."<sup>3</sup> He establishes the place of her birth as Lenzen

<sup>3</sup> Hebbel, at any rate, does not seem to have been aware of any such state of affairs. Cf. *Briefe*, III, 6.



an der Elbe, Oct. 14, not Leezen in Schleswig-Holstein, Oct. 18, as in Werner. Likewise he sets himself, with success, the task of destroying the tradition that she was *eine ungebildete Näherin*, and proves that it is wrong to refer to her as a *seamstress* at all. The supposed *modiste's* shop she bought from Frau Baumgartner was in reality a tobacco store! And the author makes it plausible, from the nature of her associates in Hamburg, that she earned money by teaching, a profession for which she was properly equipped. The "von" he thinks was added to her name by Hebbel, in his somewhat characteristic desire to shine with titles.

Among the most successful passages in the book, it seems to me, is that on page 70 f., where the author presents Elise's case in opposition to Werner's biography, pp. 242 and 275. It was the time of Hebbel's indignation at her conduct in Hamburg (see esp. his letter of Dec. 16, 1844), when he reproached her for using his name as that of her husband. Janssen points out that practical conditions, such as difficulty in leasing rooms, forced this upon her, and also that she had long been assuming Hebbel's name with his knowledge and consent. Of course it is well known that he had already addressed letters to her as *Frau Doktor Hebbel*. Thus his indignation in that letter came rather late. In general the championship of her case here is so good as to render a defense of the poet difficult.

When a man's life lies before us as fully as Hebbel's in his letters and diaries, a minute examination of it will inevitably reveal many shortcomings. Who, when subjected to this test, his life surveyed as a whole from first to last, could come out unscarred? Certainly Hebbel does not. And it is not his marriage with Christine that weighs most heavily against him, for in that act lay too much of the grimness of necessity. Other things are less excusable. It seems to be true that in spite of the touching words upon the death of his little son, Max, he allowed him to be buried in a pauper's grave. So also with the second child, and, far worse yet, so too with Elise herself, and that at a time when his circumstances were much better. Is it not a mystery, how Hebbel (and Christine) could have allowed this to happen? And was it to spare *her* feelings, that she was kept strictly away from all company during her stay in Vienna, never making herself known by name to the most intimate friends of the family? Perhaps so.

Elise Lensing's letters to Hebbel were, as the author shows, in existence as late as 1896, when Christine, who had withheld them, promised to send them to the archives in Weimar. This promise was never kept, and Janssen supposes that they were destroyed to conceal some things that would have weighed heavily against the poet.

The chapter on Christine Enghausen describes the auspicious opening of her career as actress, and emphasizes particularly her untiring zeal in perpetuating the poet's memory and winning him proper recognition. She was fortunate in seeing these efforts crowned with success before her death in 1910.

The Appendix, *Aus Hebbel's Freundeskreis*, gives us welcome information concerning Hocker, Brede, and others, and particularly follows the fortunes of Leopold Alberti in America. The author quotes liberally from an article by Alberti in the *Hamburger Correspondent* (Aug., 1877), directed against certain statements in Kuh's biography. Following the lead given here, he makes it seem likely that the poem entitled *Nächtliches Echo* (*Werke*, v, 150) belongs essentially to Alberti and not to Hebbel. It was nothing for Alberti even to be proud of. Why Hebbel should have appropriated it is a mystery.

This little book is, in short, an important contribution to our knowledge of Hebbel. The author deserves full credit for discovering sources hitherto unthought of, and for presenting us the results of his painstaking investigation with refreshing brevity and directness. He has thrown new light on a number of interesting questions, he has exposed an imposing array of errors. Under the circumstances his noticeable satisfaction at being so often in a position to correct the redoubtable trio, Kuh, Werner, and Bornstein, is perhaps excusable.

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*Ordo Rachelis*. By KARL YOUNG. [University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, No. 4.] Madison, 1919.

Of the four types of liturgical play connected with the Nativity, three, the *Officium Stellae*, the *Processus Prophetarum*, and the *Officium Pastorum*, have already been studied in considerable detail. Professor Young now undertakes to do for the *Ordo Rachelis*, or *Interfectio Puerorum*, what has been done for the Magi, the Prophets, and the Shepherds plays by Anz, Sepet, and Professor Young himself, respectively.

He first considers all the Epiphany plays in which a dramatic treatment of the *Interfectio* is latent, tracing the stages by which they approach to an actual dramatization of this theme. The four texts in which he finds the *Ordo Rachelis* developed as a true dramatic unit he carefully re-edits from the manuscripts, analyzing them at some length and indicating their sources in the Vulgate and the liturgy. In the concluding sections of the study, the relations between these four texts are investigated, the views of Anz and Meyer criticized, and the question whether the *Ordo Rachelis* arose as a mere extension of the *Officium Stellae* or as a dramatic unit which developed independently and was later appended to the Epiphany play is clearly stated, if not categorically answered.

Unfortunately, the four texts that have survived differ considerably in content and scope: the Limoges *Lamentatio* is a dramatic trope rather than a play; in the Laon text the *Interfectio* forms an integral part of an *Officium Stellae*; and in the two long plays from Fleury and Freising, although Professor Young is probably justified in regarding the *Ordo Rachelis* as "a separate dramatic unit" (p. 23), this theme is nevertheless so extended and developed as to include a *Fuga in Egyptum* and, in the case of the Freising play, scenes from the *Pastores* as well.<sup>1</sup> From these texts and from the Epiphany plays discussed on pp. 6-13, it becomes apparent that

<sup>1</sup> Chambers indeed believes (*Mediaeval Stage*, II, 49-50) that at Fleury and Freising the *Pastores*, *Stella* and *Rachel* have coalesced. He not only suggests that the Freising *Ordo Rachelis* may be intended to supplement rather than replace the Freising *Ordo Stellae*, but he finds it impossible to regard the Fleury *Interfectio Puerorum* as a separate play from the *Herodes*.



the dividing line between the *Officium Stellae* and the *Ordo Rachelis* cannot be definitely drawn: the Laon text with its relatively simple *Interfectio* is in many respects as closely related to the Compiègne and Freising plays as to the Limoges trope for Innocents Day. Professor Young's conclusion, therefore (p. 65), that the dramatic trope represented by the Limoges text arose as a separate creation, but that its use at the end of the *Officium Stellae* probably preceded its use as an independent play, seems to me both circumspect and convincing.

That the solution of the problem of provenience is facilitated by considering the Innocents scenes apart from their context will readily be granted. One wishes, however, that in attempting to establish the textual relations existing between the various versions, Professor Young had extended his comparisons beyond these scenes to the scenes in the Epiphany plays with which they are most frequently connected and to the *officia* of which, in three instances, they form a part. (On p. 49, note 64, some parallels are suggested, but their bearing on the textual interrelations is not discussed.) The similarities between the Fleury and Freising plays, for example, are far more extended than the likenesses between their *Interfectio* scenes would indicate,<sup>2</sup> and the fact that the Freising *Ordo Stellae* and the Fleury *Ordo Rachelis* alone substitute *Armiger* for *Indolis* in the verse *Indolis eximie pueros fac ense perire* seems at least significant (the Freising *Rachel* reads *Etatis bime*, all the other plays, *Indolis*).<sup>3</sup> Perhaps, too, the connections between the Fleury and Laon plays might have been further emphasized by a reference to the fact that the antiphon *Sinite parvulos* occurs in only two texts, those of Fleury and Compiègne, for the Compiègne text is in other respects closely related to the *Officium*

<sup>2</sup> The scenes preceding the *Interfectio* are conveniently compared in Davidson, *Studies in the English Mystery Plays*, pp. 50 ff. Note also the responsory *Aegypte, noli flere* used in the Flight scenes of both plays (Young, pp. 28, 49).

<sup>3</sup> The Freising *Ordo Stellae*, like the Fleury *Ordo Rachelis*, also keeps the prose *Decerne, Domine* which the Freising *Rachel* omits. These facts seem to me to lend some support to Chambers' hypothesis regarding the two Freising plays (see above, note 1). Both the Freising texts as well as the Fleury play have the Sallust tag (*Incendium meum*) which occurs elsewhere in only two texts, one from Strassburg and one from Einsiedeln. (Cf. Anz, p. 136.)

from the nearby cathedral of Laon. These are minor matters, however, and probably not calculated to shed much light upon those ecclesiastical relations that somehow produced similar liturgical plays in the cathedral of Freising near Munich and the ancient abbey of Fleury-Saint-Benoit on the Loire. Agreeing in general with Anz, though rightly rejecting his hypothetical reconstructions as well as Wm. Meyer's mythical German derivations, Professor Young concludes (p. 63): "we are sure of a French tradition that includes Limoges and Laon and of a German tradition that includes Freising; and in some manner the two traditions seem to be united in Fleury."

The painstaking scholarship characteristic of all Professor Young's illuminating contributions to the field of the liturgical drama is evident on every page of this study. An index of some sort, especially to the newly collated texts, would, one feels, have increased its usefulness, but in any case it lays students not only of the liturgical plays but of the mediæval drama generally under a heavy obligation to its author.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### NOTE ON SPENSER'S CLARION

The fabric of the *Muiopotmos* has sustained an activity of scholarship hard on a thing so fragile. Are we breaking this delicate butterfly unnecessarily upon the wheel, by over-complexity of conjecture? In the very name of Clarion, not yet satisfactorily explained, there may be a clue to simpler interpretation.

Mr. Long's suggestion<sup>1</sup> that Clarion is Spenser the lover in toils of a lady-Aragnoil, assumes, as Miss Lyon rightly thinks, a kind of compliment acceptable indeed as a sonnet-conceit but likely to be trying to a lady on so protracted a scale. Her own ingenious idea,<sup>2</sup> that Clarion is Raleigh in rivalry with Essex, still makes no allowance for the mock-heroic tone in this bright epic of the air, a tone which it is easy to feel with Mr. Nadal,<sup>3</sup> unless one has a thesis to prove. The older tradition,<sup>4</sup> that Clarion is in some sense

<sup>1</sup> *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, ix (1914), 457-462.

<sup>2</sup> *PMLA.*, xxxi (1916), 90-113.

<sup>3</sup> *PMLA.*, xxv (1910), 640, 656.

<sup>4</sup> James Russell Lowell, *N. Am. Rev.*, 1875, p. 365.

Spenser the poet, allows both the allegory and the mock-heroic. But Mr. Cory's variant from it,<sup>5</sup>—that *Muiopotmos* represents Spenser's tragedy of idealism, the fate of the dreamer, leaves us wondering even more why a dreamer should have so lively a name.

Spenser was used to speak of the "trumpets stern" as the instrument of his Muse. It may well be that in his search, not too solemn, for a mock-heroic subject, he meant by his Clarion, not his personal experience, nor, quite so subtly as Mr. Cory supposes, his idealism; but more literally his epic Muse, conceived again as a herald to trumpet forth the honor of the great, to glorify "the worthies" in "lofty verse."<sup>6</sup> For such a meaning the word Clarion would in Spenser's mind be very apt, if we judge by analogous lines in the complaint of Calliope, *Tears of the Muses*, 457-464:

Therefore the nurse of vertue I am hight,  
And golden Trompet of eternitie,  
That lowly thoughts lift up to heauens hight,  
And mortal men have power to deifie,  
Bacchus and Hercules I raised to heauen,  
And Charlemaine amongst the Starris seauen.

But now I will my golden Clarion rend,  
And will henceforth immortalize no more.

There is no likeness to the *Muiopotmos* situation in the later words of the Epic Muse. But here is epic poetry conceived as a "golden Clarion," as being indeed the "golden Trompet of eternitie" to honor mortal men.

The failure of such championship would have been in Spenser's mind especially at about this time, if Mr. Cory (Chapter II) is right that *Faerie Queene*, I-III, printed at so nearly the same time and representing a part of the Leicester support, reveals at its close the disillusion upon which Spenser is entering, his lost hope for his England and for what Leicester was to be for England. But it may be doubted if the immediate years after the Armada could be years of disillusion for a man of affairs like Spenser. And it is better not to take *Muiopotmos* too seriously. For a mock-heroic, a frown of the "rugged brow" or a check to the pension in 1590<sup>7</sup> would be sufficient to make of Burleigh a temporary Aragnoll.

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<sup>5</sup> *Edmund Spenser, a Critical Study*, University of California Press, 1917, pp. 187-189.

<sup>6</sup> See *Shepheards Calendar*, October, II. 61-66.

<sup>7</sup> See Percy E. Long, *Engl. Stud.*, XLVII (1913), 202.



## THE LOST QUIRES OF A SHIRLEY CODEX

In the course of revising and re-aligning notes on English manuscripts, I have observed some points of interest, especially with regard to the now well-known Shirley codex at Trinity College, Cambridge, marked R, 3, 20. On my first examination of this volume, more than twenty years ago, I stumbled upon the supposedly non-existent mummings by Lydgate, and printed the most striking of them in *Anglia*, vol. 22, for the year 1899. Most of the entries of the manuscript are now in print. Dr. Rudolf Brotanek published the other mummings in *Die englischen Maskenspiele* three years later, and in his remarks there on the codex, says that there is at its close a poem by its first possessor, entitled "The Kalundare of John Shirley," which gives important information as to Lydgate and his works.

Such a poem does not exist in R, 3, 20 today, however. But it exists in Brit. Mus. Adds. 29729, a volume compiled by John Stow from "Master Blomfelds boke," "Master Hanlays boke," "Master Stantons boke," etc., and with forty or more of its pages filled with copies from "John Shirleys boke." That this Shirley book was the Trinity R, 3, 20 codex is evident from the agreement of all Stow's Shirley-items with poems in the Trinity volume, and from the marginal notes by Stow in R, 3, 20, showing that it was at one time in his hands. The mummings are among Stow's copies, also the *Life of St. Margaret*, of which neither this transcription nor its original is mentioned by MacCracken in his Lydgate Canon; the only poem of the many selections which Stow marks as from Shirley and which is not now in the codex is his copy, at the end of these excerpts, of the table of contents or "Kalundare,"—104 lines in short couplets. He expressly says that Shirley set the poem "in the beginning of his book"; Brotanek, probably thinking of its position in Adds. 29729, speaks of "at the close."

The Trinity MS., as remarked, does not now contain the "Kalundare." But though not apparently defective at the beginning, it lacks the first thirteen gatherings; see Dr. James' description in his Catalogue, vol. II. And from this same "Kalundare," in Stow's transcription, we know what those gatherings contained; for lines 21 and 22 read

ffirst ye humayne / pilgrymage  
sayd all by proose in fayr langage.

As Shirley explicitly says "all by prose," we might dismiss the conjecture that this could have been Lydgate's translation, which is in verse, and believe that the lost text was more like the prose "Pilgrimage of the Lyfe of the Manhode," existing e. g. in Ff v, 30 of the University Library, Cambridge, and edited thence by William Aldis Wright for the Roxburghe Club in 1869. This work

fills 204 quarto pages of print, and R, 3, 20 lacks presumably 104 leaves, or 208 pages. But later in the "Kalundare" Shirley says of Lydgate that he

aught well be solempnysed  
Of all oure engelische nacion  
ffor his famus / translacyon  
Of this booke and of other mo.

It would be straining probability to argue that Shirley means a translation of the *Pèlerinage* by Lydgate other than that he here transcribes; yet, are we to believe in a prose version by Lydgate alongside his bulky verse-rendering?

We can understand why Stow should pass by the continuous prose of the Pilgrimage to transcribe the brief occasional poems of the latter half of R, 3, 20; the rimed table of contents at the beginning caught his fancy, and he appended it to his group of selections, thereby preserving a record of what filled most, if not all, of the missing thirteen gatherings. This "Kalundare" in Stow's copy, the original Shirley "Kalundare" of Brit. Mus. Add. 16165, and various bits showing Shirley's work as a publicist will be printed in my volume *From Gower to Surrey*, now nearing completion. Shirley's limited though eager activity had no such effect on his time and on later times as had the work of the great translator-printer Caxton; but he was an editor in a small way, a sort of lesser—very much lesser—Frederick James Furnivall, whom he resembles in his indefatigable zeal for Chaucer and for Lydgate, his interest in his chosen work, and in the cheerful personal directness of his "forewords" addressed to an earlier English Text Society, the nobles and gentles to whom he lent his books.

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#### MAUPASSANT'S VERSION OF *Les Dous Amanz*

Folk-lorists are well aware that the lay of Marie de France, *Les Dous Amanz*, is still told in various forms among the peasants of Normandy. The mountain up which the gallant young lover carried his sweetheart is still shown, and flowers, sprung according to Marie from the spilling of the magic potion and unknown to the surrounding country, are said to be found there. The best-known version in modern French literature is that of Ducis, *La Côte des Deux Amants*. (*Oeuvres*, Paris, 1826, III, 335 ff.) He obtained his information in 1812 while visiting Mme Gueroult and Mme Hauguët, wife and sister-in-law of the proprietor of the Château des Deux Amants. In a *Notice historique* Ducis quotes from a letter of Mme Hauguët which gives the legend as they knew it. "Les lumières . . . ne sont puisées que dans la tradition du pays,

et quelques notices de Darnaud, de Saint-Foix et de Madame de Genlis, toutes restreintes et de même nature. Le vieux château de la vallée d'Andelle était occupé par un seigneur de Pont-Saint-Pierre, contemporain de Charlemagne. Sa fille, nommée Caliste, jeune et belle, fut aimée et devint éprise d'un jeune paysan, nommé Edmond, serf de son père. Ce père, pour désespérer leur amour, imagina de mettre à son consentement une condition impossible. Il promit qu'il lui donnerait sa fille, s'il pouvait la porter de suite et sans aucun repos jusqu'au haut de la côte qui règne sur le château et toute la vallée d'Andelle, et la déposer sur son sommet, quoiqu'il fût regardé comme inaccessible. Le jeune homme, par une force et un courage incroyables, arrive au sommet, y dépose sa conquête, penche la tête, fixe des yeux pleins d'amour sur elle, et tombe mort de fatigue. Son amante meurt à l'instant de douleur. Tel est le fond de l'histoire. Le père, trop tard attendri et repentant, fit ériger par la suite le prieuré des Deux Amants au haut de cette côte; mais il fit enfermer les deux corps dans un même cercueil, et les fit transporter dans la chapelle la plus voisine, dépendante du monastère de Fontaine-Guerare."

The most important change from the lai of Marie is the transformation of the lover into a serf. Durdan suggests that this may have come from a misunderstanding of one of the terms by which Marie designates the youth: *vaslez*, which was taken to mean valet, domestic, and so serf. Ducis has added some details of his own invention so that the lai is almost unrecognizable in his version.<sup>1</sup>

In all the versions which I have found, it is the lover's task to carry the lady. But Maupassant, in his novel *Notre Coeur*,<sup>2</sup> alludes to a form of the story which is less familiar. He is reporting the soliloquy of a lover, wounded by the coldness of his mistress. "Le souvenir d'une vieille histoire lui vint, dont on a fait une légende: celle de la Côte des deux amants, qu'on voit en allant à Rouen. Une jeune fille obéissant au caprice cruel de son père, qui lui défendit d'épouser son amant si elle ne parvenait à le porter elle-même au sommet de la rude montagne, l'y traîna, marchant sur les mains et sur les genoux, et mourut en arrivant." And he concludes: "L'amour n'est donc plus qu'une légende, faite pour être chantée en vers ou contée en des romans trompeurs."

There is obviously no reason to suppose that Maupassant knew either the lai of Marie nor the poem of Ducis. He had doubtless heard some form of the popular legend from his Norman peasant friends. The interesting question is whether he has merely confused the rôle of the lovers, intentionally changed it, or heard the variant which he gives.

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<sup>1</sup> For modern versions of the story, see Warnke's edition of the *Lais*, Halle, 1900, and A. L. Durdan, *Le Lai des Deux Amants*, Macon, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, Ollendorff, 1890, p. 208.



A NOTE ON *King Lear*

In his discussion of the character of King Lear, Professor Bradley<sup>1</sup> says, "And, finally, though he is killed by an agony of pain, the agony in which he actually dies is one not of pain but of ecstasy." Assuming the truth of this statement, as indeed one must, we should do well to examine Lear's last words to discover, if we can, what causes the joy. This is the final speech:

And my poor fool is hang'd. No, no, no life!  
Why should a dog, a horse, a rat, have life,  
And thou no breath at all? Thou'lt come no more,  
Never, never, never, never, never!  
Pray you, undo this button: thank you, sir.  
Do you see this? Look on her, look, her lips,  
Look there, look there!

Obviously Lear thinks that Cordelia is being revived, that she is alive. Nothing could give him such an impression but the feather or the glass with which he had been vainly experimenting. Certainly the feather did not move, and certainly no mist stained the glass. How, then, can we explain the illusion? Is it not possible that his eyes tremble and grow dim at this last moment and that he thinks that the feather has stirred? Or, if it is the glass that he is still holding in his hand (I can find no evidence as to which he is using), may not the mist filming his own eyes be that which he imagines he sees on the glass? We have evidence as to Lear's eyesight. In the interval between his entrance with Cordelia's body and his death (55 lines) there are four references to his feeble vision: "Had I your tongues and eyes," line 259; "This feather stirs! she lives!" line 266; "Mine eyes are not o' the best," line 280; and "This is a dull sight," line 283. It therefore seems possible, if not probable, that Shakespeare attempted to emphasize Lear's failing sight in order to have at hand a ready explanation for the self-deception apparent in his last words.

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<sup>1</sup> *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 291.

## BRIEF MENTION

*The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey.* By Frederick Morgan Padelford (University of Washington Publications: Language and Literature, vol. 1. Seattle, 1920). The *raison d'être* of this book is so well expressed by Professor Padelford that one must be pardoned for quoting the paragraph in full. "It is now rather more than a century since George Frederick Nott published his elaborate edition of the works of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. Since then no scholarly edition has been attempted. During this time, however, many facts bearing upon the career of Surrey have come to light, a noteworthy biography has been published, studies dealing with various phases of the poetry have appeared, and manuscript versions of many of the lyrics and two fresh texts of the fourth book of the *Æneid* have been discovered. The time therefore seems ripe for a new edition that will take advantage of this fresh knowledge, giving more authoritative readings in the poems and furnishing the equipment needed by the scholar. The present volume aims to meet this need." Nothing can be said against this program. Professor Padelford's purpose is justified by the reported facts and circumstances.

It is not an equally simple matter to pass judgment on the execution of this purpose. Having in mind Professor Padelford's trustworthy scholarship, and his constructive skill, one is predisposed to pass a favorable judgement on every feature of this work. But after an effort to construe all 'findings' favorably, there remains the conviction that he has compelled his colleagues to ask a number of questions that reflect aspects of disappointment. The form of the publication, of course, suggests an application of the law of the "kinds." Conventionally an academic monograph is not governed by the structural principles of a book. Altho yielding to the desirability of starting a new series of University Publications, Professor Padelford's prefatory statements indicate that he has had in mind the making of a 'book,' "published to the common profit and delectation of the many," rather than a monograph for the use of specialists. He has produced a scholarly edition of Surrey's poems which will take its place by the side of Foxwell's edition of *The Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt* in critical value, but the difference between his "Critical Notes" and Foxwell's "Commentary" is rather unfavorable to the general usefulness of his work.

Professor Padelford had a goodly share in the preliminary investigations for making accessible the texts of Surrey's compositions in the most authentic form. In respect, therefore, of this feature this "new edition" has a value and significance of first-

class order. But editorially, or in the matter of planning a book, all has not been done to facilitate the use of this new material. Helpful would have been a tabulation of the poems with reference to manuscripts and printed books, giving a view of the textual sources and traditions, which is left to be gained by a sifting of the Textual Notes and the Bibliography. At all events one feels that the facts under this head might have been presented in a fashion to require less effort of the reader in bringing together separated passages. For example, what is to be noted respecting the occurrence of No. 38 in MS. *E.* is not indicated on p. 173, but on p. 219 (where, however, the number is misprinted 39). Similarly with No. 21; the statement on p. 171, "Found also in *D.*," does not suggest the fact recorded on pp. 186, 219; and what is said of No. 21 in connection with *Harl.* on p. 219 is not confirmed on p. 186, nor is it in agreement with *Anglia* XXIX, 273. Moreover, the specific designation by numerals (p. 219) of the poems in *Harl.* and also of those in *D.* and *E.* makes conspicuous the lack of the corresponding designation of the three poems in *Hill*; and in lieu of the suggested tabulation, the twenty-eight poems of *P.* and the eighteen of *A.* should also have been numbered. Another detail may be added to show how difficult it will be for the studious reader to find the desired information on a particular point. Where is he to find a statement of what constitutes the manuscript or printed basis of the *Æneid* II? Is he to make the inference from "Certain Bookes" on p. 220; or turn to *The Mod. Lang. Review*, XIV, 164, or elsewhere?

Professor Padelford has had the advantage of availing himself of the opportune moment for an attractive task. That attractiveness is surely due in good measure to the privilege of presenting the results of a number of special investigations. The degree of satisfaction with which the investigator observes the report and incorporation of his work must be a test of how the reporter has done his work. Let this test be applied to the critical note (pp. 200-201) in which is summarized what is known or conjectured concerning *Æneid* II. Now, should one expect Dr. Dittes to be quite content not to be mentioned in this connection? And does the rather incidental occurrence of the names Imelmann and Fest serve to give the reader a just estimate of what these scholars have contributed to the subject? Also in the critical introduction to *Æneid* IV, there is not offered the desired well-constructed report of the several important investigations listed in the Bibliography. Besides, there is here a striking disproportion in the allotment of space to the different sides of the subject. Especially disproportionate is the space devoted to the evidence of certain grammatical features and metrical details. Unfortunately the grammatical forms, in this instance, are of little consequence as evidence; and the metrical details are misinterpreted. Amends for all this, how-



ever, Professor Padelford has made in supplying a most desirable edition of the text of *Aeneid* iv. The Tottle and the Hargrave texts are printed side by side and the readings of the only extant copy of *D* are exhibited in collected form on the basis of Tottle. The three sixteenth century 'versions' are thus with scrupulous accuracy made accessible for further study.

By no easily drawn inference from the prevailing character of the "Critical Notes" is Professor Padelford's exact purpose made obvious; one cannot with certainty describe the particular class of readers he has had in mind. Notes interpretative of thought and figure are either too meagre or altogether wanting to attract and instruct the more general reader; and the scholar too will look in vain for a satisfactory indication of what has been accumulating in this department of study. It would be unfair to require the compiler of a commentary to report with uniform minuteness all preceding interpretative suggestions; yet there is a tribute to be paid to precedence in time that is usually well deserved. Thus, to take a simple example, altho the comment on No. 4 is interpretative in the desired sense, why should not a reference be made to Dr. H. Nagel, who in 1889 also placed the three texts before the reader and added a discriminating comparison of the methods of Surrey and Wyatt? And Professor Padelford, who so well appreciates the helpfulness of a well constructed critical apparatus of study, would certainly have gratified his colleagues by supplying all references to show in detail how the recorded judgments and observations have been arrived at. Dr. Koepfel gave the clue to the method one has in mind in this connection. He listed what Nott had noted with respect to sources, and then proceeded to his own additions and modifications. No commentator should do less than apply this method when dealing with the study of Surrey's poems, which is marked by definite stages of progress. That Professor Padelford has put the reader and student to a disadvantage by not observing this method as consistently as possible may be seen by turning to the notes on No. 15 (p. 185), where the first note is due to Nott and the second to Koepfel (p. 85). Comparison of notes on No. 11 (p. 182) and the editor's *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*, p. 130, suggests the question, Why have the designations "(N.)" and "(K.)" been cancelled. Details of this class may appear to be too unimportant to sustain the weight of serious criticism; but Professor Padelford will not regard them in that light, for it is obvious that he has had a pattern in mind that has led him, without his conscious consent, beyond the limits of approved conciseness.

As a whole the critical notes on the *Aeneid* represent careful and efficient consideration of the various classes of pertinent details. But one must regret the absence of a philosophic discussion of the cultural aspects of Surrey's indebtedness to preceding translations.

As to the order in which the two books were translated, the editor is 'inclined to think' that the second book preceded the fourth; but so far as this conclusion (perhaps expressed with too much caution) is based on metrical features it is not undeniably strengthened. In this division of the argument, as also in that which relates to the comparison of the three forms of the fourth book, metrical details are not well handled. There is a fundamental error here, that is easily detected in the statement that Surrey intended "a judicious interspersion of trochees and other feet" (p. 207), and in the use of the descriptives anapæsts and amphibrachs. The permissible resolution of arsis or thesis corrects the misunderstanding of the rhythm. And it should be clear that there is a misleading use of terms that properly describe a mere sequence of syllables and not a possible rhythmic or structural foot. The (Alexandrian) amphibrach is one of these non-structural forms, so is the amphimacer, and the pyrrhic, and the tribrach. Dionysius of Halicarnassus declared the rhythmic quality of the amphibrach to be specious; and the simplest law of rhythm should have diverted Skeat from the attempt to prove its structural use, and have convinced Mr. Omond that "our metrists" have "some reason" for not recognizing it as an English foot (*A Study of Metre*, p. 94).

The Introduction consists of "The Dramatic Career of Surrey" (pp. 7-36), and "Surrey's Contribution to English Verse" (pp. 37-42), two chapters unequal in length and differing widely in value. The titular use of the term dramatic is appropriately descriptive of the poet's short and eventful career, which Professor Padelford has sketched in a finely sympathetic and effective manner. What is here done must leave little more to be done in the tracing of the relation between the series of public and political events and that of the influences and circumstances of the poet's literary activities. In the second of these introductory chapters one finds less that is complete. Wyatt and Surrey as poets are compared, but in terms that are for the most part too general; and Surrey's "contribution to English verse" is considered chiefly with reference to the external forms of poetry, and with insufficient critical analysis of his poetic art as a whole.

This publication represents an excellent preparation for a handy and well-made book to take the place of the Aldine edition, and Professor Padelford's colleagues must surely be of one mind in hoping that he will proceed to supply that demand.

J. W. B.

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English and American teachers who prefer an abbreviated and expurgated Rabelais to the unadulterated text will welcome *Readings from Rabelais* by the late W. F. Smith, recently published at the Cambridge University Press. Known by a translation of Rabelais, by articles in *R. E. R.* and *M. L. R.*, and by *Rabelais in His Writings* (Cambridge, 1918), he was well qualified to make this edition. The selections include about a fourth of Rabelais's chapters. Brief summaries of the others are added. All four books are represented, most largely *Gargantua* and the *Quart Livre*. While most of the chapters given are essential to an understanding of the author, I miss the prologue to *Gargantua*, the brilliant *Propos des beuveurs*, far more important to a student of style than the giants' Ciceronian correspondence, the speech of Janotus de Bragmardo, Panurge's talk about debtors and creditors, the interviews with Trouillogan and Judge Bridoye, and the account of the storm in the *Quart Livre*. Still more regrettable is the fact that Mr. Smith found it necessary to expurgate his text so extensively. In so doing he prevents a full appreciation of Rabelais's curiosity, humor, and gift of expression. He loses much of the *sustantificque mouelle* we are invited to enjoy. Occasionally, too, the reader is misled as to the meaning of the passage. Thus *eulx retornans* (p. 9) makes no sense because the fact that Gargantua has gone "es lieux secrets" has been modestly omitted. Again *le* (p. 136, ll. 10, 11) cannot be understood, for the noun to which it refers has been removed.

Except where such devotion to *bonnes mœurs* has interfered, the text has been carefully reproduced after the editions of Abel Lefranc, Jouaust, and Marty-Laveaux. The notes are, in the main, satisfactory, but a glossary is still needed for the student who is beginning his acquaintance with sixteenth-century forms and vocabulary. While waiting for the completion of M. Lefranc's edition of Rabelais, scholars may consult with profit Mr. Smith's notes, particularly for information with regard to Rabelais's sources, nearly all of which he thought he had determined. The edition is accompanied by an adequate account of Rabelais's life, with no attempt, unfortunately, at literary criticism, by an appendix on the educational system which Rabelais combated and another on J. E. Sandys and Mr. Arthur Tilley.

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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## CRITICAL NOTES ON THE *PALATINE PASSION*

Students of the mediæval drama have not failed to recognize the importance of Dr. Karl Christ's discovery of the oldest known French Passion play among a mass of neglected manuscripts in the Palatine collections of the Vatican. His edition of the text which now appears in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XL, 405-488, is accordingly most welcome.

The difficulties incident to the publication of a unique manuscript have been increased in the present instance by the fact that almost all rubrics are wanting in the text, so that the division of the lines into speeches and the ascription of such speeches to the proper speakers are often matters of pure conjecture. Dr. Christ has displayed excellent judgment in solving most of the problems involved, and his edition presents a very readable text of the play. His brief but well-chosen notes on its literary and linguistic aspects serve as an admirable introduction. He is especially to be commended for printing the manuscript practically as it stands, indicating the expansion of abbreviations by italics,<sup>1</sup> introducing comparatively few emendations, and resisting all temptations to "regularize" the rhythm and the rhymes. He puts into parentheses lines, words, and sounds which he conceives to be uninspired additions to the text, and although his conclusions in these matters may not always satisfy his readers, it is in any case far better that a manuscript not readily consulted should thus be presented in its

<sup>1</sup> The wisdom of expanding *mlt* by *molt* may well be questioned since the unabbreviated form throughout is *mout* (once *mont*, 1546), never *molt*.

first edition in an unmutilated form than distorted by editorial interference.

This is the more important for the *Palatine Passion* because the work itself is composite in character, and linguistic consistency cannot justifiably be demanded of it. Unfortunately, the two Paris manuscripts of the so-called *Passion d'Autun*, which are related to the *Palatine Passion*, were inaccessible to Dr. Christ because of the war, and the old narrative poem—the *Passion des Jongleurs*—upon which much of it is based was unknown to him in its original form. Accordingly, the editor, although vaguely aware of the commingling of older and newer elements in the play (see pp. 408, 409 note 1, 423) was not in a position to differentiate between them by means of objective criteria.

A comparison <sup>2</sup> of the play, however, with the texts related to it has established the fact, I think, that the oldest stratum comprises the passages which derive from the narrative poem, that a later stage is represented by the lines which correspond to lines in the *Passion d'Autun*, and that, finally, those revisions and additions which distinguish the *Palatine Passion* from the other texts—in a general way, the stanzaic forms, the "humorous" incidents, and certain conventional scenes in which omissions and rearrangement can be detected—are to be attributed to its latest redactors. How completely all these elements may have been fused by the final revisor cannot be ascertained, but since Dr. Christ has studied the language of the play without attempting to distinguish the strata underlying it, it may be worth while to assemble the available evidence, such as it is.

1. Versification. (a) The greater part of the *Palatine Passion* is written in octosyllabic couplets. The presence of stanzaic forms,<sup>3</sup> however, distinguishes it from the old narrative poem, from the Sion fragment published by M. Bédier (*Romania* xxiv, 86), and from the two versions of the *Passion d'Autun*. Since these stanzaic forms occur in precisely those parts of the play for which the other texts offer no parallels,<sup>4</sup> we may safely assume that they are

<sup>2</sup> See *Publications of the Modern Language Association* xxxv, 464-83, and *Modern Language Notes* xxxv, 257-69. Through the kindness of M. Lucien Foulet I was able to obtain photographs of the two Paris manuscripts.

<sup>3</sup> Stanzaic structure is more frequent than Dr. Christ indicates (pp. 415-6). Cf. *P. M. L. A.* xxxv, 478, note 24.

<sup>4</sup> A few lines in the *Planctus Mariae* and St. John's reply (1089, 1094-8,

late additions in our text. (b) As Dr. Christ points out (p. 416), most of the individual speeches in the *Palatine Passion* end with a completed rhyme, a fact that would lead one to think that in the north, as in the south, the so-called mnemonic scheme of connecting succeeding speeches by rhyme did not originally prevail. Speeches unconnected by rhyme occur in every stratum of the text, in the latest additions as well as in the older parts. There are, however, some thirty-three instances (excluding single lines) where the last line of one speech rhymes with the first line of the succeeding speech, and these instances seem to be relatively more frequent in those parts of the play that have been most recently added: the dialogue between the three Maries and the Spice-merchant, the scenes in Hell, and the scenes between Cayn and Huitacelin, including the casting of the lots. It would be hazardous to assert, however, that a later redactor, or later redactors, having learned or formulated a new rule, proceeded to put it into practice in this text: the division of the rhymes when it occurs seems to arise from an increased freedom in technique (or from chance) rather than from the conscious application of a rule.

2. Elision. The *ə* of unaccented monosyllables, as well as the final atonic *ə* in polysyllables, is sometimes elided, sometimes not, before a word beginning with a vowel. Examples of the non-elision of *ə* in atonic monosyllables are fairly numerous, but seem to occur only in the couplets (some thirty-seven examples) and in the stanzas rhyming *aaa<sup>s</sup>b<sup>4</sup>* (three examples). Instances of the non-elision of final atonic *ə* in polysyllables occur in every part of the text.

3. Hiatus. In general, pretonic vowels, whether initial or non-initial, and post-tonic *ə*, when standing in hiatus with a stressed vowel, retain their syllabic value. The exceptions noted,<sup>5</sup> as well

1131-9, 1220-5; note that ll. 1116 ff. belong to St. John, not Marie Magdelaine) are reminiscent of lines in Bib. Nat. n. a. fr. 4085 but that they have been adapted to the stanzaic structure is obvious.

<sup>5</sup>Christ, *loc. cit.* p. 417. Many of the "exceptions" occur elsewhere in their older forms, e. g. pretonic *ə* is not syllabic in *veoir*, 1208, 1886, but cf. ll. 483, 1731, 1884 where it is; cf. *preeschemens*, 1043 with *preëscha*, 239; cf. *beneoite*, 837 with *beneïte*, 860, etc. Christ does not observe that in the case of *veez* it is only the imperative which is monosyllabic; cf. also *asseez*, 909 and probably *creez*, 533, although the imperative *creez* is disyllabic in 305 and 521.



as the examples of non-syllabic inter-consonantal pretonic ə, seem to be due to late redactors, that is, they occur in those parts of the play for which the associated texts furnish no parallels. Most of them are in the stanzas or in episodes unknown to the other texts. A few which appear in lines that are related to lines in these texts are obviously editorial: for *renvoierez*, l. 412, n. a. fr. 4085 has *retournes* (note that *envoierai*, 434, has the usual four syllables); and for *essuierai*, 91, n. a. fr. 4085 and 4356 both have *paneray*. The prevalence of the older forms, however, even in the latest additions to the text, indicates that its final redaction occurred before these forms had to any extent been displaced.

4. Phonetics. The rhyme *eus : savoureux*, 1082-3 and the assonance *deul : pleur*, 1094-5, testify to the fact that the later pronunciation of stressed free *ø* (ö) had come into use before the text, as we have it, was complete. It may be noteworthy, however, that these two (unique)<sup>6</sup> instances both occur in an elaborate stanzaic Planctus which is probably a late addition to the text. On the other hand, the older pronunciation is seemingly<sup>7</sup> attested in the following rhymes: *preuz : touz*, 173-4; *jours : seigneurs*, 860-1; *menour : entour*, 929-30; *jour : greigneur : traïtour : douleur*, 1145-8; *seigneur : amour : douleur : couleur*, 1176-9; *doulour : amour*, 1718-9. It seems not unlikely therefore that most of the text was written before the change *ø > ö* occurred.<sup>8</sup>

5. Morphology. The two-case declension of nouns and adjectives was apparently observed until a very recent stage in the

<sup>6</sup>The assonance (?) *l(i)eu(<ö) : jour*, 1870-1 (cf. Christ, *loc. cit.* p. 418) in the (late) Epicier's harangue can hardly be in question.

<sup>7</sup>There is of course much uncertainty concerning this question, and one cannot be dogmatic. It has merely seemed significant that the later pronunciation is attested by rhyme only twice—and in a recent addition to the text. (On the identification of *-our* and *-eur* in the fifteenth century and even earlier, see E. Langlois, *Recueil d'Arts de seconde rhétorique*, Paris, 1902, xlv; III, 154; IV, 209, and H. Chatelain, *Recherches sur le vers français au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1908, pp. 39-41, 231.)

<sup>8</sup>Christ (p. 418) emphasizes the prevalence of the representation of *ø* by *eu* (*-osus* by *-eus*, *-orem* by *-eur*) in the manuscript, but pronunciation, not spelling, concerns us here. At the rhyme-end, however, even the scribe is relatively conservative: *ø* is represented by *ou* or *o* twenty times, by *eu* twenty times,—the ratio of *eu* to *ou* or *o* in the body of the text is much higher.

development of the text had been reached. In the rhymes, the older forms, often attested, are almost universal, and in several cases where newer forms appear the rhymes may be recovered by merely substituting the earlier forms in their place.<sup>9</sup> In a few instances,<sup>10</sup> however, later forms are seemingly required by the rhymes, and since they do not occur in the oldest parts of the text, they are probably to be attributed to editorial or scribal revision.

Adjectives of the type *grant* have in general but one form in the masculine and feminine. The feminine *tel* occurs seven times, and of the eleven instances where the scribe writes *tele*, *tel* is required by the rhythm in at least six, possibly more.<sup>11</sup> The certain instances of *tele* can be quite surely ascribed to later strata of the text. The feminine *quel* appears in l. 1739 and originally occurred in ll. 989 and 1726,<sup>12</sup> where the manuscript has *quele*. Only the older forms appear in the feminine plural (289, 1993). In two of the later metrical Complaints, however, we find *cruere* in rhyme twice (1152, 1220), beside *cruel* (1143).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Older forms, as shown by the rhymes, originally occurred in ll. 303, 615, 1399 (the ms. reads *sauf*), 1603, 1664, 1677, 1690, 1735, as well as in ll. 292, 978, 1115 (Christ has emended here), and 1966, since -s and -z are not differentiated in the rhymes. Older forms may have been present (since the rhymes would not be destroyed thereby) in ll. 666-7, 913-4, 1259-60, 1291-2. For syntactical reasons one may read *delivere*[z] : *nez*, 1449-50 and *avenu*(z) : *venu*(z), 1655-6 (Foulet, *Petite Syntaxe*, §§ 115-7). The plural may have replaced the singular in 684 where O. F. P. has the plural.

<sup>10</sup> In ll. 273, 1011, 1090, 1108, and probably 1574 (cf. *druz*, 569).

<sup>11</sup> *Tel* is written: 823, 836, 950, 1033, 1148, 1208, 1846. *Tele* is written but *tel* required: 859, 1806 (this line should be octosyllabic, see note to 1805-8), 1893 (see note to this line); and (before a vowel) 294, 1516, 1889. *Tele* is written and possibly required (emendations, or the assumption of hiatus, seem plausible in some cases) : 270 (the preceding lines derive from O. F. P., these do not), 1085 (stanzaic *Planctus*), 1741 (the passage is in both the Sion fragment and n. a. fr. 4085, but this line does not appear in either), 1976, 1991 (though possibly one should read *tel(e)* here; 1976 and 1991 do not belong to the earliest strata of the text in all probability).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the Sion fragment, l. 28 and Sneyders de Vogel, *Neophilologus* (1917), III, 9.

<sup>13</sup> *Dolente* is of course as old as the oldest documents (Schwan-Behrens, *Grammatik*, § 306). Dr. Christ cites as "isoliert" a few cases of the more modern nominative forms of the unstressed masculine possessive pronouns. The statistics are: *mon*, 2, *ton*, 4, *son*, 1; *mes*, 5, *ses*, 1. In the plural only *mi* and *si* occur (11 instances). The more modern nominative forms of the article are also less infrequent than he assumes (p. 422) : *le* and *les*

The results of these tests for stratification, unsatisfactory as they may be when considered individually, seem nevertheless when viewed as a whole to yield some information concerning the date of the play. They point to the lapse of some time between the first and the final redactions, and of at least a short period<sup>14</sup> between the later redactions and the scribe of our manuscript. If, with Dr. Christ, we place the transcription of the manuscript in the first part of the fourteenth century we may conveniently date the work of the later redactors toward the beginning of that century, and we need therefore feel small hesitancy in assuming that the earlier strata of the play were written in the thirteenth century.<sup>15</sup>

The conjecture that dramatic representations of the Passion of Christ, written in French, took place before the fourteenth century is accordingly confirmed.<sup>16</sup> How much of the *Palatine Passion* may have been played thus early? *A priori* hypotheses concerning what should constitute an archaic Passion play have assumed that grotesque, humorous and gruesome elements would be wanting, and that characters unnamed in the Gospels would not appear.<sup>17</sup> If we except the scenes of the forging of the nails and the boasting of the knights, these assumptions are proved correct. The bargain of Judas and the casting of the lots, in their present form, the *supplices* of the scourging and Crucifixion, the *diablerie*, the spice-merchant's harangue, the names of the servants, torturers, executioners—Cayn, Huitacelin, Joel, Mossé, Haquin and Evramin—as well as the stanzaic portions of the text are probably all due to redactors.

The following suggestions—emendations, corrections, additions—are offered for what they may be worth in a second edition of the play.<sup>18</sup>

occur 10 and 3 times, respectively, *li*, singular, and *li*, plural, occur 56 and 37 times, respectively.

<sup>14</sup> Long enough for the two-case declension to have disintegrated further and for the representation of stressed *o* by *eu* to have become more general.

<sup>15</sup> A *terminus a quo* is furnished by the old narrative Passion, written "at the close of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century," see F. A. Foster, *The Northern Passion*, E. E. T. S. 147, p. 49.

<sup>16</sup> Jeanroy, *Journal des Savants*, n. s. iv (1906), 480.

<sup>17</sup> Jeanroy, *loc. cit.* pp. 482-3.

<sup>18</sup> Abbreviations used: 1) MSS. Bibliothèque Nationale, n. a. fr. 4085 and



Line 59. Read *se(r)ans* for *seraus* (cf. 64, 704, 1351). *U*, *n*, and *v* seldom are clearly differentiated in the manuscript, and the epenthetic *r* may result from the peculiar treatment of *r* in the text; on rhymes in which *r* is disregarded and on spellings in which *r* replaces *n* and *l* see Christ, *loc. cit.* 420; on *paller* and *Pylatre* see notes to ll. 327 and 439, below. The derivation of *seraus*, a hitherto unknown adverb, from *serau*, *serault* (p. 476) is unconvincing.—71. Read *saien[s]* *seront*.—78. Cf. the variant readings of O. F. P. 188: Tant que soie de mort resours; 4085, fol. 146 r: Jusque de mort relevera; and 4356, fol. 3 v: Tant que de mors relevé seray.—93. Cf. 4085, fol. 146 r:

Bien sce(t) que il ly pliray  
Et de mes pechés pardon aray,

and 4356, fol. 4 r:

Bien scai que quan il me vera  
Mes pechiés me pardonera.

103, 108. Substituting *iiij* for the ms. reading *iiij* destroys the rhythm. Cf. O. F. P. 92 (GOPQVO'): Il valoit bien iiij c deniers.—115. The source of this line (O. F. P. 105) reads: Mais longuement ne m'avrés mie (*Matthew xxvi*, 11).—142. The ms. reads *Q'* (= *Que*) which should be preserved. Cf. L. Foulet, *Petite Syntaxe de l'ancien français*, § 184.—143-4. Should be assigned to *S. Pierre*, as in 4085 and 4356.—155. Why change the ms. reading *a* to *o*?—159. Read *Ci* (paleographically possible) *nè ving* for *Qui ne vint*. Sic O. F. P. 253, C. *Presentie* is probably *presomptie* (cf. the spellings *preson.*, *presumcie*, *presencious* in Godefroy's examples). Christ's interpretation seems to assume *presentie* = *pressentiment*.—161. Read *jus* for *sus*, and cf. O. F. P. 256. Read also *m'envoia*: the scribal vagaries in this verb are not humored in ll. 590 (ms: *men voie*), 876 (ms: *mē voie*), etc.—181. This line should not be bracketed. Cf. O. F. P. 427 ff.

210. Here and 919 read *Enpreu*, not *En pren*. Cf. Godefroy, s. v. *Empreu*, Cotgrave, s. v. *Empreut*, and G. Paris in *Romania* xvii, 100.—239. Read *preëscha* for *preescha*.—254. This line may possibly have been spoken by *Uns Iuis*, *Si* being equivalent to *Cil*, as often in this text.—288. This line should probably be attributed to *Cayfas*.

300. The ms. reads: *q̃* (= *que*).—327. In the stage direction following, delete [*r*] in *pa[r]le*. Cf. 749, 841. These examples should have been included in the second section 11, p. 420. (The first 11 is a misprint for 10.)—340. Bracket (*Que*). Cf. O. F. P. 772.—346. Cf. O. F. P. 785-6:

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n. a. fr. 4356 are cited as 4085 and 4356, respectively. 2) Excerpts from the *Old French Passion*, or *Passion des Jongleurs*, cited as O. F. P. are from H. Theben's edition (*Die altfr. Achtsilbnerredaction der Passion*, Greifswald, 1909—continued by E. Pfuhl, *Die weitere Fassung*, etc., Greifswald, 1909) with variants from the mss. used by him and from O' = F. A. Foster's edition in *The Northern Passion*, Early English Text Society 147 (1916), pp. 102 ff. 3) The *Passion de Semur* (published by Roy, *Le mystère de la Passion*, pp. 73\* ff.) is cited as Semur, or Sem.

Il meismes s'est bien jugiés,  
Or s'est il dou tout empiriés.

*Emperiez* is from the verb *empirier*, *emperier* (see Godef. Compl.). Correct Christ's note and vocabulary, and insert commas after *jugiez* and *prevoz*.—351. Keep the ms. reading and cf. O. F. P. 883.—370. Read *parle[r]*.—373. Read *Dire ai oi* with O. F. P. 899, DSO'.—398. The space in the ms. hardly admits the reading *nous*. Read *le?* Cf. 4085 fol. 154 v: Devenes tost apertement / Ou tu en aras bien aultrement.

402. Indented in the ms. Possibly dramatic, as Christ interprets, but, since the line is indented, rhymeless, and lacks a syllable, more probably a stage direction: *Parole n'a parolé*.—409-31. It seems probable, from l. 435, that Annas spoke all these lines.—418. Probably *P* (= *Par*) not *P'* (= *Pour*) is omitted. Cf. 589, 680, 733. *P'* does not occur elsewhere in the ms.—422. The ms. reads *alumés*, not *ralumés*.—439. The ms. reads *Pylatre*. Cf. note to l. 59, *supra*.—450. Bracket (*salue et*).—456-9. Cf. O. F. P. 807-9:

Or voit Judas qu'il est dampnés  
Et ses sires a mort livrés  
Par lui et par sa traïson.

491. Keep the ms. reading.—499-500. Read *m'atendez* for *m'entendez*. Cf. 4085, fol. 151 r: Or m'atant tanque reviendra / Et le fait je te contera.

507. Read: Quant [sui] echapé, moy e[s]t bel. The source is *Mark* xiv, 51-2 on which see Roy, *op. cit.* 223. Cf. O. F. P. 576-7:

Fuiant s'en va; moult li fu bel  
Quant de lor mains fu escapés.

and 4356, fol. 10 v:

Quar suis echapé, bien me vet.

517 ff. On the identity of those to whom Peter denied Jesus, see Duriez, *La Théologie dans le drame religieux* (Lille and Paris, 1914), p. 386. The scene in *Pal* is a mosaic of lines taken from O. F. P. In 4356 *Aquim* puts the question the first and third time, *Malchus* the second. In 4085 *un Juif* addresses Peter twice, *la chambetiere* the third time.—543. ms. cō. Read *com[e]*.—545. According to Dr. D. S. Blondheim, to whom I am indebted for many helpful suggestions regarding the text, some of the Jews in the play bear contemporaneous Jewish names: Haquin = Isaac, Mossé = Moses, Evramin = Abraham. Huitacelin may be a diminutive of Eutace.—574. Read *ne[i]*?—575. Read *s'ai je* for *sai*, *j'é*.—593. Read *dites* for *dire* and place a period after *bel*.

602. The unscriptural position of the Casting of the Lots is peculiar to this play.—605. Delete comma after *tu*.—617. ms: *Aussit*. I should delete the *!* in 616 and the comma after *Aussit*, and place a colon after *deviserai*.—619. Read with the ms: *que [li] miez*. (Cayn is trying to persuade Huitacelin.)—620-1. Read (*me*) rather than (*Et*) and place a period after *remaigne*. *Si que* = *cil qui*.—631 ff. Surely a new speech begins with 631. I should assign 631-4 to *Huitacelin*, 635-6 to *Cayn*, 637-41 to *Huita.*, 642-53 to *Cayn*.—634. Read: *Aussi estoit ele a mi*. The Picard forms of the

proun are freely attested by the rhymes, and the rhyme *ie:i* occurs in ll. 1191-4. Cf. Christ, p. 418.—635-7. Note the change in the gender of the *los*; cf. 630-2.—648. Read *me tien* and delete the statement (p. 422) regarding the "unusual" form *metien*.—664. Read *Ie n'oi* and keep *ne*.—699-700. Bracket (*tu*), 699 and supply [*tout*] before *apertement*, 700.

701. It is apparent from O.F.P. 1066 ff. and 4085, 156 v, that there is an omission after this line.—720-5. In 4085 *Li Juis tous a ung cris* speak these words.—729. Read *Sanglente* (agreeing with *char*); this is hardly an instance of neglected rhyme, as stated on p. 418.—742-7. These lines probably belong to *Joel*, ll. 748 ff. being Pilate's rejoinder.—776. The original probably read *Qu'en*. *Suer* must be dissyllabic.—795. *Reenclees*, which Ch. annotates (p. 480) as "wohl für reeler, nfz. rêler," is from *draoncler*, *raoncler*, *raancler* (cf. Godefroy: *suppurer*, *apostumer*, and New Eng. Dict. s. v. *rankle*).

822. Meaning of *getees*? Dr. Blondheim suggests reading *ge[r]cees*.—830. MS: *cloficher*.—897. *Marmitaine*, which Ch. translates as *Murmeltier*, is probably related to *marmite*, *marmiteus*, in the expressions *faire le marmite* (= *faire le bon apôtre*, *l'hypocrite*, cf. Godefroy, s. v. *marmite* (3) and Littré, s. v. *marmiteux*), *faire le marmiteus* (= *l'affligé*, etc. See Godefroy's examples s. v. *marmiteus*, and especially Greban's *Passion*, l. 19392).—919. Cf. above, note to l. 210.—937. For *li ren si* read *li reus i*. An extra syllable is needed and examples of *ren*, masculine, in this meaning are rare. *Reus* (coupable, accusé) supplies the requirements of sense and rhythm, and is paleographically as likely as *ren*.—945-6. These unusual accusations do not occur in other early plays. In Sem. 7415, one of the Jews exclaims: *Quel confesserres de beguignes!*—947-52. On the analogy of Sem. 7462-5 and because of l. 953 these lines are probably to be attributed to Caiaphas. *Ung Juifz* speaks them in 4085. They derive from O.F.P. 1459-64.—959. The editor writes this name variously as *Pilates*, *Pylates* and *Pilatus* (348, 1469).—990-1. Cf. O.F.P. 1439-40 and variants. Mss. PV read: "Mere," fait il, "pour ce pent chi / Qu'esgarde la voie ainsi."—996-7. Cf. O.F.P. (GP) 1445-6:

Vois ci Jehan en leu de moi  
Comme fils soit ensemble o toi.

1002. Bracket (*je*). O.F.P. 1453 reads: *Sire, je ferai ton plaisir*.—1007. Keep the MS. reading: *done* (imperative, second person singular). Examples of the non-elision of final atonic *e* in both monosyllables and polysyllables are numerous (see p. — *supra*), as the editor admits, pp. 416-7, but his emendations occasionally obscure them.—1014. *Ausi* is of course *aisi*, *aisil*, English *eisel*. The two drinks (*Matt.* xxvii, 34, *Mark* xv, 23 and *Matt.* xxvii, 48, *Mark* xv, 36, *John* xix, 29) are variously combined in the plays. Cf. the *Arras Passion* (ed. J.-M. Richard), 17310, and Greban's *Passion* 25936-7. The variants of O.F.P. 1529 include *suie et fiel*, *mierre et essil*, *vinaigre pyrant et suye*, and *leuive*. On *aluine* see Tobler, *Altfr. Wörterb.* which cites Gl. Glasb. 157b: "*hoc aloë : aloine*."—1019-35. These lines are probably all to be attributed to the same speaker, as in



4085 and 4356, where a nameless Jew (*Matt.* xxvii, 47) speaks them.—1044 ff. Dr. Christ's references should include *The Legend of Longinus* by R. J. Peebles, *Bryn Mawr Monograph Series*, ix, 1911.—1046. ms: *errant*.—1052. ms: *ses* (= *ces*). Supply [*je*] ?—1056. ms: *Pardonez*.—1071 ff. This Planctus seems to exhibit stanzaic structure to l. 1088. From there to 1115 it continues in couplets but with lines of varying lengths: aabb<sup>3</sup>, 1088-95; aabb<sup>7</sup>, 1096-9; aa<sup>3</sup>bb<sup>7</sup>, 1100-3; aa<sup>3</sup>bb<sup>8</sup>, 1104-7; aa<sup>3</sup>bb<sup>8</sup>, 1108-12; aa<sup>3</sup>bb<sup>7</sup>, 1113-5. I should therefore insert [*moi*], 1092; and bracket the second (*se je*), 1095 (*me*), 1099, and (*des*) *sevrée*, 1105.

1116-1209. This entire Planctus belongs to S. Jehan, the rubric after 1195 being a scribal error. Not only are the corresponding lines in 4085 spoken by St. John, but the masculine *las* (always *lasse* in the complaints of the Maries) occurs in ll. 1169, 1182, 1189.—1124-5. Read *Veoes* for *Vecz* [*ci*], 1124. In 1125 the ms. reads *souffrir*.—1158. Read *sa* for *la*?—1173-4. I should place a comma after 1172 and read:

Que vous tant de bien n'i avez  
Ou vostre chief mettre puissiez.

These lines, like 1534-5, seem to be a reference to *Luke* ix, 58: *Filius autem hominis non habet ubi caput reclinet*. On the connection of this verse with the story of the Passion, see F. A. Foster, *The Northern Passion*, E. E. T. S. 147, p. 67. To Miss Foster's notes on Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, ms. 405, p. 375, I am indebted for these lines:

En la croiz pendeit,  
E la ne pout trover  
Sun chef ov reposer,  
Taunt fu mené (?) estreit.

1181-2. I read the ms. *nūtant* (= *nun tant*, i. e. *nec unus tantum*) and punctuate: period after 1180, comma after *Dame*, and exclamation point after 1181. Supply [*felon*] after *li*, 1182.—1195-6. Bracket (*Saint Jehan*). See above, note to 1116-1209.

1215-6. Read *oij*, 1215. In 1216 the ms. reading may be kept. Cf. *Mark* xv, 34, and with *encoy nonne* compare Godefroy's examples of *anguenuit*, as well as of *enqui*.—1227-8. This is evidently but one line. Bracket (*vous*) and (*que est fait*).—1242. Read: *Mout po li a duré s'honneur*. Elsewhere in the text the unstressed feminine possessive pronouns always elide their *a* before a vowel. The later forms do not occur.—1250. ms. *deable*.—1255. Read: *En prit, que il i avoit raison*.—1279 ff. The stanzaic structure probably precludes the exclusion of 1281, 1299 and the assumption of a lacuna after 1291. I should replace the interrogation point, 1283, with a comma and put an exclamation point after 1281. The present reading misses the force of the imperfect subjunctive in *feît*, 1283. It may be that originally 1283-7 were assigned to *Primus Diabolus*, and one should read *me* for *te*, 1283.

1313 ff. With this catalog of those in Hell, cf. *L'Évangile de Nicodème* (S. A. T. F. 1885), p. 110; the *Old French Passion* (Pfuhl's edition), 1621 ff., and Karl Pearson, *The Chances of Death*, (London, 1897) ii, 341.

—1348. Read with the MS: *a la bell'oe* (< *auca*). *Besloi* is masculine, and the stanzaic scheme is abab abab.—1354. Read *de* for *ne*?—1357. MS: *sosfler*. In 1381 also the MS. reads: *sousflerai*.—1373-6. These lines are troublesome and might well have been discussed in the notes.—*Aprochait* (which Ch. seems to assume is the third person perfect, cf. p. 417) should be subjunctive (after *avant que*), and is perhaps an example of the south-eastern form (see Schwan-Behrens, § 353 A, and on the identification of *oi* and *ai* in the text, Ch., 419). I suggest keeping nearer the MS. in 1376:

Avant que il de nous aprochait,  
Quar espooir il se cach[er]a(t).

The rhyme *ai : a* is of course frequent in the text. It is possible that 1373 ff. may have been spoken by *Secundus Diabolus*.—1379 ff. This speech probably belongs to *Primus Diabolus* (Satan) whose bold stand is throughout contrasted with the timidity of *Secundus Diabolus* (Enfer). Cf. M. J. Rudwin, *Der Teufel in den deut. geistl. Spielen* (Hesperia, VI), 114 ff.—1387, 1390. In 1387, bracket (*Vous*). In 1390 I read the MS: *deïté*, not *dette*, which satisfies the sense and the meter.—1399. The MS. reads: *sauf*.

1396-1410. It is more likely that these lines are to be divided between *Jhesus* and *Primus Diabolus*, perhaps as follows: 1396, 1398-9, 1402-5, 1410 to be spoken by *Jhesus*; 1397, 1400-1, 1406-9, by *Primus Diabolus*. *Lerres mortaus* surely refers to Jesus and 1408-9 are more apposite in the mouth of Satan. Cf. the *Alsfelder Passionsspiel*, 7129. In the *Redentiner Osterspiel* there is a short dispute, and in the York play a long one, between Jesus and Satan at this point. It is not certain that the order of ll. 1407-8 is to be reversed: the MS. reading gives the strophic forms aab aab (1396-1401), aabb aabb (1402-10).—1418-9. The devil's retirement to Lombardy refers to the unsavory reputation of the Lombards in the Middle Ages as usurers, poisoners, etc. Cf. P. Champion, *François Villon*, I, 299 and Cotgrave's Dictionary s. v. *Lombard*.—1426-9. 1426-8 were probably spoken by David: *Tunc sanctus David fortiter clamavit dicens Cantate domino canticum novum (Gospel of Nicodemus, A VIII [xxiv])*. 1429, the beginning of the Palm Sunday hymn attributed to Theodulphus (for editions see Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*), was probably sung by *Li saint*.—1439. This line should be bracketed as the scribe's erroneous repetition of l. 1437. (I read the last blurred word as *merraie*, not *mennie*). L. 1440 should follow 1438 without break and the MS. reading be preserved.—1452, 1457. In 1452 I read the MS. *ces*, not *oes*, which needs no emendation. 1457 should end with a comma, not exclamation point.—1495-7. For numerous examples of this proverb see Monmerqué et Michel, *Théâtre français*, p. 198-9. In 1496 read *tou[t]*, and on the use of *Car* in 1495 see Suchier, *Reimpredigt* (Bib. Norm. I, p. 66).

1519. Read *avés*.—1595. The insertion of [*de*] is unnecessary.—1599. The MS. reads: *Q'i estre ne nous croi mie*. The meaning seems to be: *Qu'i[!]* a (i. e. *esté amblé*), *estre ne nous croi[t]* mie.

1623. Insert [*et*] after *propheta*.—1665. This line should not be bracketed. The original probably read *chevalier* in 1664.—1667. Read *nus* for *nous* (= the subject of *veille* as well as of *vient*). Cf. l. 1683 where the MS.

reads *nus* (Ch. reads *uns*) and 4085, fol. 172 r: Et se nulz vient que tout soit tuer (*sic*). The plural *les* in 1669 and 1684-5 may be compared to the similar confusion in colloquial English expressions like "If anyone . . . they."—1677, 1681. In 1677 read *truans*. In 1681 read *n'avrions*.—1683-5. In 1683 I read the ms. *nus*. Keep *les* in 1684-5. Bracket (*vous*) in 1684. Cf. note to 1667 *supra*.—1690. The emendation is unnecessary and introduces an extra syllable. Read *gaaing[s]*.—1691. There are four knights in O.F.P. and in the Anglo-Norman Resurrection, but only three in 4085. In the latter the first knight threatens Paul and Peter, the second Philip, James, Symon, Thomas and John. There are reminiscent lines, but the development is not parallel in the two plays.

1716 ff. Christ suggests Psalm 56, 9 as the source. Cf. also Psalm 43, 23-6 which is adopted by the German plays at this point. (Wirth, *Oster- und Passionsspiele*, Halle, 1889, p. 91.)—1741-2. The transposition of the ms. readings in these lines effects no improvement.—1767-74. Read *veil* (*voil* does not occur in the text) for *voi*, 1767? Ll. 1769-74 probably belong to another knight, the capital letter of 1767 being intended for the second *Mais*.—1769. In 1769 the second word in the ms. may be *je* (instead of *le*); *leu* may be for *le* (a scribal slip, or a variant of *lou* which occurs in 891).—1797. Read *fais* for *faites* and *muër* for *muer*.

1805-8. These lines were intended as an octosyllabic *quatrain monorime*, corresponding to 1785-8. Cf. *P. M. L. A.* xxxv (1920), 478, note 24. Therefore in 1805 delete the inserted [*he*]; in 1806 read *com(ent)* and *tel(e)*.—1816. *Malaate* (for *maleoite?*) is insufficiently explained in the glossary.—1825-50. The complaints of the Maries were probably spoken (or sung) antiphonally. Cf. Lange, *Lat. Ost.* p. 161, the Sainte-Geneviève *Passion*, p. 298, Semur 8881 ff., etc.—1837, 1843. In 1837 the ms. reads: *preudons*. In 1843 bracket (*Des*).—1864. The *unguentarius* appears as early as the eleventh century in the liturgical drama (see K. Young, *P. M. L. A.* xxiv, 302).—1890-1. Among the properties ascribed to *Sanguisorba officinalis* (la pimprenelle), according to E. Rolland, *Flore populaire*, v, 270 is its ability to *rendre le teint frais aux femmes*.—1893. Read *Tel(e)* and conserve *a*.

1910. Read *ai(d)e*.—1913. There is probably a *lacuna* after 1912 due to turning the folio. Delete brackets.—1930 ff. Not spoken by Marie Magdelaine since she would be *la plus jeune* (1936) and therefore could not be *Vous qui parlez*, 1934.—1946-7. Between these two lines supply the rubric (*Mark* xvi, 4): Et respicientes viderunt revolutum lapidem, and in 1947 read: *Suer, or va bien [nostre] besoigne*.—1949. I read the ms: *entrer n'i puissions*. The insertion of [*ne*] is unnecessary.—1954. I read the ms: *Nazarô*.—1981. The emendation is incorrect, or at best superfluous. If *nous*, as usually in this construction, is the indirect object of *enseigner*, the past participle would not agree with it; if *nous* be considered the direct object (a much rarer construction), the past participle need not agree with it (see Foulet, *Petite Syntaxe*, § 114). The line is of course too long in any case.

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## THE POEMS IN CARLYLE'S TRANSLATION OF WILHELM MEISTER

In a recent review<sup>1</sup> of Miss Simmons' monograph on *Goethe's Lyric Poems in English Translation prior to 1860*, 202 pp., Madison, 1919 (*University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 6), Professor W. Kurrelmeyer has singled out for close scrutiny those pages of the book that deal with the poems in Carlyle's translation of *Wilhelm Meister*. His findings suggested a re-examination of what must be admitted to be a rather complicated question. The results of this gleaning were somewhat surprising and seemed sufficiently interesting to warrant the publication of the following notes.

*First.* On the basis of the editions accessible to her and of Carlyle's prefaces of 1824 and 1839 reprinted in them, Miss Simmons apparently considered herself justified in assuming that the 1824 text of the *Apprenticeship* followed closely the German original and that it remained substantially unchanged in the subsequent editions of 1839 and after. She therefore registered the poems found in the later editions, as for instance the Centenary Edition, under the year 1824 as the date of their first publication. Professor Kurrelmeyer, by comparison of the text of 1824 with that of 1839, shows that this assumption is not warranted. Carlyle allowed himself in 1824 at least one marked deviation from the German original, and in 1839 he made several not insignificant changes in the text of 1824, notwithstanding the fact that in the two prefaces he makes statements which seem to preclude such a procedure. The relation of the different editions of Carlyle's *Wilhelm Meister* has never been made the subject of specific inquiry, and considerable uncertainty on this point exists apparently to this day. Even Professor Kurrelmeyer's important corrections do not tell the whole story.

In his preface of 1824 Carlyle writes of the *Apprenticeship*: "Fidelity is all the merit I have aimed at . . . to alter anything was not in my commission. . . . Accordingly, except a few phrases

<sup>1</sup> *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxv (1920), 487-492.

and sentences, not in all amounting to a page, which I have dropped as evidently unfit for the English taste, I have studied to present the work exactly as it stands in German." But in spite of this, the entire thirty-two lines of Philine's song in Book v, Chap. 10, are omitted. In the preface of 1839, on the other hand, in speaking of the relation of the new text to the earlier one, he merely says that in the *Apprenticeship* he "made many little changes"; and yet, aside from whatever other divergences may or may not exist, this innocent reference to "little" changes is meant to cover the reinstatement of the omitted song of Philine and a complete rewriting of Mignon's song at the opening of Book III.<sup>2</sup>

A feeling of uncertainty is bound to result from the consideration of these facts. It will be even increased if one examines, for instance, the text of the *Collected Works* of 1858 (16 vols., London, Chapman and Hall). Volumes xv, and xvi, which contain *Wilhelm Meister*, furnish no statement whatever as to any further changes or revision. Nevertheless, in Mignon's song alone I notice as many as five not unimportant deviations from the version given by Miss Simmons (p. 19), which according to Professor Kurrelmeyer follows the text of 1839 (I myself have no access to this or any of the earlier editions). They are the following:

- I, 1. 1839: . . . where lemon-trees do bloom,  
1858: . . . where citron-apples bloom,
- I, 6. 1839: O my beloved one, I with thee would go!  
1858: O my true lov'd one, thou with me must go!
- II, 3. 1839: . . . and look me on:  
1858: . . . and look each one:
- II, 6. 1839: . . . I with thee would go!  
1858: . . . thou with me must go!
- III, 1. 1839: Know'st thou the mountain bridge that hangs on cloud?<sup>3</sup>  
1858: Know'st thou the hill, the bridge that hangs on cloud?

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<sup>2</sup>In the light of such loose and misleading statements one becomes sceptical even in regard to the 1839 text of the *Travels*, of which Carlyle says that he "changed little or nothing" as compared with the original text in *German Romance* of 1827. The presence or absence of change in the lyrics is of course easily discovered, provided one has access to the respective editions; but other changes would reveal themselves only through a systematic comparison.

<sup>3</sup>Thus Miss Simmons; hardly correctly. The Centenary Edition, in the text, prints "mountain, bridge," as do the other editions available to me, while in his "Introduction" Mr. Traill, the editor, prints "mountain-bridge." Cf. below, foot-note 6.

Most of these changes are rather questionable. The second and fourth are hardly intelligible in view of the original German, "Möcht' ich mit dir . . . ziehn!", especially as they even necessitated a corresponding change in the text of the novel itself. In which edition these altered readings were first introduced and how long they maintained themselves I am unable to say. So much is certain, that the 1858 edition enjoyed for some time the reputation of the best standard edition of Carlyle's Works and that the changes cannot possibly be considered as unauthorized.<sup>4</sup> At any rate, there are then not only two, but three different versions of Carlyle's rendering of Mignon's famous song, of which, to be sure, the second and third are far more closely related than the first and second.

The first version, of 1824, which is not easily accessible and which Professor Kurrelmeyer prints in full on p. 491, has not, as it might seem, entirely escaped Miss Simmons. She has registered it on p. 129, as of the *Edinburgh Review* of 1825 (vol. XLII, 428), where it occurs in a long unsigned article (by Jeffrey, the editor) on the 1824 edition of the *Apprenticeship*. As the latter evidently had appeared without mention of Carlyle as the translator, Jeffrey treats it as published anonymously. Nevertheless it is perfectly clear that the reviewer is dealing with Carlyle's translation, and Miss Simmons would have done well to follow up this clue and not simply record the rendering of the poem as "anonymous," as she has done.

As regards the *Centenary Edition* (30 vols., London, Chapman and Hall, 1896 ff.; vols. 23-24, 1899), generally regarded as the completest and most trustworthy edition of Carlyle, it apparently prints both parts of the novel according to the edition of 1839. At least the text of Mignon's song is clearly that of 1839.<sup>5</sup> Never-

<sup>4</sup>It is interesting to note that of recent popular editions those in *Everyman's Library* and in *Warner's Library of the World's Best Literature*, perhaps in consequence of copyright arrangements with the London publishers, have continued to print this 1858 version, whereas later editions by Chapman and Hall seem to have given it up again and returned to the text of 1839. "A new edition, revised" by Houghton Mifflin & Co. (2 vols., Boston, n. d.) shows even the following contamination: the 1858 version in the first four instances, but the 1839 reading (mountain, bridge) in the fifth.

<sup>5</sup>In the rendering of the Minstrel's song, "Wer nie sein Brot mit Tränen ass," the first stanza in the Centenary Edition ends, "ye heavenly Powers." All other editions accessible to me read, "ye gloomy Powers," and in Carlyle's Goethe article in the *Foreign Review* of 1828 (II, 105) I find "ye



theless the editor, H. D. Traill, thruout his "Introduction" does not so much as mention the revision of that year. On the contrary, he connects Carlyle's work on the translation exclusively with the years 1823-4. He states at some length that "at that particular stage of his career," *i. e.*, late in 1823, Carlyle was "inspired, perhaps for the first and last time, as a verse translator by Mignon's famous song," and thereupon, to prove his point, admiringly quotes the first two lines of the last stanza—in the completely altered version of 1839!

Know'st thou the mountain-bridge<sup>6</sup> that hangs on cloud?  
The mules in mist grope o'er the torrent loud.

It is perfectly clear therefore that he is as little aware as is Miss Simmons of the existence of the earlier (1824) version of Mignon's song, and his further remarks about what he conceives to have been Philine's special attraction for Carlyle—no matter whether in itself the point is correctly taken or not—plainly show that he knows as little as she does of the original omission of the damsel's song.

Mr. Traill's introduction is moreover meant to apply not only to the *Apprenticeship*, but to the novel as a whole, and he indeed refers in it to the *Travels* as well. Nevertheless, the only period which he assigns to Carlyle's work on *Wilhelm Meister* is that from September, 1823, to early in 1824; nor is there any mention of the fact that the *Travels* originally formed part of the *Specimens of German Romance* (1827). The "Introduction" to the latter (vols. 21-22), from which the *Travels* are of course omitted, does not contain one word of explanation either. In fact, Mr. Traill's two introductions, taken together, would amply justify the confusion which prevails on this point in numerous works of reference<sup>7</sup>

unseen Powers." I am unable, at this writing, to account for this change in the Centenary Edition and wonder whether it is actually Carlyle's. Interesting, in this connection, is a statement by A. H. C[lough] in his review of the 1859 edition of Aytoun and Martin's *Poems and Ballads of Goethe* (*Fraser's Magazine*, vol. LIX, 713): "There is . . . an evident unwillingness to render *himmlischen* simply and without any addition by *heavenly*."

<sup>6</sup> This is not even the reading of his own subsequent text (cf. above, footnote 3), and I am inclined to believe that there is no authority for it whatever.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. e. g. Wülcker's misleading statement in his *Geschichte der englischen Literatur* (1896, p. 559), where, after mentioning the work on the *Life of*

and which is even supported by some of the editions of as responsible and widely known publishers as the London house of Chapman and Hall. I refer, for instance, to their undated edition in three volumes of the *Apprenticeship and Travels* (evidently identical with vols. 33-35 of the *People's Edition*, 1871-74; published in this country with the imprint of Scribner, Welford and Co. of New York). The text printed is probably that of 1839, clearly not the earlier texts of 1824 and 1827, but none the less each one of the three volumes (even vol. 3, which contains nothing but the *Travels*!) bears on the title page the utterly misleading date, [1824].

In the light of so astonishing a situation as this, Professor Kurrelmeyer's censure of Miss Simmons for not having "the least knowledge, or concern, about earlier and later versions . . . of Carlyle" would seem to apply with even stronger force to the editor of the *Centenary Edition*, who, no doubt, enjoyed the advantage of access to all the earlier editions concerned.

*Second.* As regards the lyrics in Carlyle's translation of the *Travels*, Professor Kurrelmeyer shows that Miss Simmons has created considerable confusion in her Index E. Not only does she assign to the year 1824 the lyrics from the *Travels*, which were not published till 1827, but, despite Carlyle's definite statement in his Preface of 1839, she fails to recognize that he translated from the German edition of 1821 and adhered to this text even after Goethe in 1829 had published a second version of the *Wanderjahre*, which in many respects differs widely from that of 1821.

The error is a serious one. As a result, five poems which Carlyle never translated have been erroneously assigned to him, while six, which he did translate, have not been listed. Fortunately, practically all of these "poems" are single short stanzas, some of them merely "Sprüche" of two or four lines, so that the illegitimate gain amounts in all to 56 lines, the unjustified loss to only 22 lines, all of them very little known and rarely printed. This circumstance is not mentioned to excuse Miss Simmons, but merely to show the proportionate extent of the defect in an investigation which attempts to survey, for a first time and under exceedingly

*Schiller* in 1823-24, the author continues: "eine Übersetzung von Goethes 'Wilhelm Meister' schloss sich an, und 1827 folgte eine 'Sammlung von deutschen Erzählungen' (*Specimens of German Romance*)."

difficult conditions, a material consisting approximately of 500 single poems and "Sprüche" with a total of over 10,000 lines, in 1500 different versions or printings.

Goethe's edition of 1821 was prefaced by a group of short poems or, 'Sprüche,' all of which were omitted in the later edition of 1829. In the Weimar edition, aside from being enumerated in front of the variants of the *Wanderjahre* in vol. 25, 2, they are confusingly scattered thru different volumes and groups of the *Gedichte*; inclusive of the *West-östlicher Divan*. Professor Kurrelmeyer, after pointing out Miss Simmons' error in overlooking these poems in Goethe and failing to recognize them in Carlyle, continues (p. 489 f.):

"Carlyle translated all but two of these poems, which first appeared in *German Romance* (iv, 33 ff.), and which could have been found in any subsequent edition of Carlyle's translation. The poems in question are: *Wandersegen*<sup>8</sup> (Weim. Ed. III, 160); *Prüft das Geschick dich* (vi, 119); *Was machst du an der Welt* (vi, 120); *Enweri sagt's* (vi, 121); *Mein Erbtheil wie herrlich* (vi, 121); *Noch ist es Tag* (vi, 119)."

Even this statement, however, does not correctly represent the actual situation. According to it, one would have to assume that Carlyle translated six poems out of a group of eight, whereas, as a matter of fact, the *Wanderjahre* of 1821 were prefaced by eleven such pieces, of which Carlyle translated eight. Professor Kurrelmeyer, to be sure, mentions the two remaining renderings of Carlyle in a preceding paragraph, in which he deals with the "group of nine poems printed in the Weimar Edition (v, 24-31)<sup>9</sup> under the heading 'Aus Wilhelm Meister,'" without however stating that these two from this heterogeneous group belong also to the prefatory group in question. But even if this allowance is made, the statement should not be that Carlyle translated "all but two," but all but three. The three which he left untranslated are: *Ehe wir nun weiter schreiten* (Weim. ed. iv, 19); *Was wird mir jede Stunde so bang?* (vi, 118); and *Wie man nur so leben mag?* (III, 162).

<sup>8</sup>I.e., "Die Wanderjahre sind nun angetreten" ("To travel now thy Apprentice does essay"). The title *Wandersegen*, was not given the poem till later.

<sup>9</sup>Should read v, 1, 24-31. The poems in question are, *Wüsste kaum genau zu sagen* and *Und so heb' ich alte Schätze*.



A clear and easy survey of this question is further complicated by the fact that Carlyle changed the order of those poems which he retained. Numbering consecutively from 1 to 11 the poems as listed in the Weimar edition (25, 2, 1), Carlyle translated, in order, 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 2, and left out 4, 5, 11.

Professor Kurrelmeyer has clearly proved that in her discussion of the lyrics in Carlyle's *Wilhelm Meister* Miss Simmons has committed serious errors, and all interested in her study are under obligation to him for the thoroughness with which he has proceeded. At the same time, in justice to Miss Simmons and her labors, it should not be overlooked that, a tyro, she went astray in a field in which even veterans and specialists have stumbled.

There are no doubt other omissions and errors that will gradually show in some of Miss Simmons' bibliographical data, for a first survey of so extensive a field cannot possibly be expected to be perfect. But it is one of the services of her study, and not its least, that it has furnished the pegs on which to hang future observations and chance discoveries, which heretofore have too often been destined to remain scattered or entirely unregistered. From my own collections I could furnish already quite a few such items. So no doubt could many others. Translation literature is a subject of investigation of which both the importance and the difficulty have long been underestimated. It has generally received but niggardly treatment in the bibliographies of both of the national literatures concerned in each case. The ground is therefore but ill broken, and much pioneer work will still have to be done before such efforts as, for instance, have been devoted to the bibliography of German literature in English translations in the third edition of volume IV of Goedeke's *Grundriss* can lay claim to even approximate accuracy and completeness.

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## TWO NOTES ON SIR GAWAIN AND THE GREEN KNIGHT

Two passages in this splendid Middle English poem have caused difficulty and various comments. The first is line 160:

And scholes under schankes pere þe schalk rides.

Here the trouble centers about *scholes*, which Morris in his glossary explained as "hands down(?), or perhaps an error for shoes." Skeat (*Trans. of Phil. Soc.*, 1903-6, p. 366) regarded it as meaning 'thin plates,' comparing Swed. *skolla*. He thought *scholes* in this place "the side-flaps of a saddle (to prevent the leg-armor from galling the horse)." Cyril Brett (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, x, 189) rightly pointed out, as opposed to Skeat's note, that the word occurs in the description of the knight's dress, not the horse's accouterments. He suggested "leather or other protection under or inside the thighs," as in modern riding breeches. P. G. Thomas (*Eng. Stud.*, XLVII, 311) tried to connect the word with OF. *cholet*, explained by Godefroy as *soulet* 'little sole.' This would make the word equivalent to *choletz*,<sup>1</sup> with *ch* for *sch*. Such a *ch* for *sch* does occur rarely in the poem, as *cheldez* for *scheldez* 'shields' in line 1611, though not there alliterating, and in *worchip* 'worship' in 1976. Thomas's explanation of the phonology is not convincing, however, especially if some simpler interpretation is possible. The word is not in the *NED.*, so far as I have found.

In spite of its extreme simplicity I propose *scho-les* 'shoeless.' The Green Knight has come to King Arthur's court in the simplest array. He bears no armor of the ordinary sort, either defensive or offensive. His head is bare except for his flowing locks. He wears a *strayt cote*, a *mantile abof*, green *hose*, and the spurs needed in managing his horse. From head to foot the intruder on the Christmas festivities differs from the usual knightly visitor. Compare with this the elaborate arming of Sir Gawain before he sets out on his quest, lines 566 to 589, and the special mention of *þe sabatounz*, or steel shoes so important in the protective armor of the medieval knight. A quotation from *Piers Plowman* (B. XVIII,

<sup>1</sup> With *z* for Me. *ʒ* when equivalent to voiced *s*, as always in this article.

10-14) presents something of a parallel, and the last lines are especially to be noted:

One semblable to the Samaritan and somedel to Piers the Plowman,  
Barfote on an asse bakke botelees cam prykye;  
Wythoute spores other spere spakliche he loked,  
As is the kynde of a kny3te that cometh to be dubbed,  
To geten hem gylte spores or galoches yeouped.

I use the text of Skeat's edition, with semicolon instead of comma at the end of the second line.

The word *shoeless* is not cited in *NED.* before Drayton's *Agincourt* 59 (1627), but that seems to me no bar to the interpretation. Our poet was quite capable of making such a simple compound—parallel to *botelees*, 'bootless,' of the quotation above from the usage of the same century—especially when needing an *sch*-word for the alliteration.

The second passage about which there has been misunderstanding requires quoting more than a single line (864-70):

Sone as he on hent and happed þerinne,  
Þat sete on hym semly, wyth saylande skyrtez,  
Þe ver, by his visage, verayly hit semed  
Wel ne3 to uche haþel alle on hwes;  
Lowande and lufly alle his lymmez under,  
Þat a comloker kny3t never Kryst made  
hem þo3t;  
Wheþen in worlde he were,  
Hit semed as he my3t<sup>2</sup>  
Be prynce withouten pere,  
In felde þer felle men fy3t.<sup>2</sup>

Here the crux is in the word *ver* (866), which Morris glossed 'man, knight,' comparing ON. *ver*, although he should have recognized in that word a phonetic *wer* incapable of alliterating properly with *visage* and *verayly*. The *NED.* sets up a word *ver* for this place only, with the enlightening information 'meaning obscure.' The translators have followed Morris in using one word or another suggested by his gloss. For example the Webster-Neilson translation (*Chief British Poets*, p. 29) combines lines 866-8 as

<sup>2</sup>The rime with *þoht* indicates that these words should be *mo3t*, *fo3t*. For the former see the frequent use of the form in all the *Alliterative Poems*, and for the latter *fo3ten* in *Wars of Alex.*, *Ant. of Arth.*, and other places. *Fo3t* is then past subjunctive 'should fight.'





'hue,' s' (z) having been carelessly added by the scribe as in several cases in the poems; for *Gawain* cf. *slēgez* (893), *wedez* (987), *crowez* (1412), *frekez* (1588), *hepez* (1590).<sup>1</sup> Still a third possibility is that the plural is the poet's, a change from the singular resulting from the two-fold reference in the comparison. At least such a change from singular to plural, to give more general relation, is not uncommon in the poems, as in *Pl.* 450-51, 686-8; *Cl.* 49-50, 167-8, 303-5, 379; *Gaw.* 54. Whatever view of *hwes* is taken can hardly militate, it is believed, against the explanation of the passage here proposed.

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## FORERUNNERS OF GOLDSMITH'S *THE CITIZEN OF THE WORLD*

It is usually assumed that Horace Walpole's *Letter from Xo Ho, a Chinese Philosopher at London, To his Friend Lien Chi, at Peking* (1757)<sup>1</sup> furnished Goldsmith with the plan for his *Chinese Letters*, which appeared semi-weekly in Newberry's *Public Ledger*, during 1760-61. This work, however, is so brief, extending over only five folio pages, and so restricted in subject matter, treating only political affairs, that it could have suggested little to Goldsmith except a title for his essays and the use to which he might put a Chinese character. But the foreign observer type of letter had been used in France and in England before Walpole's political satire, and in extended works to which Goldsmith's essays bear closer resemblances. Although Goldsmith was the first to make a practice of casting the familiar essay in the form of a letter written by a stranger in a foreign country to his friends at home, he had a public interested in oriental tales and not wholly unfamiliar with the discussion of social as well as political subjects in letters purporting to have been written by foreign observers.

One of the earliest of these is an eight volume collection entitled *Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy who lived five and forty years, undiscovered at Paris: Giving an Impartial Account to the Divan at Constantinople, of the most Remarkable Transactions of Europe;*

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of Horace Walpole*, 5 vols., London, 1798, I, 205.

and *Discovering several Intrigues and Secrets of the Christian Courts (especially of France) from the year 1637, to the year 1682*. It was first published in English in 1689, going through twenty-six editions by 1770. In his preface "To the Reader," the English editor claimed to be merely a translator of the Italian version of these letters, which had been, according to his account, written by a Turk, found in a lodging house in Paris, and translated from Arabic into Latin by their discoverer. The writer of at least the first volume of this collection, J. P. Marana, was a Genoese who died in Paris, in 1693. Under the mask of the foreigner Mahmut the Arabian, the author was able to write the history of the age in which he lived, in a secrecy and security like that which is claimed for the Turk in the following passage from the preface to the 1770 edition: "Have, moreover, some respect for the memory of this Mahometan; for, living unknown, he was safe from the insults of the great ones, so that he might write truth without danger, which is ordinarily disguised by fear or avarice, having still reported the transactions of Christians with no less truth than eloquence." The chief value of the work is its record of current history, for which the letter scheme serves as a sugar coat. A certain amount of oriental machinery used is similar to that in Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*; but many differences in the use made of the scheme immediately stand out. *The Turkish Letters* are often records of a confused mass of facts, while nearly every one of *The Chinese Letters* develops in essay style only one idea. The former set forth instructive, historical facts, while the latter treat some minor vice or foible with a gentle ridicule which is both pleasing and effective. In the first we learn of wars, political transactions, and the intrigues of the courts, by means of a representation involving actual personages and facts. In the second collection we are given a picture of private life—especially that of the middle and lower classes—in a representation, for the most part, of fictitious personages and happenings. Goldsmith may have taken hints in regard to a plan from *The Turkish Spy*, but he used the foreign-letter-disguise for such a totally different purpose that a further comparison would be fruitless.

In Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*,<sup>2</sup> which appeared in 1721 and

<sup>2</sup> Montesquieu, *The Persian Letters; with an Introduction and Notes*: Trans. from the French. London, Athenaeum Pub. Co., 1901.



were soon very popular, we have a more striking resemblance to Goldsmith's *Chinese Letters* than that offered by *The Turkish Spy*. The author of *The Persian Letters* pretends to be the translator of genuine letters written or received by some Persians who had been his guests. In these letters we learn that Rica, Usbek, and Rhedi had set out from their homes in Persia in order to study the manners and the institutions of the Europeans. Rhedi stopped at Venice, while Rica and Usbek pushed on to Paris. Very soon after their departure from Persia, a brisk interchange of letters took place between Usbek and his wives Zachi, Zephis, Fatme, Roxana, and the euchs, as well as between the travellers and the friends they had left at Ispahan. Using this letter device as a mask, Montesquieu satirized unmercifully the social, political, ecclesiastical, and literary follies of France. It is probable that Montesquieu's work influenced Goldsmith in his treatment of similar topics, forty years later; but a comparison of the two letter collections shows that Goldsmith was no servile imitator. In the first place, fifty-six out of the one hundred and sixty-one Persian letters are devoted to the development of the scheme, which involves a romantic story written in a rather flowery style.<sup>3</sup> *The Citizen of the World* preserves its unity with much less effort, since it represents all letters as being sent or received by just one character, Lein Chi Altangi. Goldsmith is not bound down by his assumed character; neither does he use as much oriental clap-trap in his exposition of vices and foibles as does Montesquieu. Having no moral purpose in view, the latter makes great play with Persian customs and with the happenings in the seraglio, often attaining to a license in language which never sullied Goldsmith's writing. Desiring to make virtue pleasant and vice repulsive, Goldsmith succeeded in giving us a fairly complete picture of the life of the middle and lower classes of people in the England of his day, while Montesquieu furnishes us with purple patches of French satire mixed with Persian romance. The latter employs the mask of a foreigner for a protection in casting forth witty and bitter satire against the people,<sup>4</sup> the government,<sup>5</sup> and the Church<sup>6</sup>; the former

<sup>3</sup> Letters 1-23 and Nos. 25, 27, 39, 41, 42, 43, 47, 53, 62, 64, 65, 67, 70, 71, 77, 80, 97, 127, 147, 161.

<sup>4</sup> Letters 100, 56, 48, 111, 114, 123, 135.

<sup>5</sup> Letter 89 is an example.

<sup>6</sup> Letters 35, 29, 69, 75.

uses the device as an attractive vehicle for a sympathetic criticism of customs and manners.

Lord Lyttelton's *Letters from a Persian in England to his Friend at Ispahan*,<sup>7</sup> first published in 1735, seems to be modelled after Montesquieu's work; but it bears a closer resemblance to *The Citizen of the World* than does its predecessor, *The Persian Letters*. Twenty-five years later Goldsmith treated the same type of subjects as Lyttelton had discussed—and in much the same manner. In the first of these *Letters from a Persian*, Selim writes to Mirza from London: "Whatever in the Manners of this people appears to me to be singular and fantastical, I will also give thee some account of; and if I may judge by what I have seen already, this is a subject which will not easily be exhausted." In the next letter he describes his experiences at the opera. Following this, is a letter "On Bear and Bull fights and Fighting Men at the Circus," in which the author describes one of the spectators. In the next, which describes a debtor's prison and tells the story of some of the prisoners, Selim exclaims: "Good Heavens! can it be possible that, in a country governed by laws, the Innocent, who are cheated out of all, should be put in prison, and the villians who cheat them left at Liberty!" A fine satire, in letter five, on the prevalence of intoxication and on the fashionable custom of gambling reminds one of the later, periodical essayists. The next letter tells of "The Loves of Ludovico and Horraria," "in illustration of the nature of love," while letter eight discusses "Government, Poverty, and Commerce." The delightful essay on toleration, in letter thirty, is illustrated by practices in England and by certain adventures which Selim had passed through. In letters eleven to twenty-two Lyttelton gives the story of Troglodites, to show that "Mankind becomes wickeder and more miserable in a state of government, than they were when left in a State of Nature." Using the guise of Troglodites, he satirizes the growth of corruption in the English Church and government. Lyttelton is far less advanced in thought, however, than is Goldsmith, altho his ideas on education are quite modern.<sup>8</sup> He has a tendency, also, to draw out his discussions too

<sup>7</sup> Lyttelton, Lord—*Letters from a Persian in England to his Friend at Ispahan*, London, 1744 edition.

<sup>8</sup> Letters 46 and 47.

much<sup>9</sup>—a fault avoided by Goldsmith. Although nearly all of the eighty letters, as the above illustrations indicate, treat subjects similar to those later employed by *The Citizen of the World*, there are noteworthy differences between the two collections. Taken as a whole, these letters are not so applicable in teaching, so catholic in view, so unified in structure, so good in portraiture, or so sympathetic and realistic in treatment as are *The Chinese Letters*. A comparison of the two collections brings out, then, in addition to several likenesses, the fact that Goldsmith, with his superior literary ability, made a much better use of the foreign-observer-type of writing than did his predecessor.

Various works in addition to those already discussed appeared in the first half of the eighteenth century and represented themselves as translations of letters written by foreigners in strange countries. Even if they did not exert any influence upon Goldsmith's choice of a plan for his essays, they are worthy of note as indications of the public taste for accounts of English and French customs and institutions as viewed by foreigners. *The Spectator* for April 27, 1711, contained an account supposed to have been written by an Indian king who had visited London and left a package of papers upon his departure. None of the other papers were published, however. Thirteen years later, Defoe published his *Tour Through England* (written as if by a foreigner); and in 1726 William Lloyd's *Letters from a Moor at London to his Friend at Tunis* appeared. The latter is more like a text book than a collection of light essays in manners and customs. In the twenty-four letters in this volume, the city of London, the public buildings, and the government of England are described at great length with an utter absence of satire or humor. In fact, the Moor is a mere name used to attract attention to this guide-book. At about the same time as the appearance of Lloyd's book, Marquis D'Argens published *The Jewish Spy*—an imitation of *The Turkish Spy*, but devoted for the most part to satire directed against Catholics. Different orders of monks—especially the Jesuit brotherhood—are ruthlessly attacked. Before 1752, translations from French into English were made of Graffigny's *Letters Written by a Peruvian Princess*, *Sequel of the Letters Written by a Peruvian Princess*, and *Letters of Aza*

<sup>9</sup> e. g., History of England, letters 58-68, and "The Story of Acasto and Septimius," letter 31.



*a Peruvian*.<sup>10</sup> In these collections the elaborate story of the separation of Aza and Bilia is narrated, with scarcely any comment on the customs of France and of Spain, the countries in which the principal events occur.<sup>11</sup> Graffigny's language is that of highly eloquent and impassioned love and despair—quite different from Goldsmith's usual style. These translations indicate, however, the popularity of the foreign letter collections at the time when Goldsmith began his work.

Goldsmith, no doubt, gained some valuable suggestions from those who had brought out collections of letters supposed to have been written by foreign observers, but he contributed much to this type of literature. His predecessors had done very little in character delineation, while Goldsmith's pictures of Beau Tibbs and of the Man in Black are interesting and vivid. Unlike his predecessors he had the further desire to instruct and improve his readers. Sometimes this purpose led him to attach a strangely English moral to an oriental story, but it gives added value to his letters. At other times, also, he loses the Chinese attitude and style of writing, thus falling below the consistent tone of Montesquieu's work. Goldsmith's habit of making Lein Chi appear, in many essays, to all intent and purposes, an Englishman avoids the harmful effects which may result from using a disguise too faithfully. The machinery in *Lettres Persanes* appears at times to hamper the author; and when it is stressed too much, it tires the reader. Goldsmith's versatile Chinese philosopher, however, is enabled to give us variety as a result of his wide range of interests. Goldsmith endowed him with extensive travels, a philosophical turn of mind, and friends that would lead him into all fields of activity. Consequently, *The Citizen of the World* contains a greater variety of subject matter than do the other collections considered in this paper. Using his scheme with freedom, Goldsmith reveals his own personality through it. Under his skilful touch the foreign letter type of writing took on a new and enlarged life.

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<sup>10</sup> Graffigny, Françoise d'Issenburg d'Happencourt—*Letters Written by a Peruvian Princess*. Trans. from the French, Dublin, 1748; *Sequel to Letters Written by a Peruvian Princess*, 1749; *Letters of Aza a Peruvian*, 1751.

<sup>11</sup> Some satire is included in letters 14, 16, and 18 of the third collection and in letters 16, 21, 22, 30, and 31 of the first.

## COLOR IN LAMARTINE'S *JOCELYN*

In speaking of Lamartine's descriptions of landscape in *Jocelyn*, M. Lanson says: "Ici Lamartine a voulu peindre: il a prodigué les couleurs et ses descriptions pourtant ne sortent pas. Elles ne s'organisent pas en tableaux. Je ne vois pas ces Alpes, neigeuses ou fleuries; dans l'ample écoulement de la poésie mon impression reste indécise, et si j'essaie de fixer en visions ces formes, ces teints, cette lumière, ces mouvements, ces bruits, je ne sens qu'une confusion fatigante; les objets me fuient." (*Hist. de la litt. fr.*, p. 952, ed. 1912.)

In this passage the remark: "il a prodigué les couleurs" did not coincide with my casual impressions in reading *Jocelyn*, and a closer investigation of the subject seemed of interest. In making this study, all cases of the use of color have been noted for the sake of completeness, but they have been grouped with reference to their use in landscape description, when there were sufficient to warrant it.<sup>1</sup>

*Blanc* occurs 49 times, 27 of them in landscapes and 22 in describing persons, animals, objects: snow<sup>2</sup> (13 times) as *un blanc tapis de neige*, p. 328, sun or moon light<sup>3</sup> (7) as *un rayon de blanc soleil*, p. 276; various<sup>4</sup> (7) as *la barque à l'aile blanche*, p. 281, *les routes blanches*, p. 216; persons, animals, etc.<sup>5</sup> (22) as *son chien blanc*, p. 28; seven examples of this last class refer to *cheveux blancs* or *blanchis*.<sup>6</sup>

*Blanchâtre*: (1) *un sarrau blanchâtre*, p. 170.

*Argent*: (2) *le duvet d'argent (du cygne)*, p. 78; *les cimes d'argent du pôle peuplier*, p. 253.

*Albâtre*: (1) *deux mains d'albâtre*, p. 310.

*Ivoire*: (1) *ses doigts d'ivoire*, p. 89.

*Blond*: (12) *ses blonds cheveux*<sup>7</sup> (9); *les blonds chapeaux de*

<sup>1</sup> The references are to the Hachette edition of 1853.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 55, 78, 83, 93, 113, 114, 115, 126, 145, 148, 149, 216.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 43, 47, 140, 253, 332, 332.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 50, 83, 301, 306, 307.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 25, 29, 50, 71, 88, 106, 117, 172, 175, 195, 263, 326, 327, 334.

<sup>6</sup> Pp. 32, 69, 94, 175, 182, 214, 343.

<sup>7</sup> Pp. 35, 71, 88, 94, 112, 138, 195, 267, 310.

*paille*, p. 32, *ma blonde génisse*, p. 227, *son blond duvet* (du *rosignol*), p. 131.

*Noir*: 26 times, 12 of them in landscapes and 14 in describing persons, animals, etc.: trees<sup>8</sup> (6) as *les troncs noirs des noyers*, p. 219; various<sup>9</sup> (6) as *les sommets noirs*, p. 147, *les noires vallées*, p. 70; persons, etc.<sup>10</sup> (14) as *cet œil noir*, p. 112, *une soutane noire*, p. 45, *la chèvre noire*, p. 104.

*Gris*: (6) *une roche grise*, p. 50, p. 219, *une pierre grise*, p. 26, *la bruyère grise*, p. 55, *le ciel était gris*, p. 46, *je vis noircir mes murs gris*, p. 270.

*Jaune*: (7) to describe foliage<sup>11</sup> as *le sol jauni*, p. 326, *de mes chênes penchés la tête qui jaunit*, p. 103.

*Jaunâtre*: (1) *une mousse jaunâtre*, p. 127.

*Doré*: (9), to describe light<sup>12</sup> (6) as *le rayon doré*, p. 77, various<sup>13</sup> (3) as *vols d'insectes dorés*, p. 78.

*Orange*: (1) *ses tronçons d'orange et de bleu* (de *l'arc-en-ciel*), p. 129.

*Bronze*: (1) *sa plume bronzée*, p. 83.

*Brun*: (3) *le flot, bruni par l'ombre haute et noire*, p. 127, *le reste de ses jours est bruni par une ombre*, p. 314; *ombres, qui brunissent leurs flancs*, p. 78.

*Vert*: (25) to describe foliage<sup>14</sup> (22) as *ce feston vert*, p. 103, *ces murs verdis de lierre*, p. 217; water<sup>15</sup> (3) as *un lac aux flots verts*, p. 124.

*Bleu or azur*: (26) to describe the sky<sup>16</sup> (12) as: *l'azur*, p. 112, *ce dôme bleu*, p. 85; water<sup>17</sup> (5) as *mon lac bleu*, p. 103; various<sup>18</sup> (6) as *ses pentes d'azur* (du *glacier*), p. 103, *la grande plaine bleue*, p. 216; persons<sup>18</sup> (3) as *son œil humide et bleu*, p. 88.

*Saphir*: (1) *des arches de saphir*, p. 115.

*Violet*: (1) *ses pieds nus tous violets de froid*, p. 175.

<sup>8</sup> Pp. 79, 90, 281, 323, 326.

<sup>9</sup> Pp. 30, 53, 218, 326.

<sup>10</sup> Pp. 26, 27, 45, 83, 89, 114, 139, 222, 231, 241, 334.

<sup>11</sup> Pp. 79, 216, 223, 227, 325.

<sup>12</sup> Pp. 28, 33, 83, 132, 293.

<sup>13</sup> Pp. 128, 267.

<sup>14</sup> Pp. 48, 50, 70, 77, 79, 82, 84, 98, 127, 135, 216, 217, 221, 223, 236, 275, 289, 301, 322, 344.

<sup>15</sup> Pp. 115, 306.

<sup>16</sup> Pp. 47, 75, 77, 78, 83, 85, 122, 198, 217, 281.

<sup>17</sup> Pp. 82, 127, 301, 306.

<sup>18</sup> Pp. 132, 138, 218, 286.



*Rouge*: (2) *un étroit corset rouge*, p. 88, *un oiseau rouge et bleu*, p. 138.

*Rougeâtre*: (1) *ma torche jetait son jour rougeâtre*, p. 95.

*Pourpre*: (1) *les corsets de pourpre*, p. 32.

*Vermeil*: (2) *ce sommet vermeil*, p. 308, *leur corset de feu, d'azur et de vermeil*, p. 123.

*Rose*: (2) *la neige qui fondait au tact du rayon rose*, p. 122, *sa joue en rose de candeur*, p. 111.

This is not an imposing list when one considers that *Jocelyn* is 8027 lines in length, of which at least two-thirds are devoted to description mingled with narration or description alone. Many of these colors are used as fixed epithets quite without pictorial value: *ses blonds cheveux*, *l'azur*, *le rayon doré*, *le lac bleu*. When one considers the various shades of rose, blue and violet of the snow-covered Alps, one is surprised at finding only once *la neige qui fondait au tact du rayon rose*. The colors of ice are referred to twice: *ces pentes d'azur* and *des arches de saphir*. The one case where violet is used refers to the effect of cold rather than to color. In a number of cases effect of color is secondary as *des os blanchis*; the priesthood is meant in *un habit noir*; the quality of the bread in *un pain noir*; the season in *le pampre encore vert*. M. Lanson speaks of *les Alpes fleuries*; Lamartine mentions once each *la giroflée*, *l'aubépine*, *la mauve*, *mes perce-neige*, *les bluets*, *les pavots*, *l'iris*, *le réséda*, but never their colors; *ce lis blanc* is used figuratively and refers to Jocelyn's love for Laurence. Of shades there are only three mentioned: *rougeâtre* (1), *jaunâtre* (1), *blanchâtre* (1). He rarely leaves the cardinal colors and these are used "pure": there are no shadings by a second color nor are there even qualifying adjectives of so simple a sort as dark, light, or pale. Once he says: *quel bleu tendre*. His color sense seems to run along stereotyped lines with few variations from the accepted white snow, blue sky, green grass. In fact the lack of originality and power of observation in regard to color is striking. *La bruyère grise* would seem a delicate observation of heather in certain lights did not one suspect that the rhyme were just as important as the pictorial effect:

Que j'écoutais siffler dans la bruyère grise  
Comme l'âme des morts, le souffle de la bise.

It must also be mentioned, as this does not appear in the cata-

log, that the colors occur for the most part singly and at long intervals; contrasts and combination of color are infrequent. The contrast of black and white occurs six times;

Un drap blanc recouvert de sa soutane noire, P. 28

Un lambeau de lin blanc, une croix de drap noir, P. 334.

*Un pain noir sous une nappe blanche*, p. 222. (The contrast here is evidently intentional, although *noir* really refers to the quality of the bread.)

Il veillait sur une page blanche  
Et quand elle était noire, P. 29.

Jouant dans ses cheveux avec ses doigts d'ivoire  
Roulait et déroulait leur boucle épaisse et noire. P. 89.

L'ombre des noirs sapins me voile le croissant.  
Sa mobile blancheur semble sous ce nuage  
Une neige qui tombe et fond sur le feuillage, P. 75.

There are four short descriptions which M. Lanson evidently had in mind when he said: "Ici Lamartine a voulu peindre." (All colors mentioned here are contained in the catalog.)

La grande plaine bleue avec ses routes blanches,  
Les moissons jaune d'or, les bois comme un point noir,  
Et les lacs renvoyant le ciel comme un miroir, P. 216

Et que, du haut d'un pic, de plus loin j'aperçois  
Mon lac bleu resserré comme un peu d'eau qui tremble  
Dans le creux de la main où l'enfant la rassemble  
Le feston vert bordant sa coupe de granit,  
De mes chênes penchés la tête qui jaunit. . . . P. 103.

Et qu'assis sur un roc vous avez sous vos pas  
Ce lac bleu, comme un ciel qui se déploie en bas,  
Vous voyez quelquefois l'essaim des blanches voiles. . . .  
Sortir des golfes verts ou rentrer dans les ports,  
Ou se groupant en cercle, avec la proue écrire  
Des évolutions que le regard admire; P. 306.

Je vis se dérouler sous moi le paysage,  
Le jardin verdoyer sous les murs du village,  
La colombe blanchir les toits, et la maison  
Retirer lentement son ombre du gazon.  
Je vis blanchir dans l'air sa première fumée, P. 50.

These are pictures which could be transferred to canvas or visualized as M. Lanson tried to do, but they are not numerous in

*Jocelyn* nor can color be said to have been used lavishly in them. In fact Lamartine may be said to have put into practice, whether consciously or not, Lessing's theory that in poetry pictures which could be painted were out of place and that description should never be attempted except in terms of movement. This latter Lamartine did to the fullest extent. I quote only one example:

Chaque goutte en pleuvant remontait en poussière  
 Sur l'herbe, et s'y roulait en globes de lumière.  
 Tous ces prismes, frappés du feu du firmament,  
 Remplissaient l'œil d'éclairs et d'éblouissement,  
 On eût dit mille essaims d'abeilles murmurantes  
 Disséminant le jour sur leurs ailes errantes,  
 Sur leur corset de feu, d'azur et de vermeil,  
 Et bourdonnant autour d'un rayon de soleil.

P. 123.

This is one of Lamartine's typical descriptions: filled with light, with movement, and with sound. It is one of the rare cases in which color is used in a way other than commonplace. There are many other long descriptions in *Jocelyn* in which color is lacking, as of sun shining on the water, p. 57; sounds heard during a storm, p. 113; a waterfall, p. 219; dust in the sunlight, p. 132; breezes and perfumes, p. 124; an avalanche, p. 147; rain in the mountains, p. 321. The detail and originality of these, which describe in terms of movement, is noticeable, especially when compared with the paucity and banality of the first group, which describe more largely in terms of form and color.

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### THE SOURCES OF THÉODORE DE BANVILLE'S *GRINGOIRE*

A study of the masterpiece of Théodore de Banville's "théâtre," the one-act prose play, *Gringoire*, reveals the fact that the playwright drew directly from several sources, which may conveniently be classed in two groups: (1) those that concern the principal character of the play, Gringoire himself; and (2) those that shed light upon Banville's treatment of Louis XI and the other secondary personages. On the subject of the former, Banville is silent; but, as regards the latter, he tells us, in the preface to the printed



edition of the play, that he is indebted to Michelet's *Louis XI et Charles le Téméraire* (which, as is known, is made up of the chapters from his *Histoire de France* that deal with the struggle between those two princes) and to one of Balzac's *Contes drolatiques*, the "Ioyeulsetez du roy Loys le Unziesme." To what extent Banville made use of these sources will be ascertained later.

We need not enter upon a discussion here of the anachronism of which Banville consciously made himself guilty in his treatment of the historical Pierre Gringore.<sup>1</sup> Suffice it to say that this anachronism had been perpetrated earlier in the century, and by none other than Victor Hugo himself. To be sure, the Pierre Gringoire of *Notre-Dame de Paris* takes part in scenes totally different from those in which his namesake of Banville's play appears. Nevertheless, the resemblance between these two is evident enough to make it almost unnecessary to adduce the fact that Banville's comedy is dedicated to Victor Hugo as testimony that the playwright drew direct inspiration from the novelist. Of internal evidence there is at least this much: Victor Hugo's acceptance of the slightly distorted form of the name of Pierre Gringore<sup>2</sup> is ratified by Banville; and of the real Gringore, born between 1470 and 1480 (the exact date is even yet unknown), Hugo makes the author of a "moralité" presented on January 6, 1482, while Banville is still more unconcerned as to the handling of historical facts and gives us a Gringoire who is twenty years old in 1469. In both novel and play the appearance and character of Gringoire are essentially the same: they are those of a poet who has had to forego even the necessities of life in order to pursue his calling, but is too devoted to this very calling to abandon it for one more lucrative. It is to this legendary Gringoire, shabby but proud, that Daudet addresses one of the most fascinating of the tales contained in his *Lettres de mon moulin*, the "Chèvre de M. Seguin," written, in all probability, very shortly before the presentation of Banville's play

<sup>1</sup> For a full treatment of the life of Pierre Gringore and a discussion of the anachronism, cf. Charles Oulmont: *Pierre Gringore*, Paris, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> Acrostics appended to almost all of his poems make it clear that the name of the poet was Gringore. However, it is not at all impossible that he may have been called Gringoire even in his own day; both names are mere nasalized forms of the Latin "Gregorius" (modern French "Grégoire").

in 1866.<sup>3</sup> It would seem that Banville has taken the Gringoire of Hugo, made him five or ten years younger, and shown him to us as he was before he went up to Paris; in *Notre-Dame de Paris*, he is already the celebrated author who was soon to become Mère Sotte of the "Confrérie des Sots."

Without entering upon a lengthy disquisition, we may take it for granted that the hero of Banville's comedy is a composite character, made up of touches from François Villon, Pierre Gringore, and Banville himself. The elements of Villon in *Gringoire* are so clear that "he who runs may read." Gringoire's fearlessness and independence, his utter contempt of death, these are traits borrowed directly from the character of the older poet. But, more than this, Banville's hero recites two ballads, ostensibly of his own composition, during the course of the play. Examination shows that these ballads are the work of Banville himself and that they are distinctly patterned after two of the Villon ballads. The first poem recited by Gringoire is the "Ballade des Pendus," which is undoubtedly modeled upon the celebrated "Epitaphe en forme de ballade que fait Villon pour luy et ses compagnons, s'attendant estre pendu avec eux."<sup>4</sup> To bring out a few of the parallels between the two ballads, I shall quote several verses from that of Banville; the similarity to the second stanza of Villon's poem is at once apparent.

"Le soleil levant les dévore."

"Un essaim d'oiseaux réjouis  
Par-dessus leur tête picore."

"Tous ces pauvres gens morfondus. . .  
Dans des tourbillons qu'on ignore  
Voltigent, palpitants encore."

"Regardez-les, cieux éblouis,  
Danser dans les feux de l'aurore."

In the case of the second of the two ballads declaimed by Gringoire, the "Ballade des pauvres gens," the influence of Villon is general rather than specific; for similarity in tone and attitude, Villon's "Ballade des povres housseurs" may be cited. Finally it might be noted here, in connection with the ballad to which Banville makes Gringoire refer, with the refrain: "Car Dieu bénit

<sup>3</sup> Daudet seems to be using the name of Pierre Gringoire as a cloak for that of a minor poet of the first half-century, Pierre Cressot (1815-60).

<sup>4</sup> Villon: *Œuvres*, ed. Lacroix, Paris, pp. 128-29.

tous les miséricords," that no source in Villon suggests itself, and that, quite incidentally, number twenty of Banville's *Trente-six ballades joyeuses* (Paris, 1875), the "Double ballade pour les bonnes gens," written long after *Gringoire*, has the refrain: "Dieu fasse aux bons miséricorde."

That Banville employs *Gringoire*, at least in one instance, as the spokesman of his own ideas with regard to versification, is a natural inference from the following parallel. In scene 8 of the play, *Gringoire* describes verse-making as a "délassement d'oisif. Cela consiste à arranger entre eux des mots qui occupent les oreilles comme une musique obstinée ou, tant bien que mal, peignent au vif toutes choses, et parmi lesquels s'accouplent de temps en temps des sons jumeaux, dont l'accord semble tintinnabuler comme clochettes d'or." This would seem to be a highly colored version of what Banville was later to express in these words:<sup>5</sup> "Dans la Poésie Française, la Rime est le moyen suprême d'expression et l'imagination de la Rime est le maître outil. Souviens-toi que, quand ta rime devient moins parfaite, c'est que ta pensée est moins haute et moins juste. Ne te dis pas hypocritement: 'J'ai sacrifié la Rime à la Pensée.' Dis-toi: 'Mon génie est voilé, obscurci, puisque je vois s'obscurcir ce qui en est le signe visible.'"

As regards the secondary characters of the play, we have Banville's own testimony to the effect that he had made use of Michelet and of Balzac. There is no indication whatsoever that he was familiar with Sir Walter Scott's *Quentin Durward*. Casimir Delavigne's tragedy, *Louis XI*, deals with an entirely different phase of the king's career. To Michelet Banville is indebted for the historical background of his play, though he takes the slight liberty of making Louis XI feel perfectly secure in 1469, whereas it was not until the death of Charles the Bold in 1477 that he could begin to breathe easily. That Banville read his Michelet carefully is evidenced by the fact that, in one instance at least, he quotes almost verbatim from *Louis XI et Charles le Téméraire*. The passage in question occurs in scene 5 of the play, and reads: "Pour logis de plaisance, il avait une tourelle sombre où avait coulé le sang d'un roi de France, assassiné par un Vermandois." The reference is to Charles le Simple (or le Sot) of France, who ascended the throne in 898, reigned for thirty years, and was then taken prisoner

<sup>5</sup> *Petit traité de poésie française*, Paris, 1899, p. 326.



by Herbert (or Heribert) the First, Count of Vermandois, at whose castle at Péronne he met his death a year later, probably as the result of foul play. The parallel passage in Michelet<sup>6</sup> reads as follows: "Les portes du château se fermèrent sur le roi, et il eut dès lors tout le loisir de songer, se voyant enfermé *rasibus* d'une grosse tour, où jadis un comte de Vermandois avait fait mourir un roi de France."

From Balzac's "Loyeulsetez" Banville drew the local touches of his play (the *rue de la Cygne* in the town of Tours—it is the *rue des Cygnes* in Balzac—and the Mail du Chardonneret in the forest of Plessis-les-Tours) and, in a revised and abridged form, the story which he makes Nicole Andry tell the king at the very outset of the play. In the Balzac version it is Louis XI who, at the instigation of his mistress, Nicole Beaupertuys, plays the trick of having a rogue, who had been sentenced to death, cut down from the gallows and placed, all but dead, in the bed of an old maid, who first resuscitates and then marries him. This anecdote is related at the conclusion of the description of a merry carouse at the home of Nicole Beaupertuys, at which, besides the king, there are to be numbered among the guests Olivier-le-Daim and Cardinal La Balue, both of whom figure more or less prominently in *Gringoire*. Finally, it was in Balzac too that Banville could find the name of Simon Fourniez; for, in the very first sentence of the story: "Comment fut basti le chasteau d'Azay,"<sup>7</sup> we read: "Iehan, fils de Simon Fourniez, dict Simonnin, bourgeois de Tours, etc., etc." Loyse is, thus, the only character for whom Banville apparently did not go elsewhere for some hint or other, and Loyse is only the Banvillesque version of the comparatively stereotyped heroine of the Romantic novel or drama.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> *Louis XI et Charles le Téméraire*, ed. E. Renault (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1907), p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> *Contes drolatiques* (Edition définitive, Paris, 1870), p. 205.

<sup>8</sup> The author desires to express his grateful appreciation of the help and suggestions which he received from Prof. D. S. Blondheim of The Johns Hopkins University, and from Prof. E. J. Villavaso of the University of Texas in the preparation of this paper.

## REVIEWS

*Saints' Legends.* By GORDON HALL GEROULD. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916. Pp. ix, 393. 12mo.

Professor Gerould and his readers are equally fortunate in the subject he has chosen for his book, *Saints' Legends*. He, because he is the first to devote a volume to a type of literature of a single country, to which literary historians and critics have given such little attention, that he does not need to approach it from a new angle to write something original: they, because the author shows himself the master of the wide body of texts of, and studies on, a subject in which he has shown his worth in monographs on various themes, which have a direct and indirect bearing on it.

The two first chapters, "Definition and Use" and "Origin and Propagation," are models of compression in composition in the presentation of the well considered results of the widely scattered readings of the author. On only two points can the critic take exception. In treating this genre, as a whole, Professor Gerould has not differentiated, nor laid enough stress upon its early developments and, by not doing so, his sympathy has led him to cover with too wide a mantle of charity the faults of the type as a whole, when he makes such statements as "They are, in the nature of the case, ecclesiastical, but not narrowly so; they are moral of tendency, but not didactic; they inculcate piety, but do not of necessity teach doctrine . . . the legends show a common aspiration towards an unworldly goal . . . the lives of the saints represent the search not only for goodness but for truth" (4-5). From a wide survey of the subject very different conclusions may be drawn than those stated, or implied, in these phrases. In the Orient and in the Occident, in Buddhism, Christianity<sup>1</sup> and Mohammedanism, saints' lives were written for purposes of propaganda; first to emphasize some doctrinal point, later for the glorification of some particular saint or shrine. They go on all fours with the belief in miracles, which is their principal stock in trade, and the part they

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius in his *Hist. eccl.*, v, Proem. ed. E. S. Schwartz, II (1903) 400, 9-12, stated that he had included all the *Acta martyrum* in his work, because οὐχ ἱστορικὴν αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδασκαλικὴν περιέχον διήγησιν.

still play in the educational propaganda of the one branch of the Christian church, which holds fast by its belief in contemporary miracles, is due to no accidental combination. In the early Christian church the first *Acta*, like the apocryphal gospels considered a supplement to the apostolic writings, were written to show that the church of the day was still the primitive church, as was evidenced, through the use of what was regarded as authentic documents, by the sufferings and miraculous powers of those who died for the faith. Very few, and in the light of continued investigations, in an ever diminishing number, are those which do not show accretions of a later time, marvellous deeds, which were considered as nothing but what was due, in the eyes of the interpolaters, to those of an earlier and vanished heroic age. At an early date an interested motive brought out a further development, the emphasis given to the miracles of saints of, or at, certain shrines, an indication, itself, of the development of the most crass of superstitions—itsself a relic of paganism—the practice of pilgrimages. In the competition between rival ecclesiastical organizations this new motive fostered the perversely fraudulent spirit so evident in later saints' lives. To further the objects of their propaganda those interested did not satisfy themselves with the productions of the lives of their heroes in the universal language of the church, and with their translation into the vernacular. At an early date popular tales and traditions were drafted for service, on the principle, enunciated and practiced long before Whitefield, that the devil should not be allowed to keep all the good tunes. The next step for those interested was to manipulate for their own use popular forms of literature, which had been formerly damned without stint, an instance of which has been shown convincingly by Professor Bédier in his *Légendes épiques*, who brings out the use made of the Old-French epic to "boom" certain shrines. A similar, if not such a profitable study could be made of this form of propaganda, in other types of literature, and in other literatures.

With these reservations, it may be said that Professor Gerould's definition of the purpose and intent of the type is as admirable as it is liberal, as is his outline of the development of its use in church service,—and the question of the diptychs is an intricate and difficult one, on which the final word has not been written<sup>2</sup>—for secular

<sup>2</sup> E. Bishop, in *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, ed. R. H. Connolly,



entertainment, and even for political purposes, in which visions played a part, not without an element of fraud. It may be well to cite here passages from two writers of the eleventh century, which show the prominent position this type of literature held in the purely clerical educational system of that period. The first is to be found in the tractate of Petrus Damiani, *De ordine eremitarum, et facultatibus eremi Avellani*, written 1045-1050,<sup>3</sup> in which the austere and obscurantist reformer gives an exposition of the regime of the monastery of Fonte Avellana, of which he was abbot. In the restricted course of reading which he not only recommended, but doubtless enforced, saints' legends took a high place:

Librorum quoque numerum non minimum dereliquimus, ut fratribus nostris, qui pro nobis orare dignentur, meditandi copiam praeberemus. Bibliothecam namque omnium Veteris et Novi Testamenti voluminum, licet cursim, ac per hoc non exacte vobis emendare curavimus. Ex passionibus quoque beatorum martyrum; ex homiliis sanctorum patrum; ex commentariis, allegoricas sacrae Scripturae sententias exponentium Gregorii scilicet, Ambrosii, Augustini, Hieronymi, Prosperi, Bedae, Remigii, etiam et Amalarii, insuper et Haimonis atque Paschasii, divina gratia nostris allubescante laboribus, plures libros habetis, quibus vacare potestis; ut sanctae animae vestrae non solum oratione crescant sed et lectione pinguescant. Ex quibus nimirum codicibus nonnullos pro nostra possibilitate correximus, ut in sacrae disciplinae studiis intelligentiae vobis aditum panderemus.<sup>4</sup>

The second passage is found in a work written by a cleric with humanistic tendencies, who in a critical survey of both pagan and Christian literature, shows a sense of critical values in the positions he assigns to different types of hagiographical works. This work is the *De arte lectoria sive de quantitate syllabarum*, written in 1086, by a certain Aimeric, whose patron was Adhemar, bishop of Angoulême, 1076-1101.<sup>5</sup> He begins his general estimate<sup>6</sup> by stating the categories into which all literature must be distributed:

Cambridge Texts and Studies, VII, i (1908), 97-114; F. E. Brightman, *Journ. of Theol. St.*, XII (1911), 319-23; Connolly, *Ib.*, XIII, 580-594; Bishop, *Ib.*, XIV, 23-61.

<sup>3</sup> F. Neukirch, *Das Leben des Petrus Damiani, nebst einem Anhang: Damianis Schriften chronologisch geordnet*. Teil I, 1875, 94.

<sup>4</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CXLV, 334.

<sup>5</sup> C. Thurot, "Documents relatifs à l'histoire de la grammaire au moyen-âge," *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, Ser. 2, vol. VI (1870) 244-5. For other manuscripts cf. A. D'Ancona, "La Leggenda di Maometto in Occidente," *Giorn. stor. d. Lett. it.*, XIII (1889), 245-6; also in his *Studj di Critica e Storia letteraria*, 2d ed., 1912, II, 207-8, 277.

<sup>6</sup> Thurot, *op. cit.*, 249.

Et super omnia hoc notandum, quoniam, sicut genera metallorum quatuor illa, aurum, argentum, stagnum, plumbum, sic et genera scripturarum quatuor ista, autentica, agiographa, communia, apocrypha,

and, after assigning their due place to the books of the scripture, and to the patristic writings he continues:

Passiones martirum, sanctorum et vitae, quorum ignorantur scriptores et in quibus magis fabule quam veritas mera et magis adulatio quam vera rei expressio, et libri Origenis et caetera repudianda; in quarto genere plumbeo inter apocryfos numeramus. Passio Andreae, Laurentii, Sixti, Ipoliti, Mauricii, Agnetis, Agate, Lucie, Ceciliae, Vincentii, et vite sanctorum quas Jeronimus (et) Gregorius scripserunt, et regula Basilii et Benedicti, et libri Prosperi, viri sanctissimi, et exorcismus aquae et baptismi, omnia haec in secundo genere argenteo collocamus apostolica auctoritate.

In the second chapter of the book the difficult problems of the origins and propagation have been treated with great discrimination. Professor Gerould touches in turn upon the personnel of the legends, the interweaving of fabulous elements and popular fiction with historical data, where the psycho-pathological phenomena have been unduly exaggerated; the part played by Neo-Platonism in the development of romantic tendencies in the *rifacimenti* of the earlier, more sober accounts, and in the composition of new traditions; the multiplication of saints through paleographical and archaeological misunderstandings; the repeated duplication of incidents and miracles, and, even of saints; the creative power of folk-etymology, and the absurd localization of saints, due partly to popular fantasy, but more to financial considerations. In his discussion of the question of Christian saints as successors of the gods he takes a middle ground between the views of radical critics like Usener, and those of more conservative tendencies, like Delehay, tending, however, towards the former, as one is bound to do, who considers that in this, as in every phase of religious usage, the Christian church adopted and glossed over pagan practices. As temples became churches, the gods, who at first were treated in conformity with the much cited passage of Psalms, xcv, 5: "Omnes dii gentium daemonia," were transformed into saints, pagan holidays appeared again as saints' days, and the preservation of a buried body, which in popular pagan tradition had been regarded

as the token of a vampire, became under the new dispensation an assured confirmation of the sanctity of the person concerned. Professor Gerould takes as a good illustration of this naïve fashion of adaptation, the creation of a St. Josaphat out of Buddha, and the legend of St. Veronica. He has noted how stories have passed from folklore into hagiography, and back again into popular tradition, if, as at times, the drift was not all one way, when a Greek romance was preserved with variations in the far-travelled life of St. Alexis, or when the epic hero Vivien became a local French martyr.

There are two or three slips which are worth noting. Professor Gerould has unhappily picked out the late historical romance, dealing with Julitta and Cyriacus as having "the sobriety and simplicity of manner that characterizes the most authentic passions" (31), but he depends upon a late Latin rationalized recension of the *Acta Cyriaci et Julittae*, of which the earlier form, found in a Syriac version, contains some of the wildest of fictions.<sup>7</sup> We did not need to wait for Kuhn to point out in 1893 that the *Apologia* of Aristides was enbedded in the Greek text of Barlaam and Josaphat (47). That had already been done by J. Armitage Robinson in his supplement to J. Rendel Harris's first edition of the Syriac text of the *Apologia*, published in 1891. A liberal bibliography is offered (351-3) as a guide to the subjects of the first two chapters. It is curious that one does not find noted there, Alfred Maury's *Légendes pieuses du moyen âge*, published in 1843, the first modern treatment of the subject of this book. Of recent literature the author has failed to refer to such important articles as Harnack's "Das ursprüngliche Motiv d. Abfassung von Märtyrer- und Heilungsakten in der Kirche,"<sup>8</sup> and Geffcken's "Die christlichen Martyrien,"<sup>9</sup> and Delehaye's *Les origines du culte des Martyrs* (1912). As a supplement to his own first-class study on the legend of St. Eustace, Professor Gerould should have mentioned the articles of A. Monteverdi,<sup>10</sup> and now one can add the

<sup>7</sup> Cf. H. Stocks, "Ein Alexanderbrief in den *Acta Cyriaci et Julittae*," *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschichte*, xxxi (1910), 1 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Acad.*, 1910, 106-25.

<sup>9</sup> *Hermes*, xlv (1910), 481-505.

<sup>10</sup> "La Leggenda di S. Eustachio," *Studi Medievali*, III (1908-1911), 169-229, 392-498.



investigations of Meyer aus Speyer, Hilka, Bossuet and Lüdtke.<sup>11</sup> As the patron saint of England, should there not have been a reference to Matzke's and Krumbacher's enlightening work on the legend of St. George?

In the third chapter so well entitled "The Epic Legend in Old English," Professor Gerould has given us the very best treatment that has been written upon the subject, both on account of his knowledge of the background of the poems, and his keen perception of critical values, which allows him to do justice where it is needed, as in the case of *Juliana*. In discussing the sources, he has failed to note that for their themes it was not so much a question of choice of subject, as a transmission into vernacular of apocryphal traditions, for which the early Anglo-Irish Church showed such a fondness. One indication of this literary survival is Professor C. F. Brown's discovery of Cynewulf's use of an Irish redaction of the Latin text of *Elene* (71), and similar results will be reached by the investigation of other Old-English saints' legends. It is more than a coincidence that the subject of *Elene* and the *Dream of the Rood* were both written in Northumbria, where the cross was carried to victory in the seventh century by the reigning family, of which more than one member came into intimate touch with Irish culture. No such lists or lists of the apostles, which Professor Krapp postulated as the source of *The Fates of the Apostles* (78), could be, or were, used by Bede in his *Martyrologium*, as the work Professor Krapp cites as such was a German compilation, posterior by several centuries to Bede.<sup>11a</sup>

The fourth chapter on "Prose Legends before the Conquest" deals with the legends of the saints common to the church universal, and of those of British and Irish birth, in Latin and Old English. In his account of St. Ealdhelm (97-8), Professor Gerould has missed the poem *De aris beatae Mariae et duodecim apostolis dedicatis*,<sup>12</sup> which deserves consideration for more than one reason. In it, use was made of the Abdias collection as it was in *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles*, in the genuine *Martyrologium* of

<sup>11</sup> *Nachrichten von d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaft zu Göttingen*, 1915, 269-287; 1916, 461-551; 743-800; 1917, 80-95; 703-745, 746-760.

<sup>11a</sup> Cf. Hamilton, "The Sources of the *Fates of the Apostles* and *Andreas*," *M. L. N.*, xxxv, 385-7.

<sup>12</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LXXXIX, 291-296.

Bede, and in the *Homilies* of Aelfric (121). Since the appearance of Professor Gerould's book, there has been published<sup>13</sup> an interesting early life of St. Ethelbert, as well as that of Giraldus Cambrensis, which was known to exist, but is not mentioned by Professor Gerould. The surviving fragment of a translation of the *Passion of St. Quentin* can not be cited as an indication of "the close relations that subsisted between the English and Gallican Churches during the second half of the tenth century" nor of the introduction of new cults (115), as St. Quentin finds his due place in Bede's *Martyrologium*,<sup>14</sup> and the Gallican influence was at an early period a distinctive element in the Anglo-Irish church,<sup>15</sup> a fact which explains the introduction of the leading Frankish saint, Martin, into the work of Ealdhelm (96), and of other English legends (113, 119-20). Is the English translation of the *Pseudo-Matthew* (123) the work mentioned in a twelfth-century catalogue of the library of Durham Cathedral, found in the same manuscript as an English life of Paulinus: "Liber Paulini Anglicus. Liber de Nativitate Sanctae Mariae Anglicus"?<sup>16</sup> If Paulinus represented the Romanizing tendencies, in his mission in Northumbria (57), Durham was the legitimate heir of the literary tendencies, as well as of the ecclesiastical usages of Lindisfarne, whence the monks brought the relics of St. Cuthbert amid the alarms of the Northman's invasion, to rest at Durham. If this invasion, beginning with the end of the eighth century, explains in part the decline of the English epic (92), the flight of the monks from their northern sea-girt monasteries, bringing their manuscripts with them, resulted in introducing an interest in a new field of literature among the clerical writers of the inland monasteries, where they sought refuge.<sup>17</sup>

In his fifth chapter, "New Influences: France and the Cult of the Virgin," Professor Gerould has had the advantage of having as his guide Paul Meyer's well-known article in the *Histoire litté-*

<sup>13</sup> M. R. James, *English Historical Rev.*, XXXII (1917), 214 ff.

<sup>14</sup> H. Quentin, *Les martyrologies historiques du Moyen-Age*, 1908, 89.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. H. Zimmer, "Galliens Anteil an Irlands Christianisierung im 4.-5. Jahrh. und altir. Bildung," *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1909, 582 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Cat. vet. Libr. eccl. Cath. Dunelm.*, (Publ. of the Surtees Society, VII) 5.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. H. M. Banister, "Liturgical Fragments," *Journ. of Theological Studies*, IX (1908), 401.

*raire*, in the lives of saints in Old French, to which but little can be added in the way of information and critical estimates. The popularity of the life of St. Margaret (125) was, no doubt, due to the virtues claimed for it as a charm in child-birth;<sup>18</sup> and it should be noted, that the French life of Edward the Confessor was a translation of Ailred's work (141),<sup>19</sup> and the life of St. Thomas by Garnier de Pont Sainte-Maxence, one of the gems of Old French literature, deserves some other consideration than the fact, that it "has independent historical values" (135-6). In the account of the Latin lives, mention should have been made of Goscelin's lives of Ethelburga, and Wulfhilda only recently discovered,<sup>20</sup> although known to Bale,<sup>21</sup> the source of Capgrave's version. In connection with the French influences the subject of the evolution of mariolatry is properly discussed, because it was in France that this superstition began, and where were first written single works, and various collections devoted to enhancing Mary's worship. The phrase (146): "In England, as well as in Germany and France, we find during the tenth century an increased attention to the cult," does not specify the source of the cult, and dates it, perhaps, a century too early.

The sixth chapter on "The Conquest to the Reformation," Professor Gerould devotes to one part of that wide field, the legends, and saints' lives in works of history and edification, and he adds much to the elucidation of such composite collections, as the so-called *South-English Legendary*, the *North-English Homily Col-*

<sup>18</sup> P. Meyer, *Hist. litt.*, XXXII, 100-1; *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. G. Paris et U. Robert, I, 13, II, 299; O. Davidson, "Isländische Zauberzeichen und Zaubertbücher," *Zeitschr. d. Ver. f. Volkskunde*, XIII (1903), 163-4. On invoking her and the use of other relics; P. Saintyves, "Ceintures magiques et processions enveloppantes," *Rev. d. trad. pop.*, XXV (1910), 116; Duine, "Les Trad. pop. du pays de Dol," *Annales de Bretagne*, xv (1900), 491; Laisnel de la Salle, *Le Berry*, II, *Mœurs et coutumes* (1902), 19; *Mir. de Nostre Dame*, v, 260.

<sup>19</sup> E. Langlois, *Not. et Extr.*, XXXIII, ii, 10.

<sup>20</sup> M. Esposito, *Hermathena*, xvi (1910), 86-90; *Anal. Boll.*, XXXII (1913), 10-26.

<sup>21</sup> *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, ed. R. L. Poole, 1902, 498. The lives of Wulfhilda, and Ethelburga, as well as of Bertinus and Erkenwald are noted without the name of the author in the catalogue of the Library of Dover Priory, drawn up in 1389; M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries, etc.*, 458.



*lection* and the *Scottish Legend Collection*. His judgments on their manner of composition, their dates and authors are given with an authority which carries conviction, based as they are on a detailed and extended study of the texts, on which any future student will find an indispensable guide in the extensive bibliography of both editions and manuscripts. It is interesting to know that the *Festival of Mirk* was printed once at Paris, and twice at Rouen before 1500 (187-8), but it is more interesting to point out the cause in the fact that dozens of church service-books were printed at these two places in the same period, for the English market.<sup>22</sup> In discussing the sources of the *Cursor Mundi* (200-1), Professor Gerould has followed in the footsteps of his predecessors in attributing to its author the merit of collecting, as well as translating, his originals, a fault common to most students who have undertaken to investigate the sources of various extensive mediæval compilations. For instance, there can not be much doubt but that a single French manuscript<sup>23</sup> was the source of the Northern writer's account of the conception of the Virgin, and the stories of the childhood of Christ, and the harrowing of Hell, and furnished him the suggestion to make use of an earlier English rendering of the story of the assumption of the Virgin. To a Northern writer the poem of Wace *L'Etablissement de la fête de la conception Notre-Dame*, which formed a part of the original compilation, would have been of particular interest, as it was inspired by a miracle performed for the benefit of an abbot of Ramsey in the eleventh century.<sup>24</sup> The statement that the *Alphabetum narrationum* is "now supposed to be the work of Arnold of Liège" (201), is unnecessarily vague in the light of our present knowledge on both the compiler and the date of the completion of his work, 1308.<sup>25</sup>

The ninety pages (204-293) devoted to the "The Course of the Legend" are little enough to devote to the subject which includes the same wide field as the chapter just discussed, and in them the author shows himself once more a master of compression in com-

<sup>22</sup> E. G. Duff, *Westminster and London Printers, 1476-1535*, 1906, 204-6.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. e. g., P. Meyer, *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXXII, 364-5.

<sup>24</sup> *Ib.*, 363.

<sup>25</sup> Compare now the best statement on the subject by E. Schroeder, "Legenda Aurea et Alphabetum Narrationum," *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. deutsch. Sprache und Lit.*, XLIII (1918), 545-8.

position. Much that is as new, as it is original is found in his criticism of the work of Chaucer and Lydgate, as writers of saints' lives, and his account of minor writers like Capgrave and Henry Bradshaw brings out their merit in a proper perspective. A few omissions may be worth noting. An occidental version of the life of St. Catherine (208) has been recently pointed out as being extant in the eighth or ninth century, two centuries before the date of any other evidence of her cult even in the Orient.<sup>26</sup> That the source of the *Childhood of Jesus*, found in the *South-English Legendary*, was the later French version, due to an Anglo-Norman author (215), has been noted by Holthausen,<sup>27</sup> and no reference is made to the possible relationship of the northern poem on the same subject (225-6) to Caxton's *Infantia salvatoris*, which Professor Gerould fails to mention. Analogues to the "chapel of Jerusalem" in the poem of *Celestin* (228) are found not only in Henry IV's Jerusalem, but in the stories of the deaths of Alexander the Great,<sup>28</sup> the emperor Frederick II,<sup>29</sup> and Cecco d'Ascoli,<sup>30</sup> to mention only great historical characters.<sup>31</sup> An edition of what it seems safe to regard as the poem on *The Holy Blood of Hales* (273), printed by Pynson, has been noted as still surviving in the seventeenth century.<sup>32</sup> The poem on St. Wulfhad and St. Ruffin, which contains some variants from the text published by Holthausen (273-5), was printed in S. Gunton's *History of the Church of Peterburgh*, published in 1686,<sup>33</sup> and such entries as "Versus pannorum penden-

<sup>26</sup> H. Delehaye, *Anal. Boll.*, xxxii (1913), 306-7.

<sup>27</sup> "Zum mittellengl. Gedicht, 'Kindheit Jesu,'" *Herrigs Archiv*, cxxvii (1911), 318.

<sup>28</sup> Th. Nöldeke, "Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Alexanderromans," *Denkschr. d. Wien. Akad. Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, xxxviii, v (1890), 47, n. 2; R. Meissner, "Mubašširs Aḥbār el-Iskender," *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, XLIX (1895), 617.

<sup>29</sup> F. Guterbock, "Eine Biographie Friedrichs II.," *Neues Arch. d. Ges. f. älter. deutsch. Geschichtskunde*, xxx (1905), 46-7.

<sup>30</sup> G. Boffito, "Il 'De principiis Astrologiae' di Cecco d' Ascoli," *Giorn. st. d. Litt. it.*, Supplemento 6, p. 59, n. 2.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. e. g., J. A. Herbert, *Cat. of Romances*, III (1919), 693-4, 720.

<sup>32</sup> E. G. Duff, "The Library of R. Smith" [1632], *Library*, 2d Ser. VIII (1907), 127. For the fate of relic cf. St. John Hope, *Archaeol. Journ.*, LXVIII (1910), 166 ff.

<sup>33</sup> Pp. 103-112, cf. 72. In the Christ Church catalogue, referred to below, one finds (M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 1903, 110) the entry "Vita Sanctorum Alphardi et Ruffini fratrum."

cium in ecclesia Cantuariensi," and "Versus fenestrarum uitrearum ecclesie Cantuar.," found in a catalogue of the library of Christ Church, Canterbury, drawn up c. 1300,<sup>34</sup> and Dr. M. R. James's publication of, and comments on, the latter of these,<sup>35</sup> have escaped the author's notice. Much can still be done to localize and date both the larger collections and separate works, by investigations into the use of certain liturgical texts, connected with the history of various religious orders, and the libraries of different monastic settlements.

In the chapter on "Saints' Lives in Drama," Professor Gerould sets forth the fragmentary evidence on the subject that survives. He has failed, however, to bring out the fact (294-6) that the miracle plays, based on saints' lives, had a development, independent of the older mysteries, which were of liturgical origin, as the former had their origin in a wish to present dramatically the deeds of heroes, whose lives had been already sung in church by jongleurs, as is evidenced by the poems of *St. Leger*, *St. Alexis*, and others.<sup>36</sup> The introduction of bits of French into Latin mysteries and miracle plays has been, indeed, explained in an acceptable way,<sup>37</sup> as due to the use of "epitres farcies," which formed a part of the services, held in honor of the saints. The continued popularity of miracle plays in England is attested by a short but important passage in the *Manuel des Pechiez*, of William de Waddington,<sup>38</sup> written in the latter part of the thirteenth century, which has escaped Professor Gerould's attention. This rather rigid moralist inveighs against the fondness of the English clerics for such representations in church, where he considers only plays on the resurrection should be given. In the account of the *Croxton Play of the Sacrement* (304-5), there are several statements to which exception must be taken. It is not "unique in being the only drama known to us,

<sup>34</sup> James, *op. cit.*, cf. 122: "Versus fenestrarum uitrearum ecclesie Christi et rithmus, uersifice."

<sup>35</sup> *The Verses formerly inscribed on the Twelve Windows in the Choir of Canterbury Cathedral*, Cambridge Ant. Soc. Octav. Publ., xxxviii, 1901; cf. *On the Abbey Church of St. Edmund at Bury*, Cam. Ant. Publ., xxviii, 1895, 186 ff.

<sup>36</sup> G. Paris, *Journal des Savants*, 1901, 783.

<sup>37</sup> H. Suchier u. A. Birch-Hirschfeld, *Gesch. d. französ. Litt.*, 1900, 273-5; G. Paris, *l. c.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ed.* F. J. Furnivall (E. E. T. S.) vv. 4292 ff.



either by text or by contemporary notice, that was based on an *exemplum*," as we have more than one reference to more than one play, or at least, performance, of a play on King Robert of Sicily,<sup>39</sup> of which the source was certainly an *exemplum*. Further, the theory that the author of the Croxton play based it on a stock *exemplum* is not "confirmed by the Latin lines with which it is interlarded," as these lines have been shown<sup>40</sup> to be phrases chiefly Scriptural, such as one would expect to find in a play with liturgical antecedents. Again, the English drama is not "chiefly peculiar in its denouement: the Jew and his accomplices are converted by the miracle, absolved and baptized," as in one *exemplum*,<sup>41</sup> of which the scene is laid in Breslau, and in the French *mystère*,<sup>42</sup> where it is laid in Paris—where it is located by church tradition—those of the Jews who survive are converted and baptized. The reference in the "banns" of the English play to the performance of a play on the subject in Rome in 1461, leads one to connect it with the performance given in 1473 at the same place by a Florentine company in honor of a princess of the ruling Spanish house of Naples, Eleonora d'Aragona,<sup>43</sup> a factor which would account for the localizing of the play in Spain in the Italian drama. Whether the *Rappresentazione de uno Miracolo del Corpo di Christo*, of which there are several editions,<sup>44</sup> can be identified with the play of 1473, or as the source of the English play, must be left to future researches.

In the final chapter, "The Reformation and Since," is traced the fate of the type, after it had fallen into disfavor as an instrument for religious inspiration. It is interesting to follow its evolution from the time when it was fostered for sinister political purposes by a minority, in which the most important part was taken by the Jesuits, responsible as they have been in Papist countries,

<sup>39</sup> E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, II, 151, 205, 356, 378.

<sup>40</sup> F. Holthausen, *Anglia* xv (1893), 199-200.

<sup>41</sup> *Magnum speculum exemplorum*, Cologne, 1611, 380-1. In another version not found in the older editions, it is localized in Bruxelles, and the Jew's name is Jonathas as in the English dramas, (*ib.*, 390-1). In another version located "in partibus Al[1] emannie" the one nameless Jew concerned is converted (*Speculum laicorum*, ed. Welter, 1914, 53).

<sup>42</sup> Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, II (1880), 575.

<sup>43</sup> A. D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro italiano*, 2d ed., 1880, I, 287-8.

<sup>44</sup> Colomb de Batines, *Bibl. d. antiche Rapp. it.*, 1852, 34.

for the spread of the worship of saints, to the use made of it as a weapon of propaganda by the High Churchmen of the Oxford movement, and its availability as a source of information for the modern historical scholar. In the discussion of the earliest phase, attention could have been called to the influence exerted by an appeal to the reputation of various shrines, in the various armed revolts against the reformed religion and government.

One can only close this somewhat extended review by re-emphasizing the worth of Professor Gerould's book, from every point of view: completeness of plan, care in execution, sound critical judgments, presented in a style that commands attention; resulting in a monograph on a subject, the all-embracing completeness of which must strike the reader. The few hints, which have been added, are such as are welcome to any author who covers such a wide field, that he has to accept as authoritative the statements of others on certain details.

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*Theodor Fontane.* A critical Study by KENNETH HAYENS, M. A.,  
Lecturer in German Language and Literature, University  
College, Dundee. London: W. Collins Sons & Co. 1920.  
282 pp.

In der Mainnummer von *The London Mercury* steht der folgende überraschende Satz der Schriftleitung: "In the last forty years Germany has produced precious little, beyond Nietzsche and a few poems of Liliencron and Dehmel, that foreigners could desire for its artistic merits or the depth of its insight or feeling." Hayens kann nun mit seinem Buch über Fontane seine selbstgefälligen Brüder vom *London Mercury* wenigstens über einen der grossen deutschen Realisten unterrichten, der die meisten seiner Bücher nach 1880 geschrieben hat, unter anderen *Effi Briest* (1895), worüber das Urteil von Hayens gefällt wird: "It is undoubtedly worthy of a place among the great novels of the nineteenth century!"

Hayens' Werk sollte eigentlich heissen: *Theodor Fontane as a Novelist*, denn es ist tatsächlich eine Art grossangelegte Disserta-

tion und keine Gesamtdarstellung des Fontaneschen Schaffens. Die frühere Fontane-Forschung ausser Richard M. Meyer kommt leider auffallend zu kurz dabei, aber das hätte durch andere Verdienste der neuen Arbeit aufgehoben werden können. Selbst wenn nur die paar Schriften benützt worden wären, die im Vorwort aufgezählt sind, hätte die Persönlichkeit Fontanes tiefer erfasst und besser dargestellt werden können. Der Verfasser bekennt zwar freimütig: "I have made no attempt to cover the ground of a possible source-book," aber seine ganze Arbeit beweist, dass man den Romanschreiber nicht richtig, besonders nicht "kritisch" beurteilen kann, ohne die wichtigen Quellen seines Lebens und Schaffens zu kennen. Dazu gehören hier u. a. die vielen aufschlussreichen Briefäusserungen des Schriftstellers und besonders bei seinen geschichtlichen Erzählungen, z. B. *Vor dem Sturm* und *Grete Minde*, die tatsächlichen Unterlagen.

Zu diesen Einwänden, die sich auf die Gesamtanlage und Auffassung des Buches beziehen, kommen noch verschiedene gegen einzelne schiefe Urteile, z. B., "Fontane understands nothing of stagecraft" (p. 122). Hier hätte eine vorzügliche amerikanische und leicht zugängliche Dissertation von Bertha E. Trebein: *Theodor Fontane as a Critic of the Drama* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1916) unsern Verfasser gründlich anders belehren können. Was dann über Fontanes Verhältnis zur "Berliner Schule" von Mauthner, Smidt und Zolling gesagt wird oder über Parisius (pp. 121; 64), klingt wenig neu. Dagegen hätte der etwas besser behandelte Hesekiel (pp. 35; 63) mehr ernste Beachtung verdient. Wahrscheinlich leiden die geschichtlichen Einordnungen an einer nicht richtigen Perspektive. Etwas merkwürdig klingt ein Satz auf Seite 7; danach wären Fontane und Alexis "generally supposed (!) to be of French extraction." Ein Steckenpferd des Verfassers sei noch erwähnt, nämlich die genaue Untersuchung Fontanescher Titel (pp. 49; 175; 227). Anstatt *Graf Petöfy* wird z. B. vorgeschlagen: *Graf Petöfy und seine Frau*.

Am besten fährt Fontane unter Hayens' Betrachtung als Romanschreiber im engeren Sinn, und zwar in 9 Kapiteln: The Historical Novelist (*Vor dem Sturm*; *Schach*); The Story Teller (*Grete Minde*, etc.); The New World (*Quitt*); Berlin Plutocracy (*L'Adultera*; *Frau Jenny Treibel*); Unequal Marriages (I. *Graf*



*Petöfy; Cécile; II. Unwiederbringlich; Effi Briest*); Sentiment and Society (*Irrungen; Stine*); Poor Nobility (*Poggenpuhls*); A Liberal Conservative (*Der Stechlin*). Das klingt verlockender als es gemeint ist, denn es werden die einzelnen Romane nach einem gewissen trockenen Muster behandelt, etwa: *the actual story, the plot, the characters, the scenes, proportion, etc.* Aber alles ist verständnisvoll gelesen worden und wird ganz warm und verständlich verarbeitet. Nur an wenigen Charakteren, z. B. von *L'Adultera* oder *Grete Minde* sieht der Verfasser vorbei. Besonders zutreffende Worte werden über des Romanschreibers Stellungnahme zum Leben gefunden (pp. 99; 211), wobei freilich wieder zu sagen ist, dass zahlreiche Briefstellen usw. schön zur Vertiefung beigetragen hätten. Der Dichter Fontane hat nicht „nur Balladen,” sondern auch Gedichte geschrieben, wie sie Austin Dobson nicht besser geben konnte. Viel weniger gerecht wird der Verfasser dem Künstler Fontane. Es geht nicht an, „avoidance of the directly emotional” (p. 59) auf Fontanes Alter allein zu schieben. In diesem Zusammenhang wäre von dem Märkertum in der Literatur zu reden gewesen; damit hätte auch die Behandlung von Fontanes Verhältnis zu W. Alexis sehr gewonnen. Hayens zeigt übrigens gute Auffassung für das Verhältnis der Stilarten beider, freilich lässt er sich hier wieder ein schönes Selbstzeugnis Fontanes entgehen, nämlich den bemerkenswerten Aufsatz über Willibald Alexis.

Am Ende von Hayens' Schrift erlebt man eine Ueberraschung, das ist eine scharfe Abkanzelung Fontanes (pp. 249; 251; 269) wegen verschiedener Aeusserungen über England, die allerdings nicht schmeichelhaft sind, trotzdem am Anfang der Schrift gesagt war, „how well qualified he (Fontane) was to record impressions of travel.” Schweigen bei diesem Punkte wäre m.E. klüger gewesen. Alles in allem bleibt Hayens' Buch ein bemerkenswerter Beitrag der englischen Literaturforschung zum 100. Geburtstag des freien deutschen Dichters und Künstlers Theodor Fontane.

F. SCHOENEMANN.

Kiel.

*L'Etat de Guerre and Projet de Paix Perpétuelle*, two essays by JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU; with introduction and notes by SHIRLEY G. PATTERSON. Foreword by GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920. liv + 90 pp.

The reprint in a separate little volume of these two essays is due chiefly to their "modernity," to the "suggestiveness to students of present day problems," as the editors say.

In the first, "*L'Etat de Guerre*" (pp. 3-20), one certainly finds the stamp of Rousseau's thought and style. That man makes you think, even when you are not willing, for a thousand considerations, to agree with him. His arguments *are* arguments, and this is after all the best a philosopher can offer. Between truth and the search for truth, many already have preferred the second. At the same time, one may be allowed to say here that R. knew what he was doing when he did not consider this essay as one of his really finished products. By this the writer does not mean to say that the essay ought not to be printed; by all means students of R. must know it; but whether young students will profit much by it is another question; it is so abstract that it may well give them a distaste for R. One may say that one line by a "poilu" who has seen the great war and tells of his *actual* experiences will do more to convey to us the horrors of war than the pages of R. drawn from pure imagination, eloquent though those pages may be.

Towards the second essay (pp. 23-76) the writer feels very differently. Indeed it is a remarkably clear and concise statement of the very problems the world has a chance to solve today. The forceful dialect of R. is bound to persuade sceptics that the "*Société des peuples de l'Europe*"—today more simply "*Société des peuples*"—is certainly conceivable and feasible, if only men wanted it. Everything is there: Normal Angell's "*Great Illusion*," the problem of disarmament, and the ideas of the Hague Tribunal, of the League for Enforcement of Peace, of Wilson's League of Nations. Moreover, the discussion and demonstration is based entirely on the political situation of the eighteenth century. This is itself an advantage, for, in the first place, national prejudices are not quite the same today as they were in the eighteenth century; at any rate, the rivalries among nations rest on different problems. Thus we can consider them and their solution by an international league without our present day passions getting aroused and con-

fusing our judgment. In the second place, the political conditions today are infinitely more favorable to peace conditions; the people have more to say than they had in the age of R. The democratic spirit of our day has done away with the idea that the monarch has a right to run the state for other purposes than the general welfare. We no longer consider war as a conflict between "Princes," as R. would say, but between "Peuples souverains." And there are other things that seemed quite hard obstacles when R. wrote and which appear today much easier to overcome. Mr. Patterson would have presented these ideas to a larger public by publishing a translation of the essays, but this had been only recently done by Mr. C. E. Vaughan (London, Constable, 1917).

The Foreword of Mr. Putnam (pp. iii-xiv) is a masterly and concise presentation of the history of the idea of everlasting peace from Emeric Crucé's *Le Nouveau Cynée* (1623) to President Wilson's League of Nations. This history is preceded by a no less interesting account of the attempts made by the Roman Empire and then by the Church and then by the German Empire to assure peace to the world—attempts which were all futile. Mr. Putnam recalls with some details the earnest efforts to prompt the feeling for universal peace made by Prince Albert in 1861, at the time of the first World's Fair in London, and which many of us had indeed quite forgotten. On the other hand, Mr. Putnam does not mention here the contribution made to the cause of Peace by the Hague Tribunal, the idea of which was launched by the Russian court. Is it because everyone knows about it?

Professor Patterson in his "Introduction" (pp. xvii-liii) has another object in view. He wishes to offer to his readers a background to R.'s two essays. He gives some information on eighteenth century literature (the *Age des Philosophes*) in general, in which he makes no claim to originality, then on R. himself. We may be permitted to say that for an already quite confirmed Rousseauist as Mr. Patterson has been for some time, he has allowed some rather curious misstatements to creep in.<sup>1</sup> This must be ascribed, however,

<sup>1</sup>E. g. R.'s first readings were not "Romances of Chivalry," but rather pastoral or précieux romances; there is quite a nuance (p. xxv).—One would hardly call the house which Mme de Warens rented near Chambéry a "villa"; it is because it was not a villa that R. liked it so well (p. xxv).—The French Academy did not "reject" R.'s "System of Notation of Music."—R. lived at Montmorency for six years, but less than two



we are sure, to his desire to bring his little book before the public at an early date: it is needed *right now!* The ten pages or so devoted to the influence of R., in which Mr P. produces interesting appreciations by very great men of R.'s powerful mind make a good counterblast to the now fashionable sport of abusing R.'s so-called shallow democraticism or romanticism. The "Notes" are generally useful. The writer is inclined to think, however, that if Mr. P. presupposed, perhaps, too little general information on the part of his readers in the "Introduction," he presupposed too much at times in the "Notes." But this may be a purely personal opinion. The text adopted by Mr. Patterson is that of Professor Vaughan in the latter's admirable *Political Writings of Rousseau*.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### AARON HILL'S POEM ON BLANK VERSE

In his *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*,<sup>1</sup> Joseph Warton speaks of Aaron Hill's "Poem in Praise of Blank Verse, which begins thus; and which," he says, "one would think was burlesque:

Up, from Rhyme's popped vale! and ride the storm  
That thunders in blank verse!"

I have been unable to find the piece in Hill's collected works,<sup>2</sup> and, although Warton's note regarding it is referred to by Mr. Beers,<sup>3</sup> and Mr. J. W. Good,<sup>4</sup> neither scholar seems to have seen the poem. Mr. Good says that it was "dated about 1726," but does not give the source of his information. Miss Dorothy

of them in the "house built for him by an admirer" (p. xxviii).—R. did *not* flee to Geneva in 1762 (p. xxxi);—then he was three *continuous* years at Motiers before he went to England, and again eight continuous years in Paris, 1770-1778.—As for the statement that according to Rousseau the state rests on "arbitrary convention," there is a probability that the author of the Social Contract would not very much like it (p. xxx).

<sup>1</sup> 1782, II, 251 n., or 5th ed., 1806, II, 186 n.

<sup>2</sup> Second ed., 4 vols., 1754.

<sup>3</sup> *English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century*, 271.

<sup>4</sup> *Studies in the Milton Tradition* (University of Illinois Studies in Language, etc., 1915), 166.

Brewster does not mention the work in her detailed life of Hill,<sup>5</sup> though she does say that *The Prompter* (which Hill published between 1734 and 1736) contains some discussions of "the relative merits of rhyme and blank verse," that were "illustrated by Hill's own efforts."

Miss Addie F. Rowe, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, has, however, found the very lines that Warton quotes. They occur in the middle of Hill's long unrimed *Cleon to Lycidas* at the beginning as a sort of digression on the subject of blank verse.<sup>6</sup> Undoubtedly this is the "Poem" Warton had in mind; he may have found it printed separately somewhere, perhaps in *The Prompter*. According to Cibber,<sup>7</sup> *Cleon to Lycidas* was published about 1738.

In the first edition of his *Essay* Warton did not print the words "poem in praise of Blank Verse" as a title, and seems, therefore, to have intended merely to describe the piece, not to name it. Any one who reads the lines carefully will see that their author would never have given them such a title, for instead of being, as they seemed to Warton, a serious attempt in the Miltonic style so unsuccessful as to appear almost burlesque, they *are* burlesque. Far from praising blank verse, they attempt to show that it is suitable to describe nothing but the brawls of "faction."

Oh what, ye gothic renders of the ear!  
Ye blank-verse bursters of Pierian bars!  
Strong beyond chaining comet; *swerves* of thought!  
Giant surmounters of wit's loftiest *Alps*!  
Ye hurlers of prose rocks at musick's heaven!  
What shall deserve the dread, your thunder bears?

FACTION deserves, and *claims* it: cries a howl,  
That paints th' attentive soul—Come, learn *her* laws.  
Give, to the deity, that shakes down thrones,  
Th' allegiance of thy Muse. Blank verse be *mine*.  
Guideless and boundless in aspiring grasp,  
And frownful in majestic *sullenness*,  
*Her* musick dwells in murmur. Let her growl  
For *faction*: taste *her* lust of loud complaint,  
And hang on empire's wheels the drag of hate.  
Range safe beneath *her* standard: mark its sweep!  
Unfurling into length, the dreadful *wave*  
Sees earth's chill'd kingdoms shake, beneath its shade!  
Kneel, and be *HERS*: enroll thy name—and *rail*.

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<sup>5</sup> Columbia University Studies in English, etc., 1913.

<sup>6</sup> *Works*, IV, 285.

<sup>7</sup> *Lives*, 1753, v, 275, 271.

GEORGE HERBERT'S *Church Porch*

In 1862, when George Herbert received his first appointment in the church, he became lay prebendary in the parish of Leighton-Bromswold, a little village in Hants, about nine miles west of the city of Huntingdon. The church there he found in a state verging on complete ruin. In the rehabilitation of it, he became deeply interested, and solicited funds for its repair, as well as contributing to it himself. The work on it continued until after his death, seven years later. That he was deeply interested in it may be seen from the fact that he refused to comply with his mother's urgent request that he give up the work, which she thought too strenuous for him, and that in his will, he left ten pounds to the Leighton-Bromswold church, no mean sum in those days.

About a hundred years before he became prebend at Leighton, there was born on the little low range of hills, or wold, on which that village lies, a boy who, too, became distinguished as a poet, and with whose work, Herbert certainly must have been familiar. This was none other than the poet Nicholas Grimald, who was born at Brownshold, as he says in his poem, *A funeral song, upon the deceas of Annes his mother*, a place that can with reasonable certainty be identified with Bromswold.

At the University of Cambridge, the University which Herbert attended, Grimald distinguished himself by his scholarship. He was graduated in 1539/40, then he went to Oxford, where he further distinguished himself as a lecturer in rhetoric, as the author of several Latin plays, and as a translator. Later, he became known as a contributor to that anthology then known as "*Songes and Sonnettes*," known now as "*Tottell's Miscellany*." This book is that mentioned by Shakespeare in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act I, Scene 1, in which Master Slender says, "I had rather then forty shillings I had my booke of Songes and Sonnettes here"; from it, the grave-diggers in *Hamlet*, Act V, Scene 1, sing several verses of the song entitled *The Aged Lover Renounceth Love*. Before *The Church Porch* could have been written, the *Songes and Sonnettes* had already run through eight editions, which shows the astonishing popularity that it enjoyed.

A lyric poet, such as Herbert was, could not have been but thoroughly acquainted with the contents of this book, and it is not unlikely that from a poem in this volume by Grimald entitled *Musonius, the Philosopher's saying* that he got the following sentiment with which he closes the *Church Porch*:

In brief, acquit thee bravely; play the man  
 Look not on pleasures as they come, but go.  
 Deferre not the least vertue. Life's poor span  
 Makes not an ell by trifling in thy wo.  
 If thou do ill, the joy fades, not the pains,  
 If well, the pain doth fade, the joy remains.



Herbert may have been acquainted with Musonius' saying in the original Greek, or with Cato's version of it, which appears in the oration delivered at Numantiae: "Cogitate cum animis vestris: si quid vos per laborem recte feceritis, labor ille a vobis cito recedet, bene factum a vobis, dum vitiis, abscedet; sed si qua per voluptatem nequiter feceritis, voluptatis cito abibit, nequiter factum illud apud vos semper manebit," but since the few fragments of Musonius' works, that were extant, and Cato's oration at Numantia were not in wide circulation, it is probable that he was more familiar with Grimald's lines:

In working well, if travell you sustaine:  
 Into the winde shall lightly pass the payne:  
 But of the deed the glory shall remaine,  
 And cause your name with worthy wightes to raigne.  
 In working wrong, if pleasure you attaine:  
 The pleasure soon shall fade, and voide, as vaine:  
 But of the deed, throughout the life, the shame  
 Endures, defacyng you with fowl defame:  
 And still torments the minde, both night and daye:  
 Scant length of time the spot can wash awaye,  
 Flee then ylfwading pleasures baits untrew:  
 And noble vertues fayr renown pursew.

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L. R. MERRILL.

#### THE TEXTS OF LYDGATE'S *Danse Macabre*

To the notes on fifteenth-century manuscript-relations and on identity of scribes, printed from time to time in *Anglia*, I may add mention of an agreement between certain Lydgate-texts as copied in Brit. Mus. Lansd. 699 and in the codex Lincoln Cathedral C 5/4. These two volumes include among their contents Lydgate's *Churl and Bird*, *St. Austin at Compton*, and *Danse Macabre*, in the same order, and with the closest possible relation in the texts of the last-named poem. The Lincoln Cathedral MS. is too much mutilated to give conclusive evidence as to the other poems, but the presumption is strong that the source of the two groups of texts is identical. It was not possible to put the two codices side by side; but the hand and the mode of treating the page were so similar that the volumes may have been the work of one and the same scribe. As the full sisterhood of the Lansdowne MS. and the volume Vossius 9 at Leyden has been proved by the published lists of their contents—see my *Chaucer Manual*, p. 331, and reference to Robinson's paper, *ibid.*—the *Danse Macabre* texts of these three codices may be regarded as of identical type.

The *Danse Macabre* MSS. which I have seen fall into two main classes. One version, the Lydgatian, has an introduction in which the poet tells us his source, and an epilogue in which he gives his name; it closely follows the French, adding a few characters, notably the "tregetour" of Henry V. The other recension has

neither introduction nor envoy, omits nine characters of Lydgate's version, adds seven, and rewrites a number of stanzas; it was evidently based not on the French but on Lydgate's poem. To this latter group belong the Lansdowne and Lincoln Cathedral texts, which introduce freedoms of their own, as does probably Lansdowne's sister Leyden, which I have not seen. Only the codices of the earlier recension are therefore of any value for Lydgate's *Danse Macabre*. I shall print the Selden text of the poem, accompanying it by the French from a ms. of the Bibliothèque Communale at Lille, a codex now probably lost, as the municipal buildings of Lille were burned during the German occupation of that city.

Boston.

ELEANOR PRESCOTT HAMMOND.

#### A NOTE ON *Beowulf* 1600-1605

*Ða com non dæges; næs ofgeafon  
hwate Scyldingas; gewat him ham þonan  
gold-wine gumena. Gistas setan  
mōdes seoce, ond on mere stæredon;  
wiston ond ne wendon, þæt hie heora wine-drihten  
selfne gesawon.*

Successive generations of commentators have enveloped the last line and a half in a fog of conjecture and emendation. Many (e. g. Cosijn and Klaeber) insist that *wiston* must be rendered *wished*. Chambers, who takes this view, adds:

"To interpret *wiston* as 'knew' would necessitate a blending of two constructions: *wiston* would require *ne gesāwon*; *ne wēndon* requires *gesāwon* only. . . . Or we might assume that *ne* had dropped out after the *ne* of *selfne*—'they knew, and did not merely expect, that they should not see their lord himself again.' But this gives, after all, only a feeble sense. For why, in that case, did they wait?"

If one passes by this 'wilful ingenuity of blundering' and translates the words as they stand, without wrenching the meaning of *wiston* or emending the text, the sense is perfectly clear:

'They knew and did not merely expect, that they would see their lord himself again.'

The *ne wēndon* is merely the familiar epic idiom, repeating the sense of *wiston*—'they knew, it was not mere conjecture.' Such fullness of expression appears countless times in epic poetry.

Why should any *ne* be desired? The sense given would be indeed feeble. The Scyldings gave up hope and left; the followers of Beowulf had more confidence in their leader's prowess and waited for his return. They had, as we say, 'a feeling in their bones,' even though *mōdes seoce*. That such mixed feelings of hope and fear might exist together is shown in lines 2895-6.

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## BRIEF MENTION

*The Modern English Verb-Adverb Combination.* By Arthur Garfield Kennedy (Stanford University Publications, University Series: Language and Literature, vol. 1, No. 1. Published by the University, 1920). The importance of the subject of this monograph is made strikingly clear by observations at the beginning (p. 8) and at the end (p. 49). It is observed that the editors of *Webster's Dictionary* and the editors of the *NED.* are free in using the verb-adverb combination "in defining other words." Thus, Webster, *cage* 'to shut up, or confine'; in the *NED.* *act* 2 'to bring into action, bring about.' "Not infrequently the editors of the *NED.* have utilized combinations in writing definitions which they have failed to define or illustrate in their proper places, which seems to show that some of our verb-adverb combinations are more necessary in the expression of ideas than scholars are willing to admit formally." Again (p. 49), "It is slightly amusing to find that, as in the case of the verb, the editors of *Webster's Dictionary* occasionally refuse official recognition to a combination-noun but let it slip in as part of a definition; which goes to show that the student of current tendencies is likely to be confronted not infrequently with the problem of classifying and defining a phrase which is rendering a definite service in language and yet has received no official recognition." With no trace of exaggeration these plain facts freshly invite the attention of the lexicographer and of the grammarian.

It is to be understood that, whereas the term 'verb-adverb compound' would accurately describe many of the combinations here considered, its use would require the drawing of a distinct line where no such line can be drawn, namely between true compounds and the looser combinations. The author has therefore adopted the comprehensive term 'verb-adverb combination,' which interprets his assumption that in the forms here studied "the verb and the combining particle" are united in greatly differing degrees of closeness. But there is no inexcusable evasion of a difficulty in this. Dr. Kennedy recognizes a true compound when the combining elements are fused into a symbol for the expression of a new meaning, a symbol in which the separate elements "have almost or altogether sacrificed their individual meanings." This new meaning can often be expressed by another word. Thus, *come by*, 'acquire'; *make out*, 'understand'; *put out*, 'extinguish.' "In other combinations, however, and by far the greatest number, the verb is modified in meaning by a certain weakly adverbial function of the particle but does not entirely merge its verbal personality in the combination. The particle, it is true, loses much of its usual adverbial or prepositional signification but in the combination assumes peculiar adverbial values, as, for example, in . . . *bottle up*, 'enclose in a bottle.' *button up*, 'fasten with buttons.' And in many others, finally, the usual values of verb and prepositional-



adverb remain fairly evident, as in *brush off, brush out, burn down, . . . hang up, leak out, . . . tack down.*" Evidently, as Dr. Kennedy observes, "this last group of combinations shades off so imperceptibly into the great mass of adverbial modifications such as *fly away, walk south, go home*, etc., that it would be a hopeless undertaking to attempt to classify every verb-adverb combination as either close enough to be termed a verb-adverb compound, or loose enough to be called merely an adverbial modification."

That Dr. Kennedy has taken a sound grammatical view of his subject is made clear in the preceding paragraph. As a good workman he next advances from broad outlines to the determination of reasonable and effective limits for his immediate purpose. Accordingly he restricts "the material for the present study" to "combinations formed with the sixteen prepositional-adverbs *about, across, around (or round), at, by, down, for, in, off, on, out, over, thru, to, up, with.*" Moreover, there shall be no "thoroughgoing attempt to classify verb-adverb combinations as either acceptable English or as colloquial and slang," that is, to pronounce upon the "social status of each combination and usage."

The "Theory and History" of these combinations is the title of a section (pp. 11-18) that is suggestive but avowedly inconclusive as to both topics. Occurrences of the combination are reported for the early periods of the language (from Anglo-Saxon to Early Modern English), and hints are given of what the historian of the usage must consider. There has been a dying off of verbal compounds, and an "inrush of a multitude of Romanic verbs with inseparable prefixes" (p. 12), "which drove out the native compounds and for a time made the newer combination unnecessary" (p. 13); and to be reckoned with are the subtle manifestations of changes in the habitual fashion of native expression, the fashion or mood traceable in a growing preference for the figurative expression, for what is liberal rather than restrained, practical even plebeian rather than stiff and pedantic. The allurements of the subject in its historic aspects are strong, but Dr. Kennedy resists them, for he has in mind to be immediately and practically helpful to the teachers of rhetoric and composition, and to all who are intelligently caring for good English.

On the practical side of his subject Dr. Kennedy has proved himself to be well-poised in judgment. He has succeeded admirably in upholding the effective use of the 'combinations,' and in discerning in them the reflection of the most vital processes of usage; and he has equally well administered the needed caution against ignorant complacency, misdirected approval, and that abuse of the usage which is indicative of bad taste. A collation of several of the practical observations made under these heads will show that Dr. Kennedy has a clear perception of the right doctrine to be enforced. The 'compound' tends to become fixed in a figurative value and as "a linguistic fossil" (p. 14) is marked off from the

live 'combination,' which represents a process of formation that is actively maintained in every grade of usage, from slang to poetry. It is observed that "most speakers and writers who are attempting to effect contact with the poorly trained speaker of English will show numerous verb-abverb combinations of a colloquial or slangy character" (p. 17). Now two prominent objections stand out against an excessive use of 'combinations.' It is a mark of bad taste, perhaps of restricted power of expression, and often an indication of mental inertia, of laziness, to be limited by the exclusive use of, for example, the combination *to give in* in the figurative sense expressed by the neglected words 'submit, yield'; or to say habitually *give out*, neglecting the use of 'fail.' The second objection which is less formidable than the first, relates to the faulty logic of the redundant use of the prepositional-adverbs; "yet such redundancies as *bow down, fill up, hatch out*, have become so well entrenched in the language that one scarcely thinks it possible to use them otherwise" (p. 18). The purist may object to many combinations on the ground that the particle adds nothing to the meaning, but Dr. Kennedy believes "that the speaker almost always feels a nice distinction even tho his sense of the logical tells him that the particle should be quite unnecessary. The particle has been added in the first place to give emphasis, or perhaps to round out the speech-rhythm by the interpolation of a syllable; but once having done this, we proceed to acquire a feeling that the simple verb can not express quite what the compound does. So we say, for example, *add up, . . . bow down, . . . deal out, fold up, hatch out, . . . pile up, . . . taper off, wake up*," etc. (p. 28). Another group of verb-adverb combinations is accredited by long use to "special contexts." Thus, "*bid in*, according to Webster, implies that the present owner buys back his own property at auction; *bind out* usually applies to apprenticing; . . . we *call up* usually by telephone; one *crams up* for an examination; . . . *kick off* is a football term; . . . we still feel that *offer up* is suggestive of sacrifice" (p. 28).

Dr. Kennedy has collected a larger number of these combinations than he finds it 'practicable' to publish. He sees that he is dealing with "a changing, growing tendency in language which throws up overnight, as it were, new combinations, and new meanings, so that an absolute and complete list would be impossible" (p. 5). What he has therefore undertaken is a deduction from his extensive material, a consideration of selected groups of examples from which to reason out the linguistic principles of the usage. His modest hope is that his study "may prove suggestive to the average speaker of English and may even lead some to a more thoughtful use of these combinations" (p. 6). But many a serious and even technical student of the language will be ready to confess that Dr. Kennedy has led him to see in this subject principles of unsuspected importance.

How the selected prepositional-adverbs 'combine' in present day

usage is shown in a section that gives an insight into the problem. This is offered as a general statement, that in 'combination' the particle may keep its independent meaning unchanged; or it may take on a meaning not associated with it when used separately; or it may be "so merged with the verb that it seems no longer to have an independent value" (p. 19). Thus, one distinguishes the literal use of *out* in combinations like *hand out*, *spread out*, from the more figurative use in *carry out*, 'complete,' and from the third use in *make out*, 'comprehend,' *give out*, 'fail,' *try out*, 'make a trial of,' in which the verb and the particle are fused to express a meaning not obviously suggested by either. This three-fold division of course merely marks the high-points of difference in long series of overlapping meanings. The prepositional-adverbs considered in this chapter with respect to their values as 'combining' particles vary greatly in frequency of combination. The particle *up* is the most frequent, and has the widest "range of meanings in combination." Next in frequency is the particle *out*, which however enters into less than half as many combinations. The remaining particles of the list fall far below these two in frequency. This supremacy of *up* and *out* points significantly to a characteristic aspect of creative and figurative tendencies in the usage.

Four general categories of 'syntactical effects of combination' are pointed out (pp. 26-27): (1) an intransitive verb may be a member of a transitive combination, as in *come by*, 'acquire'; (2) conversely an intransitive combination may result from the association of the particle with a transitive verb, as in *cheer up*, *get about*; (3) the combination may require a different object from that of the simple verb, as shown by contrasting '*argue a case*' with '*argue down an opponent*'; (4) some combinations have the "significance or connotation of a passive verb," thus, "a piece of cloth will *make up* nicely, . . . a plan *works out* well." Dr. Kennedy has here suggested a grammatical subject, abounding in fine distinctions, that would reward a more complete investigation. So too under the heading "Peculiarities of Combination" there are problems in grammar and rhetoric introduced to the student of the language in an admirable and striking manner. The word 'introduced' is to enter the charge of a deficiency against the school-manuals. Deep lessons relating to the inherent character of the language are to be learned by considering the laws of sentence-stress and the rhythmic principles involved in the use of these combinations, and by observing in them the relation of native to non-Teutonic words.

It is the last of the suggested problems that is the most profoundly important. Some of the easily observed facts that have a deep historical and linguistically philosophic meaning are described and illustrated by Dr. Kennedy. He observes that the average speaker finds it easier to say *keep on* than always to have in mind for ready use the foreign equivalent *continue*; so with *put out* and *extinguish*; *use up* and *exhaust*. And then a list is added which includes *get on*, 'prosper'; *let down*, 'relax'; *pull out*, 'depart,'



with the observation that these combinations represent the usage of the indifferent speaker, in distinction from the "average man of fairly good education," who will usually employ the simple verbs. As to the speaker, however, a further distinction is to be made: "Many a college professor or other public speaker uses the combination in his ordinary conversation, and even in lecturing, but shifts to a more formal, less colloquial, vocabulary the moment he begins to write" (p. 39). Dr. Kennedy will not be misunderstood at this point, for he has properly insisted on the legitimate use of combinations and on the significant fact that this usage represents a vital and creative force in the language.

The legitimate vitality of this combining-process invites the attention of the historic and philosophic grammarian. He will, of course, not overlook the subtleties involved in distinguishing a true verbal compound from a merely syntactical combination of 'particle' and verb,—an aspect of the subject that for German has been well discussed by Professor von Jagemann (*MLN*, v, 1 ff., 1890); but he will be more attentive to that other aspect of the problem which for English has a special importance that is not easily over-estimated. This concerns the peculiar facts and consequences of the history of the language since the Norman Conquest.

In adopting Romanic elements the language has maintained, with temporary compromises, the essentials of its Germanic character. This is shown in a striking manner in the accentuation of substantive and verbal compounds. The native prefixes had become an impoverished category when English was vastly enriched by the varied list brought in from Romanic sources. Pairs of compounds like *abstract* : *abstract*, *subject* : *subject*, etc., represent not only the reënforcement of the vocabulary by words compounded with significant prefixes, but also the perpetuation of native principles of word-accentuation. This observation brings one close to a view of the particular influences to be considered in the development of the use of 'combinations' as here designated. Aside from its influence and aid in the expansion and articulation of thought,—a subject that remains to be competently studied,—the foreign vocabulary has doubled the means of expression, resulting in two types of style, of which the one may be symbolized by the exclusive use of forms like *get round*, the other by the preferred use of forms like *circumvent*. The infinite degrees of the blending of these extreme styles contribute to the unmatched resourcefulness of the language. The point to be observed in this connection is however this, that no variety of the polysyllabic style, however 'Johnsonian' it may be, totally obscures the fact that the foreign 'compounds' have not overcome but have, on the contrary, greatly stimulated the continuous formation and the increasing use of the synonymous 'combinations' of native elements, which conserve the native sentence-stress and protect the monosyllabic character of the language against an excess in yielding to the foreign pattern.

J. W. B.

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## "C'EST NOUS QUI SOMMES LES ANCIENS"<sup>1</sup>

Descartes<sup>2</sup> used the striking paradox of applying the term of ancients to the moderns and of calling those who lived earlier younger than those who are their descendants. To this conception Fontenelle<sup>3</sup> and Perrault<sup>4</sup> added the figure of comparing humanity to a single individual whose mind becomes more mature as time goes on, more capable, and more intelligent. It is the purpose of this study to outline briefly the sources and development of this notion of human progress as it is expressed by Fontenelle. The idea was to be encountered on every side among scholars. For this reason no single source could be assigned to Fontenelle's conception; and yet some of its elements may have come to him from Pascal.

Even in Biblical times the idea of progress seems to have existed<sup>5</sup> and although the Bible expresses rather an ancient belief in the decadence of the world, yet there is to be found in the scriptures some evidence of the opposite idea of progress. Although the domi-

<sup>1</sup>This study was undertaken at the suggestion of Professor E. P. Dargan of the University of Chicago. The author is indebted to him for much valuable criticism.

<sup>2</sup>See note 23 below.

<sup>3</sup>*Digression sur les Anciens et les Modernes, Œuvres*, iv. Edition of Libraires associés, Paris, 1764.

<sup>4</sup>*Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes*. Cf. Hippolyte Rigault, *Histoire de la querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*. Paris, 1856, 179 ff.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. J. Delvaille, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'idée de progrès jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1911, Book I.

nant note among Classical writers is one of regret for the better days of the Golden Age or of complaint at the degeneracy of the present, yet Lucretius' fifth book of the *De rerum naturae* contains a remarkable description of the development and progress of the human intelligence and Cicero,<sup>6</sup> Seneca,<sup>7</sup> and Ovid<sup>8</sup> all gave some expression to the idea of progress. Saint Augustine also stated his belief in human advancement.<sup>9</sup> In the Middle Ages, when there was an all-pervading sense of the authority of the ancients, both Christian and pagan, there may be found expressions of the belief that the present age is more advanced than any previous era because of the accumulation of experience and knowledge by which the living may profit to carry on the development of human intelligence.<sup>10</sup> In the period of the Renaissance the same notion is held by Henri Estienne,<sup>11</sup> Bernard Pallissy,<sup>12</sup> Joachim du Bellay,<sup>13</sup> and Ronsard.<sup>14</sup>

In 1620 Francis Bacon published his *Novum Organum*, in which is to be found a complete statement of the Moderns' point of view. It is perhaps to him in large part that Pascal and the Cartesian philosophers, and later, though indirectly, Fontenelle and Perrault owed their ideas in regard to human progress.<sup>15</sup> Bacon writes as follows:

"The opinion which men cherish of antiquity is altogether idle, and scarcely accords with the term. For the old age and increasing years of

<sup>6</sup> *De finibus*, I, 1-4.

<sup>7</sup> 90th *Epistle* and *Natural Questions*, VII.

<sup>8</sup> *Ars amatoria*, III, 121 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Civitas Dei*, x, 14; *De diversis quaestionibus*, I, lxxxiii, 58; *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, I, 23.

<sup>10</sup> See John of Salisbury, *Metalogicus*, III, 4, Migne, *Pat. lat.*, cxcix, 900; Peter of Blois, *Pat. lat.*, ccvii, 290; Chrestien de Troyes, *Cligés*, ed. Wendelin Foerster, Halle, 1884, 30-39; Henri d'Andeli, *La Bataille des VII arts*, pub. by Jubinal in 1875 in his edition of the works of Rustebeuf vol. III, Additions); Roger Bacon, *Opus majus*, ed. by J. H. Bridges, 3 vol. Oxford, 1897-1900, I, 6, 13 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Apologie pour Hérodote*, ed. Ristelhuber, 1879, II, xxvii, 118.

<sup>12</sup> *Œuvres*, I: *Au lecteur*, 8 ed. France, Paris, 1880.

<sup>13</sup> *Défense*, etc., ed. Chamard, 1904, 115, 116, 118, 131, 133.

<sup>14</sup> *Art poétique*, ed. Blanchemain, VII, 336.

<sup>15</sup> Professor George Sherburn calls my attention to a study of Bacon's influence on theories of progress in England by R. F. Jones entitled *The Background of the "Battle of the Books,"* *Washington University Studies*, VII, Humanistic Series, No. 2 (1920), 97-162.



the world should in reality be considered as antiquity, and this is rather the character of our own times than of the less advanced age of the world in those of the ancients; for the latter, with respect to ourselves, are ancient and elder, with respect to the world modern and younger. And as we expect a greater knowledge of human affairs, and more mature judgment from an old man than from a youth, on account of his experience, and the variety and number of things he has seen, heard and meditated upon, so we have reason to expect much greater things of our own age (if it knew but its strength and would essay to exert it) than from antiquity, since the world has grown older and its stock has been increased and accumulated with an infinite number of experiments and observations. . . . Reverence for antiquity has been a retarding force in science."<sup>16</sup>

Joseph Texte states<sup>17</sup> that almost all of Bacon had penetrated into France before 1700. Probably his works were known to a number of scholars and writers in the seventeenth century. His essays were translated by Jean Baudoin in 1611. Texte refers to the list of translations given by Charles Adam (*Philosophie de Francis Bacon*), adding to that list the translation by le sieur Golofer in 1632 of the *De augmentis scientiarum*. Lanson (*Manuel bibliographique*) lists four translations of Bacon in the seventeenth century (two of the *Novum Organum*: No. 4042-45). Pierre Bayle, in the *Dictionnaire*, says that Bacon was "un des plus grands Esprits de son siècle"; adding: "Le public reçut favorablement ses Ouvrages. Le *Traité de Augmentis Scientiarum* . . . fut rimprimé à Paris l'an 1624." Bayle refers to Baillet's *Vie de Descartes* (1690), vol. I, and to Gassendi, *Opera* (1658), I, 62 where Gassendi analyses the famous *Organum*. Bayle cites a letter from Costar to Voiture: "J'ai lu depuis quelques mois le livre que le chancelier Bacon a fait du Progrès des sciences où j'ai trouvé beaucoup de choses admirables" (*Entretiens de Voiture et de Costar*, ed. Paris, 1654, 173). It was, says Bayle, one of the books that Costar used most. Voiture replied to this letter of Costar: "J'ai trouvé parfaitement beau tout ce que vous me mandez de Bacon" (*Œuvres*, II, 109). Sorel, whose *Science universelle* was published in 1647 and his *Perfection de l'homme* in 1655, was, according to Gillot,<sup>18</sup> a disciple of Bacon. Bacon's *Logic* was

<sup>16</sup> Edition of Joseph Dewey, 1904, I, 84.

<sup>17</sup> *Jean Jacques Rousseau et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire en France*, Paris, 1895, 8.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, 296.

reviewed in the *Journal des Savans* on the eighth of March, 1666, and in the *Nouvelles de la République des lettres* in June, 1684.

In the passage cited from Bacon occurs the comparison of the life of the world to that of a single man. This figure was not original, however, with Francis Bacon. According to H. O. Taylor,<sup>19</sup> the metaphor is to be found in more than one of the Latin classics and in patristic and mediaeval writers. The latter took it from St. Paul (*Romans*, xii, 415), who speaks of many members in one body, one body in Christ. The likeness of the human body to the body politic or ecclesiastic was carried out in every imaginable detail and used acutely or absurdly by politicians and schoolmen from the eleventh century onward. The earliest use of the simile in terms similar to those of Bacon is probably to be found in Saint Augustine's *City of God* (x, 14): "The education of the human race, represented by the people of God, has advanced, like that of an individual, through certain epochs, or, as it were, ages, so that it might gradually rise from earthly to heavenly things."

Returning to the seventeenth century, we can mention at least seven authors in France who used this figure before Fontenelle. Early in January, 1636, Guillaume Colletet outlined in his discourse, *Pour estre éloquent, il faut imiter les Anciens, et qu'en les imitant on les peut surpasser*, the theory of human perfectibility and expressed Bacon's comparison clearly.<sup>20</sup> In the same year, in his *Préface des Nouvelles Conjectures sur la digestion*, published at Paris,<sup>21</sup> Cureau de la Chambre wrote: "Nous sommes dans la vieillesse du Monde et de la Philosophie; ce que l'on appelle Antiquité en a esté l'Enfance et la Jeunesse." Blaise Pascal used the same figure in his *Préface sur le Traité du vide*, probably written between 1647 and 1651.<sup>22</sup> We find Bacon's ideal expressed again

<sup>19</sup> *The Mediaeval Mind*, 2 vols., London<sup>2</sup>, 1914, I, 86.

<sup>20</sup> See A. Michiels, *Histoire des idées littéraires au XIXe siècle*, 1863, 2 vol., Paris, I, 41 ff. Michiels states (p. 54) that Arnauld, Nicole, Terrasson, and all the Cartesians proclaimed human perfectibility.

<sup>21</sup> Cited by Adam, *Études sur les principaux philosophes*, Paris, 1903, 218 and by Brunschvicg et Boutroux, *Œuvres de Blaise Pascal*, Paris, 1908, II, 141, note.

<sup>22</sup> Leon Brunschvicg et Pierre Boutroux, *Blaise Pascal: Œuvres* II, 129 ff.: XVIII Fragment de Préface etc., date présumée Octobre, Novembre 1647. Premier recueil Guerrier XXX apud Faugère, *Pensées, Fragments, et Lettres*, 1844, I, 91. [The preface was not published until 1779, when it appeared in Bossuet's *Pascal: Œuvres* under the title of *De l'autorité en matière de philosophie*.

in a fragment of a manuscript of Descartes cited by his biographer Baillet:<sup>23</sup> Cartesian scholars in general, according to Gillot,<sup>24</sup> who bases his statement on Jacques Rohault, *Traité de Physique*, 1671, considered antiquity as the youth of time. Malebranche wrote in similar terms:<sup>25</sup> "La raison veut, . . . que nous les (Aristotle and Plato) jugions plus ignorants que les nouveaux philosophes, puisque, dans le temps où nous vivons, le monde est plus vieux de deux mille ans, et qu'il a plus d'expérience." La Mothe Le Vayer (1583-1672):<sup>26</sup> "les autres soutiennent que les anciens ayant été dans la jeunesse du monde, s'il y en a, c'est ceux qui vivent aujourd'hui, lesquels sont véritablement les anciens, et qui doivent, par conséquent, être les plus considérables." As early as 1683, in the *Dialogues des Morts*, Fontenelle had allied himself with the Moderns. He very cleverly allows Socrates to persuade Montaigne that Nature has remained constant and creates as fine men as ever.<sup>27</sup> Hervé explains to Erasistratus the modern discoveries in regard to the circulation of the blood. It is in the *Digression sur les Anciens et les Modernes*, however, that Fontenelle really throws himself into the conflict.<sup>28</sup> His manner of treating the subject there is very similar to that of Pascal. So much so that Havet was led to ask<sup>29</sup> whether Fontenelle had seen the unpublished manuscript of the *Fragment d'une préface du traité sur le vide*. It has been generally agreed, however, that Fontenelle did not know Pascal's work but that he got his ideas from the Cartesian philosophers.<sup>30</sup>

The present writer, on the contrary, would answer Havet's question in the affirmative. Fontenelle's comparisons are so strikingly like those of Pascal that it seems necessary to assume that Fontenelle saw either the manuscript or a copy of the manuscript of the *Fragment d'une préface du traité sur le vide*.

<sup>23</sup> Baillet, *Vie de Descartes*, Paris, 1690, VIII, 10. Cited by Hippolyte Rigault, *La Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*, Paris, 1856, 51.

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.*, 391.

<sup>25</sup> *Recherche de la Vérité*, ed. Francisque Bouillier, 1880, II, 2, 5, 251.

<sup>26</sup> *Quatre dialogues faits à l'imitation des anciens, par Oratius Tubero*, 2 vols., Francfort, 1506 (false date), II, 218. Cited by Rigault, *op. cit.*, 51.

<sup>27</sup> *Œuvres* I, Dialogue III, 43. Edition of Libraires associés, Paris, 1764.

<sup>28</sup> *Œuvres* IV.

<sup>29</sup> Ernest Havet, *Pensées de Pascal*, 1866, 266, note 1.

<sup>30</sup> See Rigault, *op. cit.*, 53, note 2; Brunschvicg et Boutroux, *op. cit.*, II, 140, note; Delvaille, *op. cit.*, 224.



Upon analyzing the passages of the *Digression* and the *Fragment d'une préface* that present textual similarities there is to be found an identity in six different elements as follows: (1) the comparison of all humanity to a single man; (2) the division of the life of humanity into different ages as we are accustomed to divide an individual's life into the ages of youth and maturity; (3) the idea that the ancients were beginners and subject to the errors of the beginners; (4) the comparison of men to animals; (5) the ironical allusion to the crime of presuming to surpass the ancients; and (6) the idea of the debt of the moderns toward the ancients who have raised them to a certain height already.

*Fragment*, 139: "toute la suite des hommes, pendant le cours de tant de siècles, doit estre considérée comme un mesme homme qui subsiste toujours et qui apprend continuellement."

P. 141: "cet homme universel . . ."

*Digression*, 189: "Un bon esprit cultivé est, pour ainsi dire composé de tous les esprits des siècles précédens; ce n'est qu'un même esprit qui s'est cultivé pendant tout ce temps là. Ainsi cet homme qui a vécu depuis le commencement du monde. . ."

Pascal (139) divides the life of man as a whole into its youth and its old age, placing the ancients in the infancy of humanity. Fontenelle (189) speaks of the infancy, youth, and age of virility of humanity considered as a single individual but maintains that there will never be any old age.

Pascal (141) and Fontenelle (177) both consider the ancients as beginners who made many mistakes. Pascal enumerates several mistakes that they made in the realm of science. Fontenelle states in general terms that the ancients have committed most of the errors that needed to be made before it was possible to attain scientific truth.

*Fragment*, 137: "N'est-ce pas là traiter indignement la raison de l'homme, et la mettre en parallèle avec l'instinct des animaux!"

*Digression*, 178: "Pour ne faire que les égaier, il faudroit que nous fussions d'une nature fort inférieure à la leur; il faudroit que nous ne fussions pas hommes aussi bien qu'eux."

*Fragment*, 137: "On faict un crime de les contredire et un attentat d'y adjouster,"

*Digression*, 197: "Il faut que ce soit un crime qui ne puisse être pardonné."

*Fragment*, 136: “ les premières  
cognoissances qu’ils nous ont don-  
nées ont servy de degrés aux nostres,  
et . . . dans ces avantages nous  
leur sommes redevables de l’ascen-  
dant que nous avons sur eux; . . .  
Notre veue a plus d’estendue . . .  
et nous voyons plus qu’eux.”

*Digression*, 177: “ On a déjà l’es-  
prit éclairé par ces mêmes décou-  
vertes que l’on a devant les yeux;  
nous avons des vues empruntées  
d’autrui qui s’ajoutent à celle que  
nous avons de nostre fonds; et si  
nous surpassions le premier inven-  
teur, c’est lui qui nous a aidés à le  
surpasser.”

The probability that Fontenelle knew Pascal’s unpublished manuscript is increased by another striking parallel to be found between a passage in the same fragment of Pascal and one in Fontenelle’s essay *Sur la poésie en général* where the instinct of beasts is compared to the intelligence of man and in both cases the work of the bee in constructing its hives is taken as the example of animal instinct working with great skill but with the same ability each time whereas man is able to develop his powers of artistic construction by intelligence and experience.<sup>31</sup>

The possibility that Fontenelle could have seen the manuscript of Pascal’s *Fragment d’une préface* is far from remote. The papers left by Pascal were seen and studied by Arnauld, Nicole,<sup>32</sup> de Roannez,<sup>33</sup> Leibnitz,<sup>34</sup> and others. Malebranche,<sup>35</sup> who was a friend of both Leibnitz and Fontenelle, may have been the intermediary through whom the latter became acquainted with Pascal’s work. Fontenelle was, as is well known, the purveyor of ideas from one set of scientists to another. In his *Préface de l’Histoire de L’Académie des Sciences* he tells us of the groups of scholars who were drawn together by the need of communicating their ideas to one another.

With all this intercourse among a small body of scientists, and with the tendency to communicate by writing as well any new ideas that came to them, it is probable that Pascal’s *Préface* was known in manuscript form to some of the scholars of the time. There is no reason to doubt the possibility that Fontenelle could have gained

<sup>31</sup> *Fragment*, 138 and *Sur la poésie etc.* (*Œuvres*, VIII, 310) ; cf. Delvaille, *op. cit.*, 215, n. 2.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Prosper Faugère, *Pensées, Fragments et lettres de Blaise Pascal*, Paris, 1844, I, xiv.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII; cf. also xv and n. 4.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Nourrisson, *la Philosophie de Leibnitz*, Paris, 1860, p. 70.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20 ff. and A. Laborde-Milaà, *Fontenelle*, Paris, 1905, p. 24.

possession of the contents of this work of Pascal; and it seems probable from the evidence of the texts that Pascal's *Fragment d'une Préface* was known to the author of the *Digression sur les Anciens et les Modernes*.

FOSTER E. GUYER.

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## EN GLANANT CHEZ LA FONTAINE<sup>1</sup>

Sainte-Beuve déclara déjà en 1829 que revenir sur La Fontaine après Chamfort, La Harpe et Walkenaër, c'est se condamner à ne rien dire de bien nouveau pour le fond. Le grand critique a su réfuter, lui-même ces paroles, puisque l'étude où elles se trouvent, savait frayer un chemin nouveau en révélant la nature de la fable lafontainienne. Néanmoins nous avons aujourd'hui toutes les raisons possibles d'y souscrire. Car depuis, à partir de l'an 1860, la gloire du poète est renée à une vie nouvelle et plus brillante qu'auparavant. C'est vers ce temps qu'ont paru coup sur coup le chapitre de Nisard, chef-d'œuvre d'éloge mondain,—puis le cours de Vinet fait autrefois à l'université de Lausanne et désignant au *penseur* la place qu'on lui accordera de nos jours,—et surtout la thèse remaniée de Taine, alors jeune, mais déjà artiste accompli en fait d'analyses puissantes et hardies, fougueux constructeur de systèmes, doué d'une force de logique impérieuse et d'une imagination non moins débordante et arbitraire que celle des grands illustrateurs de La Fontaine, Grandville, Doré ou Moreau; finalement les deux tomes de Saint-Marc-Girardin, cours fait à la Sorbonne, s'occupant surtout du moraliste et cherchant à encadrer le fabuliste dans l'histoire du genre. Ils furent suivis en 1885 par Faguet, qui a donné outre un volume ingénieux servant d'introduction pour la jeunesse, une étude exquise sur le causeur, le poète et l'artiste. En 1895,

<sup>1</sup>Sous ce titre modeste M. Jules Haraszti, professeur à l'université de Budapest, connu pour ses travaux sur la littérature française (*Schellandre, Chénier, Rostand* etc.) désire publier un volume d'études sur La Fontaine à l'occasion du centenaire. L'ouvrage contient les chapitres suivants: *In Memoriam* (le volume est dédié à la mémoire du fils de l'auteur). *Introduction. Principes d'art d'un classique irrégulier. Procédés d'art d'un poète causeur. Un Rousseau avant la lettre. Le poète lyrique. L'artiste psychologue. L'artiste peintre. Conclusions*. On publie ici une partie de l'*Introduction* et quelques pages tirées des *Conclusions*.



deux ans après l'achèvement de l'édition des *Œuvres Complètes* due à Regnier (1883-93),<sup>2</sup> M. G. Lafenestre a publié un livre élégant, destiné à la fois aux gens du monde et aux lettrés. Il y a offert un tableau d'ensemble traitant pour la première fois non seulement le fabuliste, mais toute la carrière, tous les ouvrages du poète, grâce à des études sérieuses faites par un amateur très distingué.

M. Rochambeau répétera par conséquent avec bien plus de droit en 1911 ce qu'avait dit en 1829 Sainte-Beuve: "Quand on considère le nombre d'ouvrages consacrés au seul La Fontaine, il semble qu'il n'y ait grand'chose à en dire." Mais le savant bibliographe ne manquera pas d'y ajouter ce correctif: "Tous les ans cependant quelque nouvelle étude se fait jour, tous les ans quelque nouveau point de vue est mis en valeur et le sujet paraît inépuisable." Il doit l'être en effet, puisque l'an 1913 verra paraître coup sur coup les trois principaux ouvrages de la littérature lafontainiste. J'entends la très savante biographie écrite par M. Roche qui, ayant fouillé toutes les archives, complète et rectifie si heureusement les recherches de Mesnard, en achevant de détruire les légendes,—puis les conférences où Faguet reprenant sous une forme spirituelle le fond très estimable d'un cours fait à la Sorbonne en 1897 (publié et resté enfoui dans la *Revue des Cours et Conférences*) a réalisé une des grandes ambitions de sa vie, celle de faire voir dans son éclat La Fontaine comme poète,—finalement la monographie en deux tomes de M. Michaut. Celle-ci est à l'heure qu'il est le dernier mot de l'érudition et de la critique littéraire. Elle a inauguré la méthode scientifique dans la littérature lafontainiste. Elle a tâché surtout de faire ressortir l'évolution du talent du poète, évolution indiquée jadis par Sainte-Beuve, mais trop souvent négligée, quoique E. Scherer ait tâché lui aussi d'y attirer l'attention de la critique. . . .

Donc ce qui importe avant tout c'est de prouver que tout n'a pas été encore dit et que l'on ne vient pas *trop tard* pour parler de La Fontaine. Quant à moi je suis convaincu qu'elles peuvent bien être appliquées à lui-même, ses paroles relatives à la fable en général:

<sup>2</sup> Cette édition a été précédée par celles fondées toutes sur des recherches très méritoires et dues à Walkenaër (1819-27, ensuite deux fois remaniée), à Marty-Laveaux (1857-77), à Moland (1852-66, remaniée en 1872-6), à Pauly (1875-91) etc.

Ce champ ne se peut tellement moissonner,  
Que les derniers venus n'y trouvent à glaner.<sup>3</sup>

J'aurai l'occasion au cours de mon travail d'indiquer bien des côtés du poète, qui mériteraient des études particulières et auxquels on n'a fait que toucher tout au plus. Pour ma part, je me suis borné à mettre en lumière certains points encore non assez mis en relief dans ses théories littéraires et dans ses procédés d'art; j'ai donné des vues d'ensemble plus complètes qu'on n'en trouve ailleurs sur sa poésie élégiaque et sur son art descriptif. On n'a pas encore éclairé non plus d'aussi près que je le fais, l'artiste psychologue et son penchant à analyser les états d'âme. Je n'ai osé parler à mon tour de ses idées que parce que je les envisage sous un point de vue en peu différent de celui généralement accepté. J'ai ajouté sous forme de conclusion une revue des rapports de La Fontaine avec ses prédécesseurs et ses contemporains.

A entendre Vinet, on dirait que "jamais le XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, si noble dans son élégance, si splendide dans son décorum, n'eût pu produire cet écrivain si simple, si candide, si épris de l'antiquité, si antique lui-même, — oui, La Fontaine est inattendu au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle." Brunetière qui n'a pas manqué d'ailleurs de toucher à la conformité de l'idéal d'art de La Fontaine avec "celui de ses illustres contemporains," excuse entre les lignes la façon de voir de son maître en critique, en plaidant les circonstances atténuantes. D'après lui, La Fontaine semble en effet "faire exception au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, il y semble être comme en dehors, comme en marge des grands courants de son temps." M. Doumic insiste à son tour sur les différences qui séparent La Fontaine de son temps, telles que la fantaisie capricieuse, ailée et légère, *peu connue* à "ce siècle de raison sévère," et le lyrisme subjectif rare dans "ce siècle de littérature impersonnelle, incapable de lyrisme."

Faguet fait semblant de marcher lui aussi sur les traces de Vinet

<sup>3</sup> Fable III. 1.—Je remarque une fois pour toutes que dans mes citations ce n'est pas la numérotation de l'édition Regnier que je suivrai, mais celle des autres où le premier *Discours à Mme de la Sablière* ouvre le livre X., et où dans le livre XII. le *Soleil et les grenouilles*, la *Ligue des rats*, *Daphnis et Alcimadure*, le *Juge arbitre*, portent les numéros 24-27. Il s'entend bien hélas, que la littérature lafontainiste a dû se clore pour moi avec les deux tomes de M. Michaut. Je viens d'apprendre qu'il a publié depuis dans la *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* (1916) un article intitulé "*Travaux récents sur La Fontaine.*"

lorsqu'il dit : <sup>4</sup> " Plus on le lit, plus on voit bien qu'il ne ressemble décidément à personne. . . . Nous le rencontrons toutes les fois que nous avons une idée générale sur son temps, pour la réfuter. . . . Toute histoire systématique de la littérature française au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle doit éliminer La Fontaine, coupable de contrarier tous les systèmes et de ne rentrer dans aucun cadre." Mais ce n'est de la part de Faguet qu'un prétexte spirituel pour insister sur certains côtés personnels du poète " sortant du goût de Louis XIV et en dehors de ce goût." Il se hâte d'ajouter : " Cet homme qui ne répond à rien dans le XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, a été adoré par ses contemporains,—il n'est peut-être pas d'homme en son temps qui ait été plus goûté." Comment expliquer donc cette contradiction ? " Comment peut-on à ce point contrarier le goût de son temps et être goûté ? Serait-ce sur le goût du temps que nous nous trompons ? Il se pourrait bien. Serait-ce que ce temps-là a eu plusieurs goûts, parce qu'il avait du goût ? Il se pourrait encore. J'ai même tendance à accepter cette solution." C'est ce qu'il faut accepter en effet. Car une connaissance plus étendue de son œuvre à lui et de la littérature du temps finit par démontrer qu'il y entrait bien. Il n'est plus permis de simplifier autant que l'a fait autrefois Vinet, ni le XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, ni La Fontaine. Sainte-Beuve reprochait autrefois à La Harpe et à Chamfort d'avoir " trop détaché La Fontaine de son siècle qui était bien moins connu d'eux que de nous " ; nous pouvons renouveler aujourd'hui ces reproches en face de Vinet et de ses successeurs.

Vinet se serait moins trompé d'ailleurs si, au lieu de dire XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, il s'était contenté de dire *époque de Louis XIV*. Car La Fontaine, tout en s'efforçant d'écrire même dans son âge avancé des odes comme Boileau pour chanter les victoires de Louis XIV, tout en s'essayant à la tragédie racinienne (cf. son fragment d'*Achille*), tout en aspirant à rivaliser avec Quinault des livrets d'opéra, finalement tout en étant membre de l'école réaliste de 1660, a continué l'époque de Louis XIII, ce qui est d'autant plus naturel que ses maîtres les plus immédiats appartenaient à l'époque de Louis XIII. A la rigueur ils remontent même à Henri IV, ceux qu'il aimait le plus, voire respectait le plus, d'Urfé et d'Amorbe, dont l'un lui a révélé la préciosité la plus exquise, tandis que l'autre incarnait les essors les plus sublimes.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal des Débats*, 21 septembre 1894.



*L'épître à Huet* dira que "Malherbe avec Racan ont emporté leur lyre" au ciel pour y célébrer Dieu "parmi les chœurs des anges." Ces deux poètes sont associés dans la fable III, 1, comme "deux rivaux d'Horace, héritiers de sa lyre, disciples d'Apollon, nos maîtres." Leur association se retrouvera aussi chez Boileau et elle a été on ne peut plus ingénieusement expliquée par Faguet: "Ils se complètent en effet: l'un, grâces simples et aimables; l'autre, grands élans, imposantes fiertés. Ils sont bien les deux maîtres et guides de la poésie classique du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle." "L'aimable et charmant Racan, dit encore Faguet, est un La Fontaine qui balbutie encore." Disons à notre tour que ce poète qui ne mourra qu'en 1670, à l'âge de 80 ans bien sonnés, et qui, après avoir été tant aimé et vanté par La Fontaine et comparé par Boileau à Homère, jouira auprès des historiens de la littérature d'une gloire un peu surfaite, avait l'étoffe d'un poète élégiaque et subjectif, tout en s'étant fait auteur de pastorale. Quoiqu'il ait affublé ses personnages en bergers et bergères, leurs voix viennent du cœur, accusant la sincérité des sentiments, qui est relevée encore par une harmonie douce, un certain sens pittoresque y joint le sentiment de la nature: qualités dont héritera La Fontaine. Ajoutons pour finir que dans une harangue prononcée par Racan à l'Académie Française en 1635 se trouve déjà quelque chose de cette haine rousseauiste de la civilisation que fera entendre aussi La Fontaine; mais chez Racan il s'agit de la louange naïve d'un âge d'or idyllique où l'avarice était inconnue de même que le luxe, les hommes jouissaient d'une santé perpétuelle, la vanité ne s'était pas mêlée à la science, etc. Cela n'a pas encore l'âpreté de la satire d'un révolté contre la société, comme chez La Fontaine.

Néanmoins ce n'est pas Racan qu'il vantera de sa jeunesse jusqu'à sa vieillesse comme son maître suprême. Celui-ci s'appelle, à la juste surprise des lafontainistes futurs, Voiture. Oui, c'est le célèbre poète précieux, si choyé de l'Hôtel Rambouillet, prisé aussi par Boileau pour "mille beaux traits." Ce Voiture, mort à l'âge de 50 ans, en 1648 lorsque La Fontaine avait 27 ans environ, ne cessera d'être son idole avant tout, aux lauriers de qui il aspirera dès sa jeunesse. Nous l'avons vu associer Voiture à Marot. Il l'associera à Malherbe en 1689, dans sa lettre à Conti, en s'écriant: "Y a-t-il au monde des Voitures et des Malherbes?" Il a fait vanter déjà à Apollon "ces deux écrivains fameux" qui ont frayé

aux auteurs des chemins nouveaux. Voiture est à ses yeux le grand maître du style enjoué grâce auquel il sait rendre gracieux et charmants les sujets les plus tristes. Il "auroit loué Proserpine et Pluton en un style enjoué." Donc c'est le contraire le plus absolu du style superbe de Malherbe chantant les héros, c'est la suite de Marot et en même temps son achèvement. Apollon prie Erato de chanter.

Non pas du sérieux, du tendre, ni du doux,<sup>5</sup>  
 Mais de ce qu'en françois on nomme bagatelle,  
 Un jeu dont je voudrois Voiture pour modèle.  
 Il excelle en cet art: maître Clément et lui  
 S'y prenoient beaucoup mieux que nos gens d'aujourd'hui.

En 1687 (*lettre à Sainte-Évremond*) il avouera d'avoir profité dans Voiture et d'être son disciple. Vers ce temps, s'il veut faire un compliment énorme à un rimeur quelconque, il fait espérer à celui-ci de pouvoir un jour "faire descendre Voiture du pégase" (*Épître à M. Galien.*) A son tour il devait être infiniment sensible aux compliments qui le comparaient à Voiture. Aussi ses amis ne manquaient-ils pas de toucher, le cas échéant, à cette corde sensible. Boileau faisait ce rapprochement dans l'apologie de *Joconde*, à propos des lettres de Voiture sur le brochet et la berne "dont il a caché les absurdités par l'enjouement de ses narrations et par la manière plaisante dont il dit toutes choses": "C'est ce que M. D. L. F. a observé dans sa nouvelle; il a cru que dans un conte comme celui de *Joconde* il ne falloit pas badiner sérieusement." Saint-Évremond louera en 1687 sa lettre à la duchesse de Bouillon comme "assez galante, assez ingénieuse pour donner de la jalousie à Voiture s'il vivoit encore." La Bruyère, lors de sa réception à l'Académie en 1693, faisant l'éloge tour à tour de chacun de ses plus célèbres confrères, ne trouvera rien de mieux pour La Fontaine que de le proclamer un auteur qui, "plus égal que Marot et plus poète que Voiture, a le jeu (le badinage), le tour (le style) et la naïveté de tous les deux."

Qu'est-ce qui rappelle chez La Fontaine la plume élégante de maître Vincent? C'est précisément l'art de louer spirituellement, qui a été une des grandes ambitions de La Fontaine, à en juger par la fable XII, 24, ou, à la fin de sa carrière, il se vante de posséder

<sup>5</sup> *Clymène*, 451-6. Il reviendra dans ses livrets d'opéra à ce ton; cf. ses plaintes contre Lulli.

le secret "de rendre exquis et doux" son encens à lui. D'ailleurs en général les réminiscences dues à Voiture ne sont pas chez lui trop nombreuses, ni trop considérables. Outre la ballade sur la ballade, faite sur commande pendant la période Fouquet, et que La Fontaine lui-même a indiquée comme faite à l'imitation du rondeau de Voiture sur le rondeau (imité du sonnet de Lope de Vega sur le sonnet), on a relevé dans les *Compagnons d'Ulysse* l'argumentation scolastique, "exemplum ut talpa," comme rappelant les vers *Pour la taupe*,—puis quelques concetti (antithèses et rimes), empruntés à Voiture dans l'*Adonis* de 1669 et répétés dans la fable VIII, 13: "plaisirs et mal . . . à qui rien n'est égal." A propos de l'ode anacréontique sur l'accouchement avant terme de Mme Fouquet dans le carrosse en revenant de Toulouse, on a renvoyé aux vers "à la louange du soulier d'une dame," ou "à une demoiselle qui avoit les manches de sa chemise retroussées et sales." Voyez aussi ceux "sur une dame dont la jupe fut retroussée en versant dans un carrosse à la campagne" (vers où le mot grossier c . . . si abhorré par les précieuses revient à chaque pas).

Ajoutons encore que La Fontaine a imité une fois la manière de Neuf-Germain, ce rimeur facétieux alors à la mode et plusieurs fois chanté par Voiture. L'*élégie à Philis* rappelle le sonnet à Mlle de Poussay avec sa tournure. L'*épître au Prince* prie le grand capitaine victorieux, Condé, de ménager sa vie sur le champ de bataille: prière répétée par La Fontaine et adressée à Turenne. La Fontaine peint puissamment le grand Condé au milieu des horreurs du combat; Voiture avait exalté (*épître au duc d'Enghien*) la mort héroïque "dans le champ de Mars," et l'avait opposée à la mort laide venant à pas lents surprendre dans son lit "un malade qui languit."

Les lettres en prose prédominent dans l'œuvre de Voiture: véritables tartes à la crème consistant en badineries futilles, en galanteries subtiles et fades, sentant souvent un effort assez désobligeant, parfois rendues piquantes par des relations sur les événements du jour, comme l'essayera le cas échéant La Fontaine. Puis il y a des élégies amoureuses prolixes et conventionnelles, toutes sortes de vers teintés d'une volupté frivole ou même frisant l'obscénité voilée, ou par contre atteignant le comble des subtilités précieuses (*Sonnet sur Uranie*). Parfois on y trouve du pittoresque brillant. (Cf. le lever du soleil dans le *sonnet sur Philis*). Quoique tout



cela se retrouve aussi chez La Fontaine, il n'est pas facile d'expliquer l'insistance de celui-ci à vouloir passer pour le disciple de ce poète. Surtout si l'on pense au portrait si magistralement dessiné par M. Lanson : " Voiture n'a pas d'ordinaire la mièvrerie ornée, ni la mollesse fleurie, ni l'éclat peint des Italiens du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle : avec un esprit qui pour nous a un accent bien national, il sème dans ses vers d'amour des traits d'une gravité ardente ou d'une raillerie ramassée ; il mêle parfois les deux tons avec une rapidité un peu brusque." (La Fontaine les mêle aussi, mais sans ces brusqueries.) " Où Voiture n'est pas un Français qui cause avec aisance, il étale parfois les grâces italiennes, mais le plus souvent il a le geste plus sobre du Castillan, sa phrase plus nerveuse, où l'on sent tour à tour la flamme qui brûle et le sel qui pique. . . ." <sup>6</sup> Donc La Fontaine était tant bien que mal l'élève de Voiture italianisant plutôt que celui de l'autre qui espagnolise, tout en étant surtout " un Français qui cause avec aisance."

La Fontaine, qui a raillé déjà dans *Clymène* la phraséologie conventionnelle des vers galants trop spirituelle, dont il se servira cependant lui-même (*jeux, ris, appas, roses, lys* etc.), et qui constate en 1665 avec un contentement évident le règne fini des " rondeaux, bouts-rimés, métamorphoses," " ces galanteries hors de mode," condamnera l'abus de l'esprit aussi en 1685 (*Épître à Girin*), reprochant aux poètes de ruelles que chez eux *c'est l'esprit qui fait tout*.<sup>7</sup> Dans l'*Épître à Huet* il parlera en 1687 d'un certain auteur non nommé qu'il avait pris autrefois pour son maître et qui " pensa le gêner " jusqu'à ce qu' Horace lui eût " dessillé les yeux." Après avoir à tort cherché Malherbe, on cherche aujourd'hui Voiture dans cet auteur qui " avoit du bon, du meilleur," et chez qui la France " Estimoit dans ses vers le tour et la cadence," mais chez qui le " trop d'esprit s'épand en trop de belles choses," de sorte que " ses traits ont perdu quiconque l'a suivi." Je reviendrai à ce petit problème d'autant moins résolu qu'il est difficile d'expliquer que deux ans après cette prétendue palinodie, La Fontaine ait pu renouveler les louanges excessives de Voiture.

Quelle qu'ait pu être l'influence de Malherbe ou de Racan et surtout celle de Voiture sur lui, il y a quatre ou cinq poètes dans la

<sup>6</sup> *Revue d'histoire litt. de la France*, 1897.

<sup>7</sup> Dans *Philémon et Baucis* il affirmera que c'est le cœur qui fait tout, comme le feront Boileau et Chénier, eux aussi.

première moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, qu'il n'a pas daigné mentionner et qui n'en sont pas moins ses précurseurs et ses maîtres, j'entends Mathurin Régnier, Théophile de Viau, François Maynard, Saint-Amant et Tristan l'Hermite. Ils le sont plus que n'importe qui avant eux, abstraction faite de Marot et de Ronsard, voire de Belleau, d'ailleurs leurs maîtres à eux. On a souvent indiqué leur influence sur La Fontaine, mais sans l'éclairer de plus près. Il y a des études spéciales à écrire là-dessus. La matière n'en manque pas, comme je l'ai fait bien voir, surtout dans les chapitres de mon ouvrage où j'ai parlé de la poésie lyrique et de l'art descriptif de La Fontaine.

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## TWO NOTES ON CHAUCER

And how asseged was Ipolita,  
The faire hardy quene of Scithia;  
And of the fest that was at hir weddinge,  
[And of the tempest at hir hoom-cominge (*C. T.*, A, 881 ff.).

Many sources for the 'tempest' at the home-coming of Hippolyta have been suggested by scholars from Tyrwhitt to Lowes.<sup>1</sup> But in every case 'tempest' has been taken to mean *storm*—and no storm has yet been found to which Chaucer may have referred. Examination of the definitions given in Old French of the words *tempest*, respectively *tempestement*, *tempesterie*, and *tempier* may suggest a solution of the puzzle. I quote from Godefroy:<sup>2</sup>

*Tempest*, vacarne, tapage:  
Et firent parmi la foret  
Trop grant noise et trop grant tampest (Dolop. 8860).  
*Tempestement*, agitation, bruit, vacarme:  
Il menoit ung tel tambusquis et ung tel tempestement  
qu'il sembloit que tous les deables d'enfer fussent la.  
(Froiss. Chron. xi, 101.)  
*Tempesterie*, tapage, vacarme (only meaning; two examples):  
Je ouy, ce me semble, les sonnettes  
En la rue et tempesterie (Martial, Louanges de Marie).

<sup>1</sup> For a full review of the problem, see J. L. Lowes, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xix, 240 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Dictionnaire de L'Ancienne Langue Française*.

*Tempier*, tapage, vacarme, tumulte (13 examples);  
 Laiens oi moult grant tempier  
 De son de harpes, de viels,  
 De conconetes de puceles, etc. (DuConte de Poit, 892).

It appears from these citations that in Old French *tempest* most commonly means 'a violent tumult or commotion, a confusion of noises, or intense agitation.'

The same use of the word is found in Middle English. The *New English Dictionary*, beginning with words from the year 1315, offers the following definition: 'A violent commotion or disturbance; a tumult, rush; agitation, perturbation,' and adds (with quotations from 1746), 'A confused or tumultuous throng; a crowded assembly.' The following examples, in addition to those given in the *NED*., may be noted. Dan Michel<sup>3</sup> describes hell: 'þer þou sselt yȝy al þet herte hateþ . . . ver berynde, bremston stinkinde, tempeste brayinde, etc.' where the author refers to the confused noises of the roaring fires. In *Sir Beues of Hamtoun*,<sup>4</sup> where the hero fights with two lions, the tumult and clamor of battle is described:

Boþ at cones þey gan him assaile;  
 Poo was B. in strong tempestes.

And the author of the *Vision of Piers Plowman*<sup>5</sup> leaves no doubt as to the exact significance of the word when he tells of the *tempest* which occurred at the crucifixion of Jesus:

þe daye for drede with-drowe, and derke bicam þe sonne,  
 þe wal waggged and clef, and al þe worlde quaued;  
 Ded men for that dyne come out of depe graues,  
 And tolde whi þat tempest so long dured;  
 'For a bitter bataile,' þe ded þodye sayde,  
 'Lyf and deth in þis derkness her fordoth her other.'

The reference is evidently to the din, confusion, agitation, perturbation resulting from the struggle between Life and Death.

With this meaning, then, of tumult, confusion, and noise in mind, we may understand the significance of Chaucer's 'tempest.' But of what tumult is he speaking? He himself has suggested the answer in the Latin quotation prefixed to the *Knight's Tale*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ayenbite of Inwyrt*, ed. R. Morris, EETS. 23, p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Kölbing, EETS. E. S. 26, S. 117/2447.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Skeat, EETS. 38, b. 18, 60 ff.



Statius' account of the triumphant return of Theseus and his bride is admirably expressed in the phrase, 'the tempest at hir hoom-cominge':

Ilamque domos patrias, Scythicae post aspera gentis  
 Proelia, laurigero subeuntem Thesea curru  
 Laetifici plausus, missusque ad sidera vulgi  
 Clamor, et emeritis hilaris tub anuntiat armis (*Theb.* XII, 519).

Chaucer has two good reasons for not translating this passage entire. In the first place, he has a 'large feeld to ere' and his critical faculty tells him that it is matter which does not structurally belong to the *Knight's Tale*; and, in the second place, he has preserved an excellent paraphrase of it in the *Anelida* (7, 23-36).

## II

But greet harm was it, as it thoughte me,  
 That on his shine a mormal hadde he (*C. T.*, A, 385 ff.).

It is generally agreed, I believe, that the 'mormal' of Chaucer's Cook is to be identified with what mediæval medical writers call *malum mortuum*.<sup>6</sup> This disease, which is treated of under separate headings by most of the authors whom I have consulted, must not be confused with cancer or gangrene; it is a species of ulcerated, dry-scabbed apostema which is produced by the corruption in the blood of natural melancholia, or sometimes of melancholia combined with *salsum phlegma*. As to the cause and appearance of the malady Theodoricus is explicit:

Quædam infirmitas nascitur circa tibias & brachia, quæ malum mortuum appellantur. sunt enim ulcera liuida et sicca, modicè saniei generatiua; et quandoque fiunt de pura melancholia naturali; quandoque ex melancholia cum admistione phlegmatis salsi. Si fiat ex pura melancholia, cognoscitur per nigras pustulas sine pruritu. si autem admisceatur salsum phlegma, quasi liuescit locus cum liuescit locus cum pruritu & mordicationibus.<sup>7</sup>

Bernardus de Gordon—Chaucer's 'Bernard' (*C. T.*, A, 434)—gives a still fuller account:

<sup>6</sup> Indeed it is so translated in Lanfrank's *Science of Chirurgie*, EETS, 102, pp. 178, 293. Cf. *Practica Magistri Lanfranci de Mediolano quæ dicitur ars completa totius chirurgiæ*, Venetiis, 1546, f. 248c. See two descriptions of the 'mormal,' *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxiii, 379, *Trans. Conn. Acad. Arts and Sciences*, xxiii, 27.

<sup>7</sup> *Chirurgia edita et compilata ab excell. domino fratre Theodorico episcopo Ceruensi*, Venetiis, 1499, Lib. iii, cap. xlix.

Malum mortuum est quidam species scabiei que oritur ex melancholia naturali adusta; et adustione flegmatis salsi; cum liuore et nigredine et pustulis crustosis magnis fedis; sine sanie cum erugine, et quadam insensibilitate; et cum turpi aspectu, in coxis et tibijs frequentibus eueniens. Causa autem huius scabiei est multa comestio ciborum melancholicorum; opilatio splendis, et retentio menstruorum; et linorum preter consuetudinem, et similia.<sup>8</sup>

And John of Gaddesden—Chaucer's 'Gatesden' (*C. T.*, A, 434)—concludes his discussion 'De malo mortuo' with,

Et causantur a cibus melancholicis sicut a carnibus bouis et piscibus salsis et a frigore non cito remediato et a coitu cum menstruata vel leprosa vel tineosa.<sup>9</sup>

I have an idea that the Cook's 'mormal' is of the type which is produced 'ex melancholia cum admistione phlegmatis salis' and that he is continually troubled with severe itching, for as Lanfrank says,

Icching & scabbe comeþ of salt humouris, & . . . kynde haþ abhominacioun þerof, & putteþ hem out of þe skyn, & þis felleþ ofte of salt metis & scharpe metis & of wijn þat is strong; & it falliþ ofte to hem þat wakip & traueiliþ & vsiþ no baping & weriþ no linnen cloþis, & þis is oon of þe siknes þat is contagious.<sup>10</sup>

To understand the full meaning of *malum mortuum*, therefore, is to know rather definitely the character of Roger Hogge of Ware. In addition to being a filthy person of low degree, he is doubtless such a thrifty soul that he devours all the tainted meats and spoiled victuals which he cannot put off on long-suffering pilgrims. Our Host directly charges him with bad dealings:

(For many a pastee hastow laten blood,  
And many a Jack of Dover hastow sold  
That hath been twyes hoot and twyes cold (*C. T.*, A, 4346 ff.).

The Cook confesses good-naturedly enough that it is true, but remarks, 'Sooth pley, quaad pley.' No one need be surprised to find a man with a 'mormal' so drunk with 'wyn ape'—one of the causes of the malady—that his eyes become dazed and his face pale.

<sup>8</sup> *Practica dicta Lilium medicinae*, Lugduni, 1491, sig. d7, vers. 1. Cf. also *Cyrvrgia Rogerii*, Venetiis, 1499, 'De malo mortuo,' f. 69, rec. 1; Gvy de Chavliac, *La Grande Chirvrgie*, ed. Nicaise, 'mal mort,' pp. 8, 420, 551.

<sup>9</sup> *Rosa Anglica practica medicinae*, Pavia, 1492, f. 94, rec. 1.

<sup>10</sup> *Op cit.*, p. 191.

In fact, Roger is so drunk that his rage against the caviling Maunciple is speechless, and he is put in a good humor again only by another drink of wine (*C. T.*, H., 25-85). He is precisely the kind of man one might expect to claw the Reeve on the back for joy of a dirty tale (A, 4326), and to begin one of his own which fortunately ends where we are told that the heroine 'swyved for hir sustenance' (A, 4422). His acquaintance with such characters has probably been too intimate for his own good.

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### JOSEPH WARTON'S CRITICISM OF POPE

Anyone who is familiar with Joseph Warton's criticism, must be aware that his notes to Pope's Works often bear a close resemblance to his *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, which preceded them by many years. But probably not many people have troubled to collate the *Essay* and the notes in detail. The comparison made by the present writer has produced some curious results, which, pending publication in full, it is worth while to summarize for the benefit of future students. Briefly, the *Essay* has been cut up into notes, in such a way that practically none of it, not even the most garrulous and irrelevant afterthought, has been omitted in the later works. Sometimes, when a paragraph or a sentence appears to have been left out, it is discovered afterwards in an altogether different context. The parallel passages run into more than a hundred closely written pages, and they leave one marvelling at Warton's absurdly exaggerated sense of the importance of anything and everything that he had once written. The *Essay* was an original and daring piece of criticism, which marked the author out as an independent thinker, who refused to bow the head to the "common-sense" verdicts of his day. To venture to say in 1756 that Pope was a great Wit, but that he was not among the greatest poets, "not, assuredly in the same rank with Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton," was to throw down a challenge to accepted opinions. Warton goes further. Point by point, and poem by poem, he proves wherein Pope's achievements and shortcomings lie. Pope is the poet of rationalism; he produces nothing that is "of the most poetic species of poetry," for he is deficient in the sublime and



pathetic, which are its "main nerves"; he writes "from and to the Head rather than the Heart." "A clear head and acute understanding are not sufficient, alone, to make a poet"; even more essential is "a creative and glowing imagination." On the other hand, Warton recognizes and gives due weight to Pope's conciseness and epigrammatic force, the excellence of his versification, and, in the Moral Epistles, his "clear, complete and circumstantial images."

One is therefore ready to find Warton a discerning editor, who will have much that is valuable to contribute by way of comment and elucidation. In a sense, this is the case, for the *Essay* is to a considerable extent a detailed examination of the text of Pope's poems, combined with much information from hitherto unpublished sources, such as Spence's *Anecdotes*, about the life and opinions of the poet. It does not enhance one's opinion of the critic, however, to find that he has comparatively little to add, forty years later, to the opinions he has already expressed, and that he is content to repeat what he has said in the same words, with the same discursiveness, verbosity, and lack of method, and introducing the same irrelevant stories or allusions to prove the width of his reading. If we ignore merely graphical and verbal changes, a few examples may serve as illustrations of his methods:

(1) In the Life of Pope, at the beginning of the *Works*, pp. lxxviii to lxx, Warton uses pp. 408 l. 5 to 410 l. 19 of the second volume of the *Essay*, 1782, 4th edition (N. B. Vol. II was published for the first time in that year). The passage is too long for quotation in its entirety, but a few sentences are typical of the way in which he patches together his earlier work.

*Works.*

P. lxxviii. His whole thoughts, time and talents were spent on his Works alone: which Works, if we dispassionately and carefully review, we shall find, that the largest portion of them, for he attempted nothing of the epic and dramatic, is of the didactic, moral, and satiric kind; and consequently, not of the most poetic species of Poetry. There is nothing in so sublime a style as The Bard of Gray. . . No man can

*Essay.*

Vol. II, p. 408, l. 5. Thus have I endeavoured to give a critical account . . . of each of Pope's Works; by which review it will appear that the *largest* portion of them is of the didactic, moral, and satiric kind; and consequently, not of the most poetic species of poetry; whence it is manifest, that *good sense* and *judgment* were his characteristical excellencies, rather than fancy and invention.

*Works* (Cont'd)

possibly think, or can hint, that the Author of the *Rape of the Lock*, and the *Eloisa*, wanted imagination, or *sensibility*, or *pathetic*; but he certainly did not so often indulge and exert those talents, nor give so many proofs of them as he did of strong sense and judgment.

*P. lxx.* Malignant and insensible must be the critic, who should impotently dare to assert, that *Pope* wanted *genius* and *imagination*; but perhaps it may safely be affirmed, that his *peculiar* and *characteristical* excellencies were good sense and judgment. And this was the opinion of Atterbury and Bolingbroke.

It is like fitting a puzzle together to trace the different clauses, and one cannot feel sure that a missing sentence may not, after all, turn up on a further examination of the texts. Warton himself, must certainly have re-read his *Essay* many times in order to make sure he had omitted no phrase that could by any possibility be utilized again.

*Works.*

(2) 1, 151, *ver.* 108. I am afraid there is a trivial antithesis betwixt the words *snows* and *glows*, unworthy our author.

*Ver.* 112. The death is expressed with a brevity and abruptness suitable to the nature of the ode. Instead of *he sung*, Virgil says *vocabat*, which is more natural and tender, and adds a moving epithet, that he called *miseram* Eurydicen. . . .

*Essays* (Cont'd)

II, 410, l. 19, and he has written nothing in a strain so truly sublime, as The Bard of Gray.

II, 408, not that the author of *The Rape of the Lock*, and *Eloisa* can be thought to want *imagination*; but because his *imagination* was not his predominant talent, because he indulged it not, and because he gave not so many proofs of *this* talent as of the *other*.

*Vol.* I, p. 115. *Footnote.* Atterbury and Bolingbroke had the very same opinion of the bent and turn of our author's genius (*et seq.*).

*Essay.*

I, 59, l. 19. "he *glows* amid Rhodope's *snows*," which I hope the poet did not intend as it would be a trivial and puerile conceit. The death of Orpheus is expressed with a beautiful brevity and abruptness, suitable to the nature of the ode: . . .

*P.* 60, l. 4. Instead of *sung*, Virgil says *vocabat*, which is more natural and tender; and Virgil adds a very moving epithet that he calls *miseram* Eurydicen.

The above, at any rate, is perfectly straightforward transference, and such is usual in the notes to particular verses. It is in the longer sections, the introductory note or final general criticism on

a poem, that the piecing-together is most remarkable. Here too there are the most striking deviations, whether in the form of omission or addition. (3) Thus the "Final Note" to the Odes (*Works* I, 152) but for a few verbal changes, corresponds exactly to the *Essay*, I, pp. 66 to 68, but it adds at the end a quotation of some lines from a comment of Gray, not found in any edition of the *Essay*:

"We have had (says Mr. Gray) in our language, other odes of the sublime kind, than that of Dryden on St. Cecilia's Day: for Cowley, who had his merit, yet wanted judgment, style, and harmony for such a task. That of Pope is not worthy of so great a master. Mr. Mason, indeed of late days, has touched the true chords, and with a masterly hand, in some of his chorusses; above all in the last of Caractacus;

"Hark! heard yet not you footsteps dread?" etc.

Gray's *Works*, 4to., page 25.

(4) Similarly, a few pages further on (p. 158) at the end of the Final note to chorus of Athenians, which comes bodily from the *Essay* I, 71-75, there is the following addition:

"But what shall we say to the strong objections lately made by some very able and learned critics to the use of the chorus at all? The critics I have in view, are Metastasio, Twining, Pye, Colman, and Johnson; who have brought forward such powerful arguments against this, so important a part of the ancient drama, as to shake our conviction of its utility and propriety, founded on what Hurd, Mason, and Brumoy, have so earnestly and elegantly urged on the subject."

Comparing this with the note which has immediately preceded, we find that Warton retains his openness to new impressions, and that he is not afraid to change his mind, even though he objects to sacrifice his nicely rounded periods.

Sometimes, as in the next example, the parallels are different in kind from those hitherto selected. The substance of a passage is utilized again, but the whole is compressed and considerably changed:



*Works.*

(5) I, p. 255, vr. 667. This dissolute and effeminate writer little deserved a place among good critics, for only two or three pages on the subject of criticism. His fragment on the Civil War is far below Lucan, whom he endeavoured to blame and to excel. Sir George Wheeler, esteemed an accurate traveller, informs us that he saw at Trau, in the hands of a Doctor Statelius, a fragment of Petronius, in which the account of the Supper of Trimalcion was entire. Yet the fragment has been judged to be spurious.

*Essay.*

I, p. 176. For what merit Petronius should be placed among useful critics, I could never discern. There are not above two or three pages containing critical remarks in his work; the chief merit of which is that of telling a story with grace and ease. His own style is more affected than even that of his contemporaries, when the Augustan simplicity was laid aside. Many of his metaphors are far-fetched, and mixed. His character of Horace, however celebrated and so often quoted as to become nauseous, "Horatii curiosa felicitas," is surely a very unclassical inversion; for he ought to have called it the *happy carefulness* of Horace, rather than his *careful happiness*. I shall observe, by the way, that the copy of this author found some years ago, bears many signatures of its spuriousness, and particularly of its being forged by a Frenchman. For we have this expression, "ad Castellam sese receperunt"; that is, "to their Chateaux," instead of "ad Villas." They who maintain the genuineness of these fragments of Petronius, will find it difficult to answer the objections of Burman and Perizonius.

(6) In dealing with Volume II of the *Essay*, Warton proceeds methodically to chop up the first 54 pp. for notes to *Works*, Vol. II, pp. 143 to p. 300. But from p. 54 he jumps to p. 390 for the concluding notes of Vol. II, going steadily to p. 402, except for one deviation. The footnote, namely, on p. 400, is transferred to Vol. I of the *Works*, p. lxi, instead of being used where we should expect to find it in Vol. II.

These examples must suffice to indicate Warton's conception of his duties as an editor, and his method of superseding his predecessor, Warburton. But they do not do justice to his unwearied industry in readapting his material.

Nor can the edition be judged merely by a comparison of the parallel passages, even when this is made in detail. It is more than merely a reissue in a new form of Warton's most original contribution to criticism. But the parallels are so numerous that they are worthy of note, and they cannot be ignored by anyone who wishes to form a just estimate of Warton's editorial and critical work. There seems good reason to believe that the edition of Pope's *Works* was undertaken as a "pot-boiler" and as a means of attacking Warburton, rather than because the worthy doctor had anything of importance to add to his earlier, bold exaltation of imaginative poets at the expense of "the great Poet of Reason, the First of Ethical authors in verse."

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#### DAVENPORT'S *THE CITY NIGHTCAP* AND GREENE'S *PHILOMELA*

Since the days of Isaac Reed it has been known that the plot of Davenport's play, *The City Nightcap or Crede Quod Habes et Habes*, was taken partly from Robert Greene's novel, *Philomela the Lady Fitzwaters Nightingale*. I have not been able to find, however, that a study has been made of the exact relations between the two works. With a previous interest essentially in Robert Greene I have made such a comparison, aiming to ascertain how far the form of the play was determined by that of the novel.

*The City Nightcap* consists of two stories, that which Davenport took from Greene, and that which is told in the *Decameron* (Day 7, Novel 7), the two being in striking contrast. The part derived from Greene's novel deals with the jealous husband and the faithful wife; that derived from Boccaccio, with the confident husband and the wanton wife. The two stories are told with little connection between them.

Davenport has changed Greene's proper names. The scene is in Verona instead of in Venice, with the Duke of Verona as cousin to the jealous husband, who in the play is called Lorenzo Medico, instead of Phillipio. The friend, Giovanni Lutesio, of the novel,

is named Phillippo in the play. Philomela is called Abstemia throughout the play—except that when in disguise she is called Millicent. Her brother is the Duke of Venice, whereas in the novel her avenging relative is the Duke of Milan, the father. In the play it is to Milan instead of to Sicily that Philomela, or Abstemia, goes; and it is the Duke's son, Antonio, who plays the part of Arnolfo of the novel. These are the principal changes in names.

The main differences between the play and the novel, so far as the story is concerned, are that in the play the incident of pregnancy is omitted, that the incident of the captain's love is left out, that Abstemia is in the house of a bawd in Milan instead of in the house of the captain at Palermo, that Phillippo instead of being an outside character is the murderer of Antonio's slave, and finally that the story ends happily instead of with Lorenzo's death.

The treatment of the play is much more condensed than that of the novel. The events leading up to the accusation of the wife and friend before the Duke are set forth in one scene in the play. In the novel these same events occupy nearly fifty pages, space which is filled with long descriptions, discourses, speeches, letters, and odes. Each trial of Philomela's virtue is narrated in great detail, with much psychologizing and philosophizing on the part of all the persons concerned. On the whole, indeed, I think it may be said that the play is much better proportioned than the novel. Nearly the whole of the fifth act—the last twelve pages of it—is concerned with events which happen after Philomela (Abstemia) takes upon herself the crime of killing the Duke's son. In the novel, only eight pages are occupied with this part of the story, and the impression is as much that of hurriedness as that of the first part is of tediousness. That is, Greene in *Philomela* has conducted his story in his usual manner—with the fault of disproportion.

Davenport was indebted to Greene for more than the plot of his play. It is interesting to find in *The City Nightcap* many passages which resemble in style work written thirty-five or forty years before, turns of expression and euphuistic mannerisms which by 1624 had become obsolete.<sup>1</sup> To take a few passages at random:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mary Augusta Scott, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, 1916, p. 58.—Edd.



When the Elisander-Leaf looks most green,  
 The sap is then most bitter.  
     —she that is lip-holy  
 Is many times heart hollow.

“Your are, sir, just like the Indian hyssop, praised of strangers, for the sweet scent, but hated of the inhabitants, for the injurious quality.”

Lines like these show that Davenport was paying some attention to Greene’s style as well as to his story.

Greene’s story is full of long speeches. When Phillipo summons his wife and friend to trial, he makes a long speech before the Duke. “It is not unknown,” he says, “to the Venetians (right famous Duke and honorable magistrates of this so worthie a Cittie) how ever since I married this Philomela I have yeilded her such love with reverence, such affection with care, such devoted favours with affected duties, that I did rather honour her as a saint, than regarde her as a wife,” etc. In the play this speech begins as follows:

Thus then,  
 (Great sir, grave lords, and honourable auditors  
 Of my dishonour) I affirm ’tis known  
 To th’ signory of Verona, the whole city. . . .  
 How since my marriage with that woman . . .  
 . . . . . I have perform’d  
 So fairly all judicial wedlock offices,  
 That malice knew not how at my whole actions  
 To make one blow, and to strike home. I did rather  
 Honour her as a saint, sir, than respect her  
 As she was my wife.

When Philomela, in the novel, arises to reply she begins, “Oh! Phillipo Medici, once the lover of Philomela,” just as Abstemia in the play, “Oh! Lorenzo Medici, Abstemia’s lover once,” etc. After the sentence has been passed Philomela says, “Phillipo, I leave thee to the choice of a new love, and the fortunes of a faire wife, who if she prove as honestly amorous towards thee as Philomela, then wrong her not with suspition, as thou has don me with jealousy: lest she prove too liberal and pay my debts.” In the play, this speech reads,

Farewell, Lorenzo,  
 Whom my soul doth love: If you e’er marry,  
 May you meet a good wife; so good, that you  
 May not suspect her, nor may she be worthy of  
 Your suspicion. . . .  
 But may she never live to pay my debts.

As to effectiveness, the speeches in the play and the novel are about equal. Those in the play are usually shorter and sometimes more vivid. On the other hand, some of those of the novel have more of genuine emotion.

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## REVIEWS

Lope de Vega, *Amar sin Saber a Quién*. Edited with notes and vocabulary by MILTON A. BUCHANAN and BERNARD FRANZEN-SWEDELIUS. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920. vii + 202 pp.

This well-known *comedia* by Lope de Vega is quite worthy of a new critical edition, and especially of one with notes and vocabulary in English. The editors' choice of a play was felicitous, and their notes are excellent.

The play does not have an introduction, and in the Preface, which is short, the editors do not attempt to give a study of Lope's life and works. The statement on page iv that "the contents of the two editions" (Parte XXII, Zaragoza, 1630, and Madrid, 1635) "are almost wholly different" refers to the plays that are contained in the two volumes, and not to the texts of *Amar sin saber a quién*. Only two plays are common to both volumes and our play is one of them.

To the references in the Preface may be added one to d'Ouville, *Aimer sans savoir qui*, Paris, 1645.

It would be well, it seems to me, if our editors of Spanish plays would include in their critical editions a brief summary of the main action and a short description of the chief characters. M. Viguier has given succinctly a just appreciation of our play in *Œuvres de P. Corneille*, Grands Ecrivains de la France (Paris, Hachette, 1862), IV, 392 f.

A "partial vocabulary" is given at the end, and, like all such vocabularies, it may be criticized on the ground that some common words are given while some unusual words are omitted.

The following is a list of suggested additions to, or changes in the *Notes*.

4, note. "*decillo* = *decirlo*, an example of assimilation." If the *r* of the infinitive was assimilated to the *l* of the enclitic pronoun, the assimilation must have taken place before the change of double *l* to palatal *l* was completed, but this change seems not to have been ancient.<sup>1</sup> Certainly in Lope's works *ll* does not represent two *l*'s. In this edition *-allo*, *-alla*, etc., occur in verse endings five times, and each time in a rime-word (vv. 4, 22, 1012, 2351, 2766). The forms *-arlo*, *-arla*, etc., are used eight times in verse endings, but only one (in v. 1335) is in rime. In modernizing the spelling Mr. Buchanan has changed *-allo*, *-alla*, etc., to *-arlo*, *-arla*, etc., wherever the rime permitted, and he has also changed *-ld-* to *-dl-* in imperatives.

5. *vos* was equivalent to the modern *vosotros* only when *vos* was plural. As a form of courteous address *vos* was also singular. By the beginning of the seventeenth century *vos* was not seldom a term of disrespect, or at least of condescension. Cf. Juan de Luna, *Diálogos familiares* (Paris, 1619), diálogo 1: "*Vos se dice a los criados o vasallos. Vuesasté, vuesa merced, vuestra merced, . . . se da a todos, grandes y pequeños.*"

7. *lengua*. Is it not the meaning that 'steel' is the 'tongue' with which people in Toledo answer insults?

36. *Espiró* should be *Expiró*, if, as stated on page 132, "the spelling has been modernized." Note also vv. 293, 1025.

45. *criado* has regularly three syllables, by analogy with *crío*. Cf. vv. 69, 433, and also *crianza*, vv. 1052, 2391. See F. Robles Dégano, *Ortología clásica de la lengua castellana* (Madrid, 1905), § 239.

50. *sobre* = *además de*.

53. Sometimes in the text the arrangement of a broken verse, or of a verse too long to be given in one line, is unfortunate. Thus, the position of the words is such that it is difficult to tell at first sight which are the rime-words in vv. 53, 66, 68, 2175-7, *et al.* Verse 66, for instance, would be better if arranged thus:

*Alguacil.* Muestre la espada.

*Don Juan.*

Hidalgos, poco a poco.

This is doubtless the fault of the printer.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. Hanssen, *Gramática histórica de la lengua castellana*, Halle, 1913, § 126.



69. *aqueste* is used to give the requisite number of syllables. It is a matter of meter rather than of rhythm.

72. *mudado el calendario*. Can this refer to the change in the calendar, which was made in the Roman Catholic countries when Lope was twenty years old, but which had not yet been adopted by the countries where the Protestant and the Greek churches prevailed? If one did not know, or if one forgot, that the calendar had been changed, he would be ten days late.

Sr. D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, in a recent letter to Professor Buchanan, suggests the following interpretation: "Traigo una mula que parece dromedario (por lo grande) y que a fuerza de repetidos golpes (sonsonetes) me ha traído despellejado (mudado la piel) el colisco" (see note to vv. 2788-2795).

Professor Rudolph Schevill offers as a free rendering of the passage: "I have come with a mule sprung from a dromedary which by its monotonous pace has made me fail to see the passing of time."

98, note. Mr. C. E. Anibal of Indiana University has evidence which leads him to believe that *No hay dicha ni desdicha hasta la muerte* is by Mira de Amescua. Mr. Anibal's material will be published later.

108 f. It is difficult to compare our standard shades of color with those of Spain in the seventeenth century. For instance, *purpúreo* ("color roxa escura," Cobarruvias, 1611) is often rendered by 'purple,' even *labios purpúreos* being sometimes translated 'purple lips'! *Verde obscuro* denoted blighted hope; *blanco*, purity and faith (see also commentaries to Dante, *Purg.*, *xxix*); and *morado* denoted true love. The *Diccionario de Autoridades*, iv (1734), defines *morado* as "De color de mora, que es mezcla de roxo y negro." Speaking of the *mora*, it says: "su zumo es de color de sangre, y tiñe como ella." Dark red was the color of love, whether it were *purpúreo* (cf. v. 1922; Dante uses *porpora*: *Purg.*, 131) or *morado*. Bright red (*rojo claro*) denoted the flush of shame. The common use of *morado* to denote true love may have been in part due, in Spain, to the fact that the *moral* symbolized that which was slow to flower but was ever faithful. See Cobarruvias, under *almendra*.

135. Hiatus between *de* and *amores* is impossible, as neither *de* nor *a-* is stressed. The line has eight syllables by reading *Leo-* as of two syllables, or by inserting *ay* and reading *Leo-* as of one

syllable. If two strong vowels precede the stress, they may form a diphthong or they may be dissyllabic, usually at the option of the poet. But Lope prefers *Leónarda*: see vv. 174, 175, 189.

145. *me ocasionas* = *me riñes*.

160, note. "Mme. d'Aunoy": The usual spelling is "Aulnoy."

185. *retrata* is better: "the eyes are the mirror which reflects thought."

202-324, note. "*Relaciones* . . . are obviously undramatic, and were severely criticized by the neo-classic critics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." But *relaciones* were regularly used by the neo-classicists to avoid violent action on the stage.

311. *ahora*, in verse, may count as three syllables, as *a* and *o* are both strong vowels, and *o* is stressed. Syneresis, nevertheless, is rather frequent, except at end of line (see Robles, § 269).

433. *Cierto* may take the indefinite article. Cuervo (*Dic. de constr. y rég.*) says: "(cierto) se acompaña a menudo con el (artículo) indefinido . . . para dar a entender que se trata de cualidad o circunstancia muy peculiar del objeto." Numerous examples are given.

546. *Dueño* is still regularly used in this sense. "El que tiene el dominio. . . . En este sentido suele llamarse así también a la mujer; y siempre en los requiebros amorosos, diciendo dueño mío, y no dueña mía" (*Dicc. Acad.*). *Dueña* has quite a different meaning. Even Cobarrucias (1611) says that "dueña . . . agora significa comunmente las que sirven con tocas largas y mongiles a diferencia de las donzellas."

559, note: *manteo*, 'skirt.' Would not 'cassock' be a better rendering? Cobarrucias (1611), under *manto*, says: "llamamos manteo la cobertura del Clerigo que le abriga de pies a cabeça. . . ."

565. *Alfaques*. Cobarrucias (1611) defines: "isleta en la costa del Rayno de Valencia. Ay en Africa una ciudad maritima que antiguamente se dixo Ruspe, y agora la llaman Alfaques."

566. *ve*, a misprint for *de*.

579-582. When the lamb becomes a ram, it has horns. Cf. *Diccionario de Autoridades*: "Poner los cuernos. Faltar, o hacer faltar a la fe del matrimonio."

623. The grammar (1917) of the Spanish Academy gives "hemos o habemos."

646. Dark eyes, with a glint of green, have long been admired in Spain; but blue eyes seem not to have been esteemed. In Lope's

*Dorotea* (II, 6) Gerarda, expressing contempt of people who eat sweets, says: "en viendo un hombre que come cascos de naranja, le miro si tiene los ojos azules."

651, note: *versos graves*. See also page 131. I find no authority for this use of *verso grave* to denote only an 11-syllable line. A verse-line that ends with an unstressed syllable is *grave* or *llano*, whatever the number of syllables may be.

657. The reading that has been adopted appears defective, as the verses—from 651 to 666—seem to be in *octavas reales* (rime: abababcc). Verse 660 is not found in Hartzenbusch's edition. I have not A at hand. The reading of B and C,

me ha de sacar de la prisión remedio  
que de todo mi mal se pone en medio

properly closes the first octave. The second octave begins with v. 658 (v. 660 is omitted). There are then two standard *octavas reales*. For this reason the text of B and C seems preferable to that of A.

682. C has *esté*. The indicative after *holgar* is unusual. See vv. 2094-5.

686. The old *décima* consisted of two *quintillas* logically connected. There are many of these in the *Cancionero de Stúñiga*. The *décima* known as *espinela*, which is the one we have in our text, has a fixed rime-scheme (abbaaccdde), with a pause, usually but not always, after the fourth line—but no pause after the fifth—to indicate that the *décima* is not two *quintillas*. Cf. Lope, *Laurel de Apolo*, and *La Dorotea* (I, 8); *Revue hispanique*, xli, 219 f.; *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 1918, pp. 289 f. (article by A. M. Espinosa). In v. 1405 (not 1406) there should be a comma, or a dash, after *espada*. There is a slight pause.

789. *la* seems to refer to *disculpa*: "who gives offense by making love, what excuse will he give for his boldness? For if love gives an excuse to everybody, and I offend you with love, I shall scarcely be able to give the offense as an excuse."

797. *doscientos escudos de veneno*, 'two hundred crowns worth of poison.' There does not seem to be a pun on *escudilla*.

806. The line seems to be too long, as *fía* is regularly disyllabic: syneresis is rare.

814. The *décima* (*espinela*) is highly lyric, and is used to express emotion, as here.



821. The line is short by one syllable. C has *aqueste*, instead of *este*, which gives the requisite number of syllables.

836. *Miraba*, 'I thought.'

843. Lope, *Corona trágica*, f. 2, uses "pecho católico diamante."

938. *No paséis de ahí*, "Don't go any farther."

941. *manifesto* should be *manifiesto*.

1075. *Yo por su guarda voy*, 'I'll act as his guard.'

1128-1129, note. Observe also how frequently Molière used foreign languages and dialects in his plays.

1168-9 are spoken by Limón.

1098 and 1201. There seem to be two ways of emending the text:

Señora ;quién la escuchara . . . !

Perdonad si me turbara;

or,

¡Dichoso quien la escuchare . . . !

Perdonad si me turbare.

Either one would be grammatically and logically correct. *¡Quién la escuchare . . . !* as an exclamation is impossible. See v. 930. *Perdonad si me turbara* makes good sense, as the verb forms in *-ara*, *-iera*, in the works of Lope, Cervantes, *et al.*, may be either imperfect or pluperfect. Cf. *detuviera*, v. 1405; *viera*, v. 2573; *supiera*, v. 2595; *dijeras*, v. 3052—all used with the force of a pluperfect.

1205. The text of A, B, and C, seems in every way preferable. It is not likely that Don Juan would call the lady *reina*: he regularly uses *señora*. On the other hand, Limón is fond of *reina*: cf. vv. 512, 609.

1314. Hiatus between *dueño* and *estoy* is here quite impossible.

1321. *en pena*, 'in its torment.'

1339-1343. These lines are difficult of interpretation. At least once Lope has used *rostro* to mean 'mask'; as in the following lines to which Mr. C. E. Anibal has called my attention:

Teodoro . . . :

¿Por qué me infamas así?

Quita, Aurelio, el rostro, quita

la máscara; di a la Reina

cuál hombre, después que reina,

más su vida solicita.

(*Arminda Celosa*, I, 2, p. 694, *Obras de Lope de Vega* publicadas por la Real Acad. Esp. Nueva ed., *Obras dramáticas*, I.)

Both Teodoro and Aurelio have entered masked, the former only having removed his mask. Does the passage in our text mean: "Be sure that my heart, which I strive to give you, is laying aside its cloak, while its mask (disguise) rightly grants more liberty—or hand—than the liberty—or hand—which I have given you," or does *rostro* here mean 'face'?

1379-1381. Is not Limón afraid of falling while attempting to scale the brick wall of a house (*cf.* vv. 1370-1377)? The Countess d'Aulnoy, in her description of Toledo, says: "... fuimos a la plaza mayor, que se llama Zocodover. Las casas que la circundan son de ladrillo y todas análogas con balcones" (D'Aulnoy, *Viaje por España*—en 1679—, *versión castellana*, Madrid, 1891, p. 231). Note also the following description of Madrid: "Toutes ces maisons y sont de brique, hormis le palais du roi, dont néanmoins la façade seule est de pierre, les trois autres costez n'estant que de brique" (François Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d'Espagne*—en 1659—, *Revue hispanique*, XLVII, 43).

1418. *desengaño*, 'disillusionment, disappointment.'

1419. *lo* = *muerto*.

1442. The use of interrogative *cuál*, instead of *qué*, as an adjective, was not unusual then, but is now rare in standard Spanish.

1451. There is much conceptism in the preceding lines.

1490. *Esto*, 'This fact' (subject of *resiste*).

1529. *lo hilvanan*, 'they baste it together,' or 'they sew it together.' 'To baste' a fowl is quite different (*cf.* Voc.).

1541. *órgano*: the *Diccionario de Autoridades* describes an *órgano*, which was a mechanism used in taverns to cool beverages. Professor Buchanan has called my attention to the use of *órgano* in the sense of 'chorus,' or 'medley of voices,' as in *un órgano . . . de niños*, and *un órgano de gatos*.

1611. *cosan* is better.

1612. The line is too long by one syllable. With *bodego*, which Hartzenbusch uses, the line is metrically correct. The *Diccionario de Autoridades* gives *bodego*, "lo mismo que bodegón. Es voz festiva e inventada," and quotes Quevedo.

1648. *Ha de . . .*, or *ah de . . .*, is an exclamation used to call attention to the speaker. Thus:

*Don Juan.* (Ap. Llegad y hablad, lengua muda.)

¡Ah de arriba!

*Doña Inés.*

¿Sois don Gil?

(Tirso de Molina, *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, III, 12.)

Arriero Segundo

¡Ah del coche! ¿dónde bueno?

(Alarcón, *Las paredes oyen*, II, 14.)

1690. The meter requires *a* instead of *por*, as hiatus is usual when the initial vowel of the second word bears the rhythmic accent at the end of the line, as here. Cf. vv. 2541, 2251.

1725. *celos*. Note that Fernando has *celos* of the man who is making love to his sister. Here *celos* is "sospecha o temor" (*Diccionario de Autoridades*).

*ruido* should be *rüido*.

1731. Mothers seldom appear in the older plays of France or Italy either, unless it be in some noble tragedy (as in the *Andromaque* of Racine). Molière rarely presents a mother. Playwrights instinctively, and very wisely, avoid making fun of mothers or dragging them into commonplace affairs.

1748. Note the negative force of *¡hele visto yo*. . . .

1751. *despertar tu olvido*, 'remind you of an incident that you should forget.'

1802. *letuario* = *electuario*, "género de confeccion medicinal . . . de que hay varias especies purgantes, adstringentes o cordiales" (*Dicc. Aut.*). A bit of *letuario cordial* in the early morning was much esteemed by workmen:

Al madrugador,

almorzaba de ordinario

una lonja de lo añejo (jamón)

porque era cristiano viejo;

y con este letuario,

aqua vitis, que es de vid,

visitaba sin trabajo

calle arriba, calle abajo,

los egrotos de Madrid.

(Tirso de Molina, *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, I, 2.)

In *Porfiar hasta morir* (II, 14), Lope speaks of "letuario y aguardiente."

1817. *agradecido*, "que agradece" (*Dicc. Acad.*).

1851. *noche* seems to be the subject of *huya*. It is the 'night,' and not the 'dawn,' that silently flees toward the west in the early morning.



1922. *púrpura*, "color rojo subido" (*Dicc. Acad.*). It certainly does not mean *sangre* here.

1955. With *Es*, *Luis* is of one syllable; without it, *Luis* is dissyllabic. Robles (p. 262) states that in Tirso he found eighty-eight cases of dieresis to forty-two of syneresis, but today *Luis* is usually of one syllable, and it seems usually to be so in this play. Cf. vv. 1820, 2559, etc.

1994. Hartzenbusch does not give *lo*. According to all the rules of the game, there should be hiatus between *desde* and *hoy*, and with *lo* the line would then be too long.

2033. *os arrugasteis*, 'you rode hard' (crouching in the saddle). In Rojas's comedy, *Del rey abajo ninguno* (v. 779), *arrugar* seems to mean *robar*.

2083. *cristalina doncella*. Lope is fond of using *cristal* and *cristalino*. He uses these words at least five times in *Porfiar hasta morir*, and several times in the *Laurel de Apolo*. They usually refer to the water, white with foam, of the sea or of a brook or fountain. They may refer to silver, or even to white teeth, as in

Quando Dios no fabricara  
púrpura y cristal de roca,  
naturaleza en su boca  
cristal y púrpura hallara

(*Porfiar hasta morir*, II, 11.)

In the following passage, *cristal* is used to describe the fair hands of a beautiful woman:

¡Ay! ¡quién fuera tan dichoso  
que de aquella mano bella,  
de aquel cristal, de aquel nácar,  
ese favor recibiera!

(*Porfiar hasta morir*, III, 7.)

2153. *paz de Castilla*: *paz* may here mean 'kiss,' a common meaning of the word in certain expressions such as "dar paz" (*Cantar de mio Cid*, v. 3385), "la paz de Judas" (Vallés, *Libro de refranes*, cf. L), "paz de gallego, tenla por agüero" (Correas, *Vocabulario de refranes*, etc., p. 385); but, like Professor Buchanan, I must confess that there probably lurks an allusion that escapes me.

2203. *aún* should be *aun*.

2283. Latin *facies* (f.) 'face,' has given modern *haz* or *faz*, both feminine. Latin *fascis* (m.), 'bundle, sheaf,' has given modern *haz* (m.); while from Latin *acies* (f.), 'line of battle, troops in

battle array,' has come modern *haz* (m.). In the *Cantar de mio Cid*, *az* (from *acies*) is usually feminine, but at least once it is masculine (v. 711). *Faz* (from *fascis*) seems not to occur in the *Cid*. Latin *fascis* and modern Spanish *haz*, 'bundle, sheaf,' are both masculine, and I find no authority for believing this word ever to have been feminine. *Los haces* would therefore seem a better reading in our text.

2288-9. Note in the midst of this romance verse, with *ó-o* assonance, the interjection of two eleven-syllable lines. Is this a quotation?

2301, note. The *ne* should be *ve*.

2331. *Hacer* is often followed by the subjunctive.

2342. The line is too long. *En él* would make the line of the right length.

2480-3. 'Don Luis, because his past acts (of kindness toward me) bid me to put his hope in your possession. . . .'

2645. *no hay una*, in verse, always counts as three syllables. Cf. vv. 2704, 2782.

2687. "because of" seems superfluous in the translation.

2908-11. Mr. C. E. Anibal has called my attention to the following lines in Tirso de Molina, *El burlador de Sevilla*, 1:

y en vuestro divino oriente  
renazco, y no hay que espantar  
pues veis hay de mar a amar  
una letra solamente.

3005. *¿qué tiene más? = ¿qué mas da?*

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*Flaubert and Maupassant: A Literary Relationship*, by AGNES RUTHERFORD RIDDELL, Ph. D. The University of Chicago Press, 1920.

Dr. Riddell first treats the personal relationship existing between Flaubert and his disciple, Maupassant, and then presents a psychological study of the two men with a discussion of their general outlook on life and society. She takes up next the more immediate problem of literary relationship, and discusses similarities of plot, incident, characterization, ideas, and wording.

Her first chapter, which is short, has comparatively little direct value in interpreting these authors' literary ideals. It is to be regretted that the psychological analysis of both men, treated in the second chapter, is not further developed, for, in spite of their ideals of impersonality in literature, their writings are to be understood only in the light of their personalities. If the author had gone more deeply into their psychology, she could have explained the reason for their preferences, and rendered her whole discussion of resemblances more convincing. The romantic element in the nature of both could well have been enlarged upon, especially their fondness for the grotesque, the hideous, and the cruel. Flaubert's theory of color could have been more completely presented, for not only did the sounds of the syllables create a harmony that distinguished each phrase for Flaubert, but to him they suggested a color which also was suited to that special phrase.<sup>1</sup> The discussion of odor (p. 44) is incomplete, although it is a very interesting topic, if there lies behind it a definite theory, as in the case of color.

The treatment of character is by far the best part of the dissertation. It leads one more intimately into the philosophy of each writer than does any other section. In speaking of the peasant's having aspects of the brute, and of the effect on him of brutal manual toil, Dr. Riddell could have referred to the peasant novels of Ferdinand Fabre, Zola, and Balzac, for the realists dwell upon the same aspects. Apparently Emma Bovary is the great creation of Flaubert's genius. As the expression of his theory of *bovarysme*, her spirit runs through all he wrote. This same point of view is found in Maupassant, but is there none more dominant which is peculiar to the latter? Is "ineffectiveness," as portrayed by Frédéric Moreau, Brétigny, Pierre, and others, the counterpart of Flaubert's pessimism? This is the most interesting question raised in the thesis, but only one paragraph (pp. 92-93) is given to it.

<sup>1</sup> See J. Baratoux in *Le progrès médical*, 10 déc. 1887. This psychological phenomenon is often present with persons afflicted with the same malady as Flaubert. They can associate a color with every sound that strikes the ear. Cf. also Flaubert's remark, cited in the *Journal des Goncourt* (I, 17 mars 1861): "L'histoire, l'aventure d'un roman, ça m'est bien égal. J'ai la pensée, quand je fais un roman, de rendre une coloration, une nuance. Par exemple; dans mon roman carthaginois, je veux quelque chose de pourpre. Dans *Madame Bovary* je n'ai que l'idée de rendre un ton, cette couleur de moisissure de l'existence des cloportes."



The author leaves the impression with us that Flaubert is by far the greater genius, and we may infer that Maupassant was "not eminently inventive" (p. 13). Her conclusion, however, is not very convincing. She admits that "a considerable portion of Maupassant's work is distinctively his own," (p. 110), but she fails to prove it, for she gives us no adequate knowledge of the genius and ability of the younger man.

Sometimes there are not enough references cited to establish a point, as in notes 18, 35, 36; and in note 154, where but two references are given to prove that "examples are numerous." It would be well to avoid this tendency to generalities. We also find, "are universally present" (p. 20); "numerous descriptions of crowds" (p. 98); and, "there is frequent reference in both authors to historical events" (p. 42). The discussion of the *mot juste* (pp. 30, 31) is far from satisfactory. The author's only comment is, "On reading the words italicized above, one has the feeling that they are exactly the expressions required in the places where they occur." With Flaubert there was a whole philosophy of rhythm, sound, and color behind his choice of words. She does not try to explain this feeling for the "soul of words,"<sup>2</sup> or to show whether each writer had a peculiar bent in choosing words. Further on (p. 43) she says, "Throughout their works both authors note the sounds proper to their descriptions." There is nothing significant in the fact that the noises made by various animals are mentioned by both Flaubert and Maupassant. It is the peculiar method by which each author gains his effect that is of interest. In the last part of the same paragraph Dr. Riddell suggests this method merely. It is of special interest, however, and should be greatly expanded. In fact the whole question of how each author works for literary effects is very superficially treated.

I do not think much significance can be placed upon "similarity in wording" (p. 103). The two descriptions of a pile of rocks (p. 105) are somewhat alike, but they merely render the reaction of almost any observer. Why should not both writers use "sans doute" (p. 106) a thousand times in the course of many novels

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Maupassant, *L'étude sur Flaubert*, p. xlix. "Il y a dans les rapprochements et les combinaisons des mots de la langue écrite par certains hommes, toute l'évocation d'un monde poétique, que le peuple des mondains ne sait plus apercevoir ni deviner."

and short stories? "Enorme" and "frisson" (p. 106) have enough individuality, possibly, to indicate a special motive in their repeated use. They harmonize admirably with the romantic temperament of the two men. As for the use of the "ribbon" figure (p. 107), there are not enough examples to lead to any conclusion in the matter. The comparison with *sang* is more interesting, but the number of references given does not reveal any persistent use of the word. Both authors were naturally very fond of "blood color," because it fitted their love of the grotesque and the horrible.

In spite of the many interesting problems it brings to our attention, the thesis as a whole fails to interpret, in terms of literary values, the significance of the characteristics therein enumerated of the styles of the two writers, and such an interpretation is necessary in order to form any judgment in regard to their importance as producers of literature.

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*English Pageantry, An Historical Outline.* Volume II. By ROBERT WITHINGTON. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1920. Pp. vi + 435.

With an extensive review of the Lord Mayor's Show, of the surviving forms of the pageant, of the "Parkerian Pageant," and of Pageantry in the United States, this monument of devotion to an inevitably irritating but also fascinating subject has been completed. As it began so it ends with attempted definitions of the *genre*—a somewhat futile undertaking considering the various applications of the term "pageant" (*cf.* the stricter examples with such types as we find on pp. 159, 256, and *passim.*). The real importance of the work will be found in the rich material outlining the different spectacles, material which has the utmost significance for the historian as well as for the student of literature. The development from the treatments in the Renaissance, guided by little more than *l'art pour l'art*, to the strongly political shows of the seventeenth century (see II, pp. 172 ff.), reveals one more aspect of the trend of the times.

There is, of course, something disconcerting in the compilation of such a heterogeneous mass of detail, covering processions,

banners, floats, chariots, barges, characters of all kinds, folklore, allegory, and history, "tragical-comical-historical-pastoral, scene individable or poem unlimited." Yet, humanly speaking, there is much that captivates interest; as, for example, in the debate (II, p. 14, n. 4) as to how the devil got into the show,—“It is almost impossible to say whether this figure is a survival of the miracle-play drawn into pageantry by the influence of the wild-man, or whether it helped to make the ‘wood-man’ become wild.” One Henry Hardware put down the show in 1599 because of the “devill in his fethers” or, perhaps, because of the “gyauntes.” It is too bad that economy of space did not serve to allow a more extensive analysis of the folklore survivals such as the “green-men,” and of the symbolical themes like the emblems of the guilds and the puns on the mayors’ names (cf. II, pp. 71 ff.). There is plenty of material at hand but it is somewhat scattered.

The contrast between the old pageant and the new is striking, as the study makes it quite clear. There is an increased emphasis on history in the new pageant, and (as Dr. Withington set forth in his paper read by title, number 56, at the meeting of the Modern Language Association in 1917) a novelty in “technique and manner of presentation.” Perhaps we may criticize adversely, as somewhat confusing, his statements in one sentence that “the older and newer pageantry are so different from each other, that to include the modern work in a consideration of the early, is almost like adding an appendix about fire-dogs to a treatise on the habits of the canine,”—to adopt the humorously exaggerated figure of Mr. W. C. Langdon and his reservation in the next: “And yet the differences are not so great as at first appears” (II, p. 194). There is a similarly mixed effect for the reader in learning (p. 213) that “from modern pageantry allegory has practically disappeared” and yet (p. 296) that “in America, we have linked history to morality-play abstractions” (cf. p. 282, n. 1). But this difficulty vanishes when we see that by “modern pageant” Dr. Withington means “Parkerian” pageant (see p. 195, n. 1); and, after all, these are only details in wording.

The relation between the Midsummer festival and the Lord Mayor’s Show is not exactly so well drawn as it might be. In the first volume, p. 37, we were told, “The Lord Mayor’s show sprang from the Midsummer Show about the middle of the sixteenth



century.”<sup>1</sup> But in the second volume, p. 10, we find that “the civic show received pageants both from the ‘royal-entry’ and the Midsummer Show, to both of which the civic bodies contributed.” The only positive connection indicated is that Sir Lawrence Aylmer’s pageant of 1516 “seems to have been part of the Midsummer Show of that year” (II, 10, n. 2) although Fairholt “calls it one of the earliest notices of a pageant exhibited on Lord Mayor’s Day”; and again “in 1540 the Pageant of the Assumption which had figured in the annual show at the setting of the Midsummer watch in 1521-2, appears to have been borne before the Mayor from the Tower to Guildhall” (Fairholt, pt. 1, p. 14). As to the latter possible identification of elements (a pageant revived after eighteen years) it is to be observed that Herbert is “more cautious” (Withington, II, p. 11, n. 2). Is the indebtedness, then, simply a matter of these two doubtful instances? The Royal Entries were rich in material (see I, pp. 174 ff.). But, as Dr. Withington quotes from Chambers, “‘It is exceedingly probable that when the Midsummer Show came to an end in 1538, the pageants were transferred to the installation procession’” (II, p. 11).<sup>2</sup> And the reason for this conjecture follows later (pp. 14-15): “In the ‘royal-entry’ the platforms were usually stationary; in the ‘midsummer show’ . . . there was marching, and the platforms and giants were carried about.” The problem is far from simple. It was proposed that the pageants of the Drapers be given up in 1522 because there were so many already prepared for the royal-entry of Charles V in that year. Evidently a similarity between the two types of entertainment was obvious. Even the religious dumb-shows, where the guilds used appropriate pageants (Chambers, II, 163), seem to resemble the pageant of the Golden Fleece (Withington, I, p. 40) in 1522 and that of John the Baptist in 1553 (II, p. 14). What,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also II, p. 11: “. . . just at the time when the Midsummer Show in London is becoming the Lord Mayor’s Show”; and again, *MLN*, xxxiv, p. 501, “The London Lord Mayor’s Show grew out of the Midsummer Show during the first half of the sixteenth century.”

<sup>2</sup> One suggestion of a show in 1531 or 1542 is advanced by Miss Adams (*MLN*, May, 1917, p. 285). Dr. Withington’s attempt to dispose of the references to salt, which the speech literally drags in, seems to me weak. But I suspect that he is right in assigning it to a region outside of London, perhaps Norwich. It is especially interesting for its use of rime-royal.

also, was the contribution of the water processions, where the barges sometimes had elaborate emblematic decorations (cf. Fairholt, pt. 1, pp. 11-12 and Withington, II, p. 10, etc.)?

Possibly the outline of the Lord Mayor's Show is the most important part of the second volume. What Fairholt could not give is, in most cases, here supplied from evidence which Dr. Withington himself found in the British Museum. One omission is surprising,—that of the approach to Fame in Dekker's "*Troia Nova Triumphans*" of 1612 (to which I have referred in my note, *MLN*, XXXIII, pp. 178 ff. Cf. Withington, II, p. 81). And it is, perhaps, regrettable that a brief sketch of the shows described in Fairholt (see Withington, II, p. 36) could not have been included in order to make the study more nearly complete and the history of the characters summarized in the index lists more comprehensive. Thus Dr. Withington refers to the "Lemon Tree" of the 1616 show but not to the interesting pelican nesting at its root nor to the five senses seated around it (Fairholt, pt. 1, p. 41).

But the mass of detail in these entertainments is, after all, vast. And the range of the work is a matter of note, touching, as it does, on various American spectacles which illustrate new phases, and supplying a great abundance of foreign examples. The plates are unusually fine, especially that of the "Debarkation on Lord Mayor's Day" (opposite p. 112); and those of us who have not, like Dr. Withington, been invited to a Guildhall banquet, will be interested to see what the invitation looks like (opposite p. 140). The accounts of the entertainments are full and interesting. While we are indebted to the author for such a record of important material, we are also grateful to him for his agreeable telling of the story. The index is a reproach to those popular works of learning which still occasionally appear without any, an omission now inexcusable. Here the Italic type is used for pageant characters, the Roman for figures of history. The topics furnish bibliographies for future monographs; the references under Saint George, for instance, will give a good start on a thesis in advance of what has been done before. To the latter collection I may add a reference to "St. George and the Dragon come to London" in a Yuletide mumming, the Times Weekly Edition, January 2, 1920. Under Tournaments the Addendum (II, p. 190) brings the tournament strictly up to date; and there is, in general, an especial timeliness in Dr. Withington-

ton's book as a study of this chaotic, motley-hued "poetry for the masses."

The typography is good. I have noticed only a few errors:— P. 4, notes l. 8, delete comma. P. 23, l. 3, delete comma. P. 194, ll. 14, 15, delete commas. P. 207, l. 7, "above one hundred," delete "hundred" (also vol. I, p. 118). P. 233, n. 2, l. 2, "his ory," read "history." P. 272, l. 13, "mid-third," delete the hyphen. P. 300, l. 16, second word, read "Huns'." P. 367, "Dreams," second line, "Drolls" should form a new heading. P. 389, "Kittredge, 'Brema" read "Bremo." P. 431, Warwick, l. 5, delete the second reference "ii, 218."

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*Old English Ballads, 1553-1625.* By HYDER E. ROLLINS. Cambridge University Press, 1920.

Dr. Rollins's book suggests comparison with the Shirburn Ballads, so admirably edited by Andrew Clark in 1907. The Shirburn ballads are a MS. collection copied down from broadside issues about the beginning of the seventeenth century, many of them being still in existence in later black-letter print in the great collections reprinted by the Ballad Society. The interest of the Shirburn MS. is not in the uniqueness or even in the novelty of its contents (tho many of the ballads in it are not preserved elsewhere), but in its antiquity—it is some half-century older than most of the prints reproduced by the Ballad Society—and still more in its being a representative manuscript *ballad book*—an early specimen of a kind of compilation of which Percy's Folio MS. is the most famous exemplar, and which still flourishes among simple folk. Dr. Rollins's seventy-five items, on the other hand, are drawn from a variety of sources; a dozen of them are from unique early broadsides, twenty-three are from MS. Sloane 1896, twenty-nine from MS. Add. 15225 (both of these are in the British Museum), and the remaining eleven from nine different MSS. With few exceptions, they are preserved only in the print or MS. from which he draws them and have not been reprinted by modern ballad-students. They thus add a good deal to the available material for the study of trivial poetry (as Gay might have called it) in the sixteenth and



seventeenth centuries. MS. Sloan 1896 is a distinctly Protestant collection of poems made in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. MS. Add. 15225 (which is reprinted in its entirety except for four pieces which are known elsewhere) is as distinctly a Catholic compilation, made about 1616. It is of great value as illustrating the temper of English Catholics in the opening years of the seventeenth century. Both Protestant and Catholic compiler show a strong preference for poems of edification. The Catholic Ms. is especially noteworthy for its devotional fervor, its steadfastness under persecution, and its freedom from vituperation—altho it has one piece, unmatched elsewhere, pouring contempt upon the sensuality and hypocrisy of puritans.

The word 'ballad,' despite the labors of critics in the last hundred and fifty years, seems still to be as inclusive as it was three centuries ago. Not one of these *Old English Ballads* has the slightest connection in style or content with the 'traditional popular ballad.' A scant seven are really narrative: one on Somerset's attempt to prevent the succession of Mary Tudor, four on executions, under Mary, Elizabeth, or James, of religious recusants, one versification of part of the book of Tobit, and one *exemplum* (not from current journalism) of the fate of the faithless retainer. There are two 'goodnights,' one of them of Anne Saunders (not hitherto reprinted), whose crime is dramatized in *A Warning for Fair Women*; but neither is really narrative. There is a humorous account of the triumphs of Good Ale over all comers, in alphabetical order. There are three pieces, rather celebrations than narratives, on the Gunpowder Plot. For the rest, they are reflective poems, occasionally gallant or amorous, occasionally satirical, but for the most part hortatory, moralizing, or (especially in the Catholic MS. Add. 15225) devoutly and personally religious. Some of them, both in the Protestant and the Catholic MS., have no more suggestion of the ballad-hawker than have the utterances of devotional aspiration in Vaughan's *Silex Scintillans*. One is impelled to raise the question, By what test are the contents of these two MSS. adjudged to be, even in the most liberal sense, ballads? In this most liberal sense a ballad is a poem composed for the broadside press and intended to be chanted or sung. As Dr. Rollins himself has pointed out (*PMLA*, xxxiv, 312), 'the tune was always specifically named along with the title' in printed ballads; and, in substance, it is the fact of broadside issue that determines a poem

to be a ballad. Some twenty-seven of the poems in the Shirburn MS. are still extant in black-letter broadsides, and the rest are so similar in quality that we may confidently assume a like source for all of them. The same is true of the poems in MS. Rawlinson Poet. 185, from which Clark printed nine pieces as appendix to his *Shirburn Ballads*, and Rollins prints three more. But none of the pieces from the Sloane MS. is preserved elsewhere, and only two of those from MS. Add. 15225 are extant as broadsides. Ballad print, to be sure, is notoriously ephemeral, and the lack of extant broadsides is in itself of little weight. Supplementary evidence may be drawn from the Stationers' Registers. Dr. Rollins identifies three of the pieces given from the Sloane MS. with ballad entries in the Register, and four of those from the Add. MS. Others (four from the Sloane MS., three from MS. Add. 15225) are less confidently identified with entries in the Register. Turning to the other test, the indication of the tune, it should be borne in mind that seventy of the eighty poems in the Shirburn MS. have the tune to which they are to be sung named in the MS. In the Sloane MS. the tune is never indicated. In the Add. MS. the tune is given for four of the pieces and place made for it (but left blank) in two others; the rest are without this evidence of broadside origin. The absence of the word 'ballad' in the title is of course of little weight; broadside ballads are entitled 'laments,' 'warnings,' 'complaints,' 'ditties,' or 'songs' only less frequently than 'ballads'; yet it is probably significant that only one of the pieces from the Add. MS. is described in its title as a 'ballad' (nine are 'songs'; the rest are generally without title), and only one of those from the Sloane MS. In the Shirburn MS. twenty-seven are entitled 'ballads,' six are 'lamentations,' six 'ditties,' five 'complaints,' four 'warnings,' four 'songs,' two 'sonnets,' one an 'epitaph,' and one a 'jig.' And if by none of these external marks they are determined to have had or to have been intended for circulation as broadsides, it is hard to see any internal evidence of such a destination in exalted lyrics of the inner life like those beginning 'O blessed God, O saviour sweete, O Jesu, looke on mee!' and 'Calvarie mount is my delight, a place I love so well; Calvarie mount, O that I might deserve on thee to dwell!'

But it would be a brave man that undertook to say what kind of poetry may not have got into ballad print provided it was not too

long to be contained on a broadside; nor is it probably a question of any importance except to those who wish to give the word 'ballad' a more definite denotation than it yet appears to possess. By whatever name they should be called, these poems are a most welcome addition to our store of fugitive poetry from the days of Mary, Elizabeth, and James, welcome both to the literary and to the social historian. One of them in particular is probably without a parallel in or outside of printed balladry—the 'ballad concernynge the death of mr. *Robert glover* [who was burned in the persecution under Mary in 1555], wrytone to maystrys *marye glover*, his wyf, of a frend of hers' (MS. Stowe 958, B. M.). It is in the main a typical street ballad of the pious, hortatory type, describing for the edification of its hearers the exemplary life and teachings, the arrest, trial, and execution of Robert Glover; but it is not the work of the impersonal professional journalist. Its author, Robert Bott, is a friend of Glover's wife, whom he addresses in the ballad as 'my dear Mary,' and godfather to Glover's youngest son; and the ballad closes in the style of a personal letter to the widow adjuring her to 'forgett not that same chylde, *Tymothye glover*, yonge in age, . . . Beinge the yongest of them all, also my god-sonne dear.' Nowhere else, probably, is journalistic balladry combined with the personal letter of condolence. Scarcely less noteworthy is the long, detailed, realistic ballad on the Catholic martyr Thewlis, who was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Lancaster in 1616.

And one thing more—of interest, this time, to students of traditional balladry. From MS. Rawlinson Poet. 185 (dating from about 1592) Dr. Rollins prints a lover's lament, 'A verie pretie sounge. To the Tune of *Hobbinoble and John a Side*.' Before 1600, then, this finest of border ballads (Child 187) was so well known that it gave name to a tune for a street ballad!

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

The life of the scholar, equally with that of the business man and of every other individual who is striving to keep afloat in the current of twentieth-century progress, has been gaining a tremendous momentum during the past two decades. And the problems that come to the scholar of today, like those confronting the business man and the general educator, deal more and more with the concentration and conservation of energy in the handling of his work. Not only are scholarly methods receiving their share of the general scrutiny resultant from the present movement for greater efficiency, but the scholar himself is increasingly impressed with the fact that older methods of scholarly research are gradually becoming inadequate.

While the older scholar has developed step by step with the growth of the *Oxford Dictionary*, the *Publications of the Early English Text Society*, *Englische Studien*, *Anglia*, *Modern Language Notes*, and similar accomplishments of organized effort in the field of English scholarship, and while he has appraised the scholarship of contemporary workers in English as he has read their publications and exchanged reprints with them, acquiring thru a long period of years, by what might be termed the natural process, a wide and detailed bibliographical knowledge of the field, the younger man, coming to scholarly maturity within recent years, has no such wealth of experience to keep him afloat in the rapidly increasing current, but instead is confronted with long shelves of rich accumulations in almost any part of the field he may choose to enter. Not a few of the series of publications have attained to scores of volumes, some to hundreds even, and the names of the scholars who should be familiar to the student are many. Yet, if he wishes to be regarded as an authority on any subject, he must not overlook anything of importance that has been said about it. For not only should he have all available help in working out original contributions to the general fund of knowledge, but we are growing less and less tolerant of duplication, of mere restatement of that which has been said already.

And so it is forced upon him almost at the outset that he must acquire some well-organized and systematic method of attaining to a maximum knowledge of his materials in a minimum of time. He has so much to keep pace with in the present that he cannot make as deliberate a survey of the field as one could even two or three decades ago.

It was the gradual realization on my part, some eight or ten years ago, of the need of a thoroging index to the materials available for the study of the English language and the earlier literature that led me to discard my earlier haphazard method of gathering information and to begin a card-bibliography of the field. During the years that I have been compiling this bibliography from the various *Jahresberichte* and *Jahresverzeichnisse*, from earlier books and periodicals, and from the scholarly output since the war began, it has grown to tens of thousands of slips, and has become so useful both to myself and to others who have had access to it that I have become convinced of the desirability of publishing a part of it as a *Bibliography of the English Language*.

Consequently I have been working for some time at the verification and transcription of my slip-titles, hoping that within the next two or three years I may be able to complete the copy for the printer. Because of the careful and exacting labor involved in the verification of the multiplicity of details relating to names, dates, volume and page numbering, etc., I have hesitated to go far before placing the project before those who are likely to be most concerned about it. For not only should I not like to duplicate the work of someone else who may be working at the same kind of bibliography, but even if the field is entirely clear, I feel that such a bibliography would be of so general usefulness, if properly done, that it should be regarded as the common property of all students of the English language, both in its earlier stages of preparation and as a completed volume on the scholar's desk.

As I have planned the volume—and I should guess that it would be a fat one, or possibly two, tho I have not yet been able to measure the material very exactly—the contents would be about as follows:

- I. General collections, including bibliographical guides, periodicals, series of studies, series of books, and general miscellanies.
  - II. History of the study of the English language.
  - III. English paleography.
  - IV. Comparative studies (*e. g.* English and German).
  - V. Old English.
  - VI. Middle English.
  - VII. Modern English (to about 1900 A. D.)
  - VIII. Current tendencies in English.
  - IX. General and historical works on the English language
  - X. Theory and method of the study and teaching of English.
- Index of authors and reviewers.

Numerous problems arise at the very outset in the planning of such a bibliography. It is not easy to decide just how far such a collection should outline the history of English philology while attempting, on the other hand, to meet the needs of those who desire only the most up-to-date and usable presentations of given topics. Inasmuch as such a piece of work, if properly done in the first place, is not likely to be duplicated and indeed should obviate all necessity for duplication, except for an occasional re-edition or supplement

intended to strengthen and extend it, there is little likelihood that anyone else would feel impelled to go extensively into the gathering up of certain bibliographical data in this field which would be of historical value only. And so I have planned to take cognizance of all works on the English language—except stylistic, rhetorical, and the more superficial pedagogical studies—published since about 1800 A. D.

This is, I realize, a very ambitious plan; but I have gone even farther in hoping that I may be able to condense into Section II all the important publications on the English language prior to 1800 which would interest the historian of the language. And by the historian I mean not merely the student who is turning over old things for the pure love of examining them, but even more the sincere advocate of reform in nomenclature and spelling and in methods of presenting the study of the language who is striving to build his reforms more intelligently upon a thoro knowledge of the work already done by past generations.

Consequently I would make all lists chronological in order that the more superficial student can begin with the most recent study and hunt back until he finds what he wants, while the historically minded can go at once to the earliest and follow his subject down to the present.

Because of a belief that we shall pay increasing attention during the next few decades to the philological careers of men some of whom have but recently passed away, I am ambitious to give very full lists of reviews in smaller type immediately after the titles of works reviewed. Such reviews are likely to prove useful in a number of ways, I believe. There is no denying that some of them offer almost as much scholarly meat as the books they discuss. But even though others do not give much except general estimates, they are likely, none the less, to aid the scholar stranded in some out-of-the-way place in avoiding the useless when he buys or orders material for his work. And, finally, the historian of recent English philology cannot afford to ignore the review in his study of scholarly tendencies and opinions.

I hope to keep the classification of material so simple that a table of contents will suffice and no subject-index will be necessary. I have planned, therefore, to make the subdivisions of Sections V to IX as nearly identical as possible, listing in the same order in each of these sections general works, studies of phonology and orthography, derivation and classification of words, inflection, syntax, semasiology, and miscellaneous studies. But I also expect to make a very complete author-index which will make more easy an estimate of the work of each scholar in the field.

A free use of cross-references seems desirable. I shall also offer a certain amount of guidance thru the use of asterisks placed before titles of works of importance, as well as a fairly generous amount of annotation. But on the whole the liberal citation of reviews should



obviate the need of much annotation, especially since the important thing is, after all, the accurate compilation and intelligent classification of fairly complete lists of titles which the scholar can follow up as he may see fit.

If there is generally felt to be a need for such a bibliography, and if the advantage which my present bibliographical collection gives me in undertaking the task justify me in pursuing it with ardor, I trust that I may appeal to the interest of others who are working in this field, and that I may command their advice or criticism before the work shall have gone too far toward completion. For to a very unusual degree such a book should present not merely the ideas and mental habits of the author, but as far as possible the best response to actual needs of many students of the English language.

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#### CHAUCER'S "FASTE BY THE BELLE," C.T. A. 719

The various editors have no note; Skeat in his Index of Proper Names says merely: "the Bell, an inn." When one looks carefully for a Southwark inn called the Bell, one finds at first an embarrassment of riches. Rendle and Norman, *The Inns of Old Southwark*, London, 1888, list half a dozen or more in the index, and thus it becomes a problem to single out the particular Bell which Chaucer referred to.

(1) John Taylor, the Water Poet, in his *Travels and Circular Perambulation* among the taverns of England, (London, 1636)<sup>1</sup> names nine Bell's, among them the "Bell at Saint Thomas in Southwarke" (p. 19). This would be presumably an inn connected with the Hospital of St. Thomas a Watring, on the eastern side of Borough High street, about half way between the end of London Bridge and the Talbot (Tabard) inn.

(2) A trade token of the seventeenth century bears witness to the existence of a Bell tavern in Bear Alley, Bridgfoot, Southwark.<sup>2</sup> This Bear Alley is distinctly marked very near the end of the Bridge on a map of about 1542.<sup>3</sup>

(3) Rendle and Norman mention, p. 316, without citation of evidence, a Bell alehouse in 1723 in Montague Close (which is at the northwest corner of St. Mary Overy).

(4) In 1723 there was still a Bell in Clink street,<sup>4</sup> and this is

<sup>1</sup> Spenser Society, vol. XIX, 1876.

<sup>2</sup> Rendle and Norman, p. 315.

<sup>3</sup> Frontispiece to Rendle's *Old Southwark and Its People*, London, 1878.

<sup>4</sup> Rendle and Norman, p. 316.

probably the same as that given in the token book of 1596 as the residence of Philip Henslow: "The Bell, near Horse Shoe Alley." For in the *Memoirs of Edward Alleyn*,<sup>5</sup> there is a letter dated 1593 showing that Henslow lived "on the bank sid right over against the clink," that is, opposite the noted Clink gaol, close beside Winchester House.

(6) Without alleging any reason, Rendle and Norman identify Chaucer's Bell with one which "happily our ingenious Rogue" showed in his 1746 map, a little farther down Borough High Street from the Talbot and on the opposite side. This Bell, however, seems to be inferred (perhaps rightly) from the Bell Yard, of which we have a sacramental token of about 1637,<sup>6</sup> and which appears on the map in John Strype's edition of Stow's Survey of London.<sup>7</sup>

(7) Further testimony of the existence of a Bell is given, again without citation of authority, in Rendle and Norman, p. 292: "In 1577 mention is made of one John Woodward of Southwark, who is the 'hoste' of the Bell. . . . The Bell figures as an important landmark—'from the Bell, towards Waverley House.'"

(8) Finally, there is a Bell of ill repute mentioned by Stowe.<sup>8</sup> Among the "houses most notable" in Southwark he names "The Tabard an Hosterie or Inne" and "The stewes on the Banke of Thames." These stews must have interested him, for he devoted to them nearly as much space as to St. Mary Overy (with the long note on Gower), and four times as much as to the Bishop of Winchester's house and the Bishop of Rochester's house together. Next to the Bear Gardens, he says, "was sometime the Bordello or stewes, a place so called, of certaine stew houses priuiledged there, for the repaire of incontinent men to the like women, of the which priuiledge I have read thus." Follow a dozen rules and regulations from the licence granted under Henry II, confirmed in 1345 under Richard II (when the houses were owned by the mayor of London), and on down to Henry VII's time. It was not until 1546 that they were "put down." "These allowed stewhouses," continues Stow, "had signes on their fronts, towards the Thames, not hanged out, but painted on the walles, as a Boares heade, the Crosse keyes, the Gunne, the Castle, the Crane, the Cardinals Hat, the Bel, the Swanne, &c."

Of these Bell taverns just listed, only two, (4) and (8), are known to have existed before 1600. The others testify to the celebrity of St. Saviour's chimes, but they may properly be disregarded in a search for the fourteenth-century Bell. Something might be

<sup>5</sup> Shakespeare Society (1841), p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> Rendle and Norman, p. 293.

<sup>7</sup> London, 1720, II, opposite p. 27. This map is certainly the source of our ingenious Rogue's information.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. C. L. Kingsford, Oxford, 1908, II, 53, 54, 55.

claimed, of course, for the Bell Yard, because it is so close to the Tabard; but beyond its propinquity there is no evidence. It is possible, moreover, and even somewhat probable, that the (renovated) Bell in which Henslow lived "right over against the Clink" is the same Bell which before 1546 had been a disreputable stew-house. For Stow distinctly says that the stews were next to the Clink prison. To be sure, nothing in Stow implies that the Bell was the most easterly of the houses (although it is next to the last in his list); and the 1542 view of London by Wyngaerde shows a slight empty space between Winchester house and the stews. But it is at the least an odd coincidence that there should have been—if there were—two Bell's so close together in Stow's and Henslow's time.

The search has thus narrowed apparently to one (or two) inns of the late sixteenth century. But from 1593 to 1387 is a long leap—in the dark. We can say only that here on the Bankside had existed notorious brothels since before Chaucer's day, and among them there was a house known to Stow (who was born in 1525) as the Bell. To claim that since there was a Bell near the Clink in 1593 and also a brothel by that name somewhat earlier, therefore a century and a half or more earlier the Bell in Southwark was a famous resort for incontinent men and the like women, would be altogether unwarrantable. But if such *were* the fact, imagine the twinkle in Chaucer's eye when he wrote that

. . . assembled was this companye  
At Southwerk, at this gentil hostelrye  
That highte the Tabard, faste by the Belle.

The Knight, the Squire, Lady Eglantine, the Monk, and certain others would enjoy Harry Bailey's hospitality at the Tabard; the Cook, the Reeve, the Miller, and certain others may patronize the Bell also—it's not far away!

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### THE ORIGINAL END OF *Faerie Queene*, BOOK III

Criticism has traditionally seen in the first stanza of the Proem to Book IV of the *Faerie Queene* a reference to censure from Lord Burleigh:

The rugged forehead that with grave foresight  
Welds kingdoms, causes, and affaires of state,  
My looser rimes (I wote) doth sharply wite,  
For praising love, as I have done of late,

<sup>1</sup> See for the stanzas Smith, J. C., *Faerie Queene*, Oxford, 1909, Books I-III, pp. 517-518.



And magnifying lovers dear debate;  
 By which frail youth is oft to follie led,  
 Through false allurements of that pleasing baite,  
 That better were in virtues disciplined  
 Then with vaine poemes weeds to have their fancies fed.

Burleigh's displeasure has sometimes <sup>2</sup> been connected with the first writing of the *Hymn in Honor of Love*, printed in the 1596 edition of the *Fowre Hymnes*, with an apologetic dedication in which Spenser regrets the moral tenor of the first two.

P. W. Long, who dates the first Hymn at 1590,<sup>3</sup> detecting there a possibility of sensuous interpretation to a reader ignorant of Platonic fashions, says of the reference under discussion: "The allusion refers to some poems regarded at some time between 1590-1596 as having been written 'of late.' To what other 'loose rimes' or 'vaine poemes' can the stanza refer?"

But *Faerie Queene*, Part I, Books I, II, III, 1590, has since Burleigh's time received a like criticism from perhaps less squeamish critics than Burleigh.<sup>4</sup>

The object of the present note is to suggest a special passage which might have come under Burleigh's attention,—the original ending of Book III, 1590, which described the rapturous reunion of Scudamour and Amoret.

At least here might be a more likely occasion for Burleigh's ire than a Platonic Hymn. We have long ceased to take seriously Spenser's repentance in the dedicatory epistle<sup>5</sup> to the *Hymns*. Dr. Long<sup>6</sup> points out in some passages a "feigning" for the sake of Neo-Platonic decorum, to suit the antithesis between the earlier and later *Hymns*. The literary retraction too has been recognized as a convention.<sup>7</sup> At any rate, even if we could take Spenser at his word, it would be hard to recapture a really Puritanic point of view toward the *Hymn in Honor of Love*.

But the stanzas of *Faerie Queene* III, end, 1590, are frankly sensuous, boldly amorous, stanzas which must have been dear to the poet of the *Epithalamion*, not to be sacrificed without reason. Their excision has usually been explained as a necessity of structure.<sup>8</sup> Spenser, returning to the *Faerie Queene* with the problem of Book IV before him, had further use for the separation of Scudamour and Amoret. He altered therefore the end of Book III,

<sup>2</sup> See Buck, P. O., *Mod. Lang. Ass. Pub.*, 23, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> *Englische Studien*, 47, pp. 197-208.

<sup>4</sup> See for instance Jusserand, J. J., *A Literary History of the English People*, 2d ed., 1910, vol. II, p. 497.

<sup>5</sup> Fletcher, J. W., *Mod. Lang. Ass. Pub.*, 26, 452.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

<sup>7</sup> Tatlock, *Mod. Lang. Ass. Pub.*, 28, p. 521.

<sup>8</sup> For some statement of the discussion, see Erskine, J., *Mod. Lang. Ass. Pub.*, 30, p. 83.

that the lovers might just miss each other in the teasing way of romantic epic.

That Spenser did make a larger use of the Amoret theme than he had at first intended, seems obvious. He kept it at the expense of order and clarity, allowing the narrative to double on itself to introduce the Temple of Venus. He plainly needed Amoret. The excision, however, at the end of Book III was unnecessary in order to keep her. Amoret resumes her wanderings, only — after a romantic episode — to be lost again. She might as well have been lost by Scudamour as by Britomart, unless we can persuade ourselves that there is important allegorical need for her brief companionship just at this point with Britomart.<sup>9</sup>

More specifically, Spenser fails to introduce the rejected stanzas later when he has desperate need of them, toward the end of Book IV, after IV, 9, 39, perhaps.<sup>10</sup> At last the several ways of Amoret and Scudamour draw together; there is again occasion for the rapturous greeting; but Scudamour entirely neglects to perceive Amoret. In this passage we have the worst loose end in the *Faerie Queene*, though Spenser had, ready made, the perfect finish. He must have had the fine stanzas in memory; certainly in print. But he failed to use them, careful man as he was in the salvage of old material.<sup>11</sup> Is it possible that he is still fearing of contemptuously obeying the frown of the "rugged brow"?

To the present guess there is of course the objection that the preface to Book IV may have been written so near the date of publication, 1596, that poems printed in 1590 could hardly have been called "of late." Burleigh's criticism would apply, however, as rightly to the *Faerie Queene* of 1590 as to a Platonic Hymn, of the same date if Dr. Long is right about the year, or earlier by other judgments.<sup>12</sup> It seems natural at least that Spenser, smarting from attack, and resentful at about this time for other reasons,<sup>13</sup> began the second part of the *Faerie Queene* with this frank appeal against his enemy, and left it unchanged, as appropriate still in 1596.

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<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.* Prof. Erskine includes the episode in his interpretation of the friendship allegory.

<sup>10</sup> See Upton's comment, Todd, *Works of Edmund Spenser*, 1805, vol. v, p. 338.

<sup>11</sup> See for instance Sandison, H. E., *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, 25, p. 150.

<sup>12</sup> See Winstanley, L., *Spenser's Four Hymnes*, Cambridge, 1907, p. 11; Fletcher, J. B., *Mod. Lang. Ass. Pub.*, 26, p. 452. There is no evidence to show that Burleigh would have seen in manuscript the passage of the *Faerie Queene* under discussion. See Smith, J. C., *op. cit.*, pp. xi-xii.

<sup>13</sup> See Long, P. W., *op. cit.*, p. 207.

THE DATE OF *Tumble-Down Dick*

It is somewhat strange, in the light of all the evidence obtainable on the first performance and publication of Fielding's burlesque *Tumble-Down Dick; or, Phaeton in the Suds*, to find so many errors concerning its date. So numerous are they that it would seem important to call attention to them. Two dates, both wrong, are continually bobbing up, either in editions of Fielding's plays or in books which list them. These dates are 1737 and 1744. The error is found as early as 1756 in Dodsley's *Theatrical Records*, which assigns the play to 1744. In 1762 appeared Millar's edition of Fielding, and the title page of *Tumble-Down Dick* bears these words: "First Acted in 1744." Succeeding editions have copied this error; Henley notes, for example, that Roscoe, in 1840, gives the date as 1744. Baker's *Biographia Dramatica* (1782) gives 1744. The *New Theatrical Dictionary* (1792) says 1737, as do the *Thespian Dictionary* (1802) and Oulton's *The Drama Recorded* (1814). Lawrence, in his *Life of Fielding* (1855, p. 376), says 1737, and Lindner (*Fieldings Dramatische Werke*, 1895, p. 122) follows Lawrence in asserting that 1737 is correct. Henley, in his edition of Fielding (1903), gives the date of the first edition of *Tumble-Down Dick* as either 1737 or 1744. He notes that the earliest copy in the British Museum is the edition of 1744. The *Stage Cyclopaedia* (1909) says 1737. Godden (*Henry Fielding*, 1910), in her bibliography of Fielding's works, says that *Tumble-Down Dick* belongs to 1744. Dobson (*Fielding*, 1911) assigns the play to 1737, and the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (vol. 10, 1913), in the Fielding bibliography following chapter two, gives the first edition as belonging to 1737.

Yet, in spite of the foregoing array of figures, the correct date is 1736. Pritchard's *The Fall of Phaeton*, which Fielding follows very closely in his burlesque, was published in March, 1736.<sup>1</sup> On April 2 Aaron Hill said in the *Prompter*: "I am told that *Pasquin* is preparing to attack *Pantomime*, and is to begin with the *Fall of Phaeton*." Fielding's *Pasquin*, which began its famous run at the New Theatre in the Haymarket on March 5, was by this time the talk of the town.<sup>2</sup> The fortieth performance of *Pasquin* was advertised in the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* of April 21 for the night of April 28, "To which will be added . . . *Tumble-Down Dick*." The same advertisement appeared on April 22, 24, and 26, during a break in the run of *Pasquin*. On April 27, however, the fortieth performance of *Pasquin* was advertised for that

<sup>1</sup> *London Magazine*, v, 164.

<sup>2</sup> See letter from Mrs. Pendarvis to Dr. Swift, April 22, 1736, in *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delaney*. London: 1861. I, 554.



night with the following additional statement: "Tomorrow will be added (never perform'd before) . . . *Tumble-Down Dick*." The first performance of *Tumble-Down Dick* was not given on April 28, however. On Wednesday, April 28, the advertisement of "The Forty-First Day" of *Pasquin* in the *London Daily Post*, read, "Tomorrow, April 29, will be presented," etc., and ended with this paragraph: "The Company being engaged in the Practice of the Entertainment, and by reason of the Royal Wedding,<sup>3</sup> expecting no Company but themselves, are obliged to defer playing 'till To-morrow." On Thursday, April 29, the same advertisement of "The Forty-First Day" appeared, but the date of the performance was given as "this Day, April 29." On the twenty-ninth of April, then, immediately following the forty-first performance of *Pasquin*, came the first of twenty-one performances of *Tumble-Down Dick*, furnishing, curiously enough, the customary afterpiece or entertainment (with pantomime) which it was intended to satirize. Although published separately, it became in its acted form an integral part of *Pasquin*, and joined without a break the rehearsal plot of the more famous play. I have shown elsewhere how closely Fielding followed Pritchard in writing his burlesque.

When *Pasquin* was published on April 8, 1736, Watts advertised underneath the *Dramatis Personae*: "Shortly will be published *Tumble-Down Dick*, or *Phaeton* in the *Suds*, a serious Pantomime, now practising at the Haymarket Theatre." It was not actually produced, as we have seen, until April 29. On the same day came its publication, for Watts advertised it in the *Evening-Post* (No. 1319) for Thursday, April 29-Saturday, May 1, 1736, as "this Day publish'd." This first edition is exceedingly rare; in fact, the only copy which I know of is the one which belonged to John Genest, and which may now be found in the Dickson collection in the library of Yale University.

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#### JOHN TRUMBULL'S INDEBTEDNESS TO THOMAS WARTON

In this centenary year of the publication of the first complete edition of *The Poetical Works of John Trumbull* (Hartford, 1820), it may be of interest to point out a curious parallel that I have not seen mentioned hitherto. The likeness between Trumbull's *The Progress of Dulness*, Part I (1772) and Thomas Warton's *The Progress of Discontent* (1746) is not confined to the similarity in

<sup>3</sup> This royal wedding which gave the Great Mogul's Company additional time in which to rehearse *Tumble-Down Dick* was the marriage of Frederick, Prince of Wales, to Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha.

title, nor to the octosyllabic couplets which they have in common, but there is analogy in spirit and content as well. Both are satires on college life: Warton's on Oxford, Trumbull's on Yale. Both begin with the bringing to college of the son who in the eyes of the father has attainments that merit further cultivation. In each the son rebels against the harshness of the rules, thinks of breaking them, but loves ease too much, and in the end finds "the dulness of a college" no place "to waste his whole age." As a relief from the tedium of Horace and Homer, or Virgil and Tully, Warton's young intellectual settles amid the fields surrounding a Popean estate where at length he "commences country parson" while Trumbull's decides

To teach a school at first and then to preach

but eventually he also

—fixes down for life, in some unsettled town,

where

Vast tracts of unknown land he gains.

While it is true that there is an un-English quality in the facts that Trumbull's poem unquestionably draws from the atmosphere of New Haven, yet the attitude toward life is one which prevailed in the British light-essayists from Addison on. In view of the fact that the imitative young New Englander had matched classical tributes with Biblical paraphrases after the fashion of Watts, had done two fables like Gay, given "Advice to Ladies of a Certain Age" like a true Englishman of the century, had written an elegy on his friend, St. John, in the manner of the "graveyard poets," and had bid his contemporaries

their lays with lofty Milton vie;—  
And shine with Pope, with Thompson and with Young<sup>1</sup>

may it not be likely that he derived inspiration from Warton's poem published twenty-six years before and that he was so pleased with the theme that he added a second and a third part?

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<sup>1</sup> *Prospect of the Future Glory of America* (1770), p. 3.

THE SOURCES OF LANDOR'S *Gebir*

Walter Savage Landor told John Forster, his biographer, that the source of his youthful epic, *Gebir*, was a work published in 1785 called *The Progress of Romance, through times, countries, and manners, with remarks on the good and bad effects of them respectively, in a course of Evening Conversations*. Miss Reeve states in her Preface to this work that her story came in turn from the French translation made by M. Pierre Vattier of an Arabian manuscript by Murtada ibn al Khafif, found in the Mazarin Library. In his bibliography of *Gebir* in the collected works of Landor Mr. Charles George Crump expresses doubt that Miss Reeve saw this French translation, thinking it possible that she knew the translation of the manuscript made in 1672 by John Davies, a voluminous translator. Mr. Crump had not seen the English translation. However, a comparison, which I have just completed, between Davies' translation and Miss Reeve's tale indicates the improbability that Miss Reeve knew Davies' translation, and the probability that she translated M. Vattier's French freely, adapting the story to her own ends. Not only does Miss Reeve omit various episodes included by Davies, such as, "the figure of an Ichneumon . . . made of Gold," and additional details concerning the death of Gebir, but she never once uses the phraseology of Davies, or details which could be precisely attributed to him. It is reasonably certain, then, that the order of development of the story of *Gebir* was not through Davies, but as follows: The Arabian manuscript, M. Vattier's translation, the last story in Miss Reeve's *Progress of Romance*, and then Landor's epic. The legend, as a part of English poetry, ends with the imitations of Landor's *Gebir*, William Sotheby's *Saul* (1802), and Sergeant Rough's *Conspiracy of Gowrie*, written at about the same time.

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## BRIEF MENTION

*The Influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of Old English Poetry*. By Albert Keiser (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature. Vol. v, Nos. 1, 2, 1919). Two decades ago the import of this subject was expounded by Dr. H. S. MacGillivray (*Studien zur englischen Philologie*, VIII), who in his turn was guided by Karl Weinhold, R. von Raumer, and Bernhard Kahle. These scholars had studied Gothic, Old High German, and Old Norse respectively with reference to the same 'Influence,' and Dr. MacGillivray derived from them not only the conception of the



problem as a whole but also a method for classifying the material. This method has been readopted, or continued, by Dr. Keiser, who in a sense has completed the work begun by Dr. MacGillivray. Of these two investigators the earlier attempted to survey the entire literature, prose and poetry, but unfortunately he encumbered his material with details so profuse as to compel him to restrict his publication to merely one-third of what his plan embraced. "No continuation has ever appeared," writes Dr. Keiser, and adds that in a letter to him (Dec. 2, 1916) Dr. MacGillivray "states that certain circumstances had led to 'the complete shipwreck of my hopes for the completion of my book.' His consent to take up the work was obtained."

The Anglo-Saxon (Old English) member of the group of studies begun by von Raumer has therefore been the special concern of two authors. It is important to keep in mind that the publications of these two authors constitute a peculiar whole. Restricting his observations to the poetry and adopting a more concise method of presentation, Dr. Keiser has been able to traverse all the approved divisions of the subject within the printed space required by Dr. MacGillivray's initial chapters. But this resultant completeness does not annul the value of the earlier and incomplete study; it rather heightens the importance of regarding both prose and poetry, and it compels the recognition of the relation of the two studies to each other in combining to make a 'peculiar whole.' In this connection should be mentioned *Die kirchlichen und speziell wissenschaftlichen romanischen Lehnworte Chaucers*, von Hans Remus (*Studien zur engl. Philologie*, xiv, 1906), which in time falls between the two studies under consideration and is to be collated with them especially with reference to the discussion of the cultural history of Early England so far as it is pertinent to the adoption of new words.

Dr. Keiser's (K) first three chapters (pp. 16-36) correspond (without change of titles) to Dr. MacGillivray's (M) four chapters (pp. 1-147). The whole number of chapters in K is twelve (pp. 16-131). So far as the overlapping of the two studies reaches, K has many references to M to compensate for the briefer method of presentation and for the exclusion of the prose-words. The pursuit of these references will always be well rewarded. Thus, the excellent judgment of K touching the disputed question of the original use of *hæðen* will be more fully appreciated after considering what the reference to M discloses. Be it observed that M and K do not agree with the *NED*. On the other hand the extraordinarily valuable article *church* in the *NED*. is accepted as the basis for the discussion of *cirice* by both M and K; and again there is a computable disadvantage in not reading both. That these two studies in details of discussion thus supplement each other within the limits of the designated chapters as well as in the range of

observation (prose and poetry) is sufficiently stressed by the cross-references in K's foot-notes.

Several words from these studies may be selected for comment. M. records *ǣ-swica*, *ē-swica* (pp. 13, 17), and interprets the prefix as the equivalent of Goth. *us-*. In agreement with this view Mr. Toller in his Supplement has deleted [*ǣ*, 'law']. But one may hold that the rejected view has not been conclusively set aside. Why the Pater Noster is palm-twiggled is not explained by K (p. 49). A suggestion has been made by Dr. von Vincenti (*Münchener Beiträge zur rom. u. engl. Phil.* xxxi, 25; see also pp. 52, 56, 124). K agrees with Professor Tupper in finding designations of the communion-vessels in *Riddles* Nos. 49 and 60; and as is done in Toller's *Dic.*, he accepts (p. 98) as conclusive Professor Cook's happy suggestion (*MLN.* iv, 129; see also xxi, 8) that Cynewulf coined the word *synrūst* to translate 'rubigo peccati.'

That the subject may so far as possible be viewed in its Germanic completeness, K has with advantage introduced numerous references to the cognate studies. For example, under the heading *martyrs*, he refers not only to M but also for OHG. to von Raumer and for ON. to Kahle. The references of this specific class added to those that indicate an industrious and judicious use of the various writings listed in the bibliography prove the scholarly character of K's publication. Reverting to the *martyrs*, however, one must wish that the reference to M had been framed to remind the reader of the significant prose-word *cýðere*. But what is lost by the omission of the prose-records is made more conspicuous in the contrast between M and K in the paragraphs relating to the designations of the *apostles*. The absence of *lǣorningniht* from K's list will to many minds prove conclusively that the exclusion of prose from this study has resulted in most regrettable incompleteness at many points. Indeed to argue this view in the abstract would be to arrive at the same conclusion. Considering the prose of the Anglo-Saxon period from the *Cura Pastoralis* to the great homilist Ælfric, what 'literature' could reflect more inevitably and more completely the 'Christian Influence' on the language? Prose, not poetry, is primarily discursive, argumentative, persuasive, just the medium to express popular thought. Poetry does not systematize thought; for that one looks to prose. For an enumeration of the seven-fold gifts of the Spirit we do not look to Cynewulf's *Christ* (cf. Cook's ed., p. 137) but to the homilies and tracts of Ælfric (see Förster, *Anglia*, xvi, 6, and Zimmermann there cited). So too for the *hēafod-leahtras*, the 'Deadly Sins,' we turn to Ælfric (*Hom.* ii, 218; again see Förster, *l. c.*, p. 46).

This notice of Dr. Keiser's monograph is somewhat belated and is therefore now primarily intended to make the work known to students who may not yet have become aware of it. Obviously, M and K should be bound up together into one convenient desk-book.

In that form these two studies would prove so helpful that one cannot refrain from making this practical suggestion. Both studies meet the demands of a good hand-book in being well indexed and in citing contributory matter with utmost clearness and accuracy.

An acknowledgment of the scholarly character of the two studies can hardly be made without being conscious of the regret that the desired (not a 'peculiar') whole has not been achieved. What has been made clear by M and K is the need of a comprehensive and uniformly constructed treatise to embrace the complete reports of both prose and poetry; and one would add the need of an incorporation of what would be gained from a collation with the 'cognate' studies. Here is a plan for an attractive and highly-rewarding undertaking.

J. W. B.

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*Charlemagne (The Distracted Emperor) Drame Elisabethan*  
*Anonyme. Edition critique avec Introduction et Notes.* Par Franck L. Schoell. (Princeton University Press, 1920.) The anonymous play of *Charlemagne*, sixth in order of the collection of dramas included in Egerton Ms. 1994, was first printed in the late A. H. Bullen's first series of *Old Plays* (iii, 161-261; 1883), a collection which, though out of print and now commanding a high price, is of course known to all serious students of the drama. It is therefore incorrect to hail Professor Schoell's reprint as "a literary find of great importance," as one reviewer has done. On a first reading years ago three strong clues led me to Chapman as the author of the piece: (1) the emperor's devotion to his dead wife (cf. the Count St. Anne in *Monsieur D'Olive*); (2) the simile of the ravens who seize upon the carcass after flying disregardingly over spicy fields (cf. *Chabot* iv, i, 14 f.); and (3) the outcome of the La Busse sub-plot (cf. the curious expression in *Chabot* iv, i, 137-8: "The foolish net he wore / To hide his nakedness"). Mr. Bullen, after suggesting and dismissing the possibility first of Tourneur's and then of Marston's authorship, came to hold that Chapman had a chief share in the play. Fleay, erratic as usual, suggested first Field and then Dekker. Professor Schoell has put the question of authorship beyond any further possibility of doubt by a convincing, indeed overwhelming, series of parallels in characterization, plot-development, technique, ideas, and vocabulary between *Charlemagne* and the various plays of the Chapman canon. (Can it be that this is the play which Professor Parrott, in the Preface to his edition of Chapman's *Comedies*, promises to rescue from anonymity, reclaim for Chapman, and include in the third and not yet published volume of his edition of Chapman's complete works? Or is there yet another addition to the accepted list forthcoming?) Professor Schoell, by transcribing the play anew from the ms., has been able to correct a goodly number of misreadings in Bullen's



editon. It is perhaps a pity that his special preoccupation with the problem of authorship has limited the scope of his commentary. The various interesting analogues to Charlemagne's love for his dead wife might well have been noted, especially those in *The Duke of Milan* and in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*. Some readers, too, would have liked to be reminded of Burton's retelling of the same legend (*Anat. Melan.* Part 3, Sect. 2, Mem. 3, Subs. 5). The editor has nothing new to offer with regard to La Busse's fulfillment of Charlemagne's fantastic conditions for the pardoning of Ganelon, his note to the passage (v, iv, 40) being a mere translation of Hazlitt's note as cited by Parrott (*Chabot* iv, i, 136-7). One would like to have traced down the "vieille histoire" of the fisherman's daughter who arrayed herself in the fishing-net in order to comply with the "great lord's" command. One may add that the parallel with *All Fools* II, i, 252, suggested by the editor, is a doubtful example. The foot-note at the bottom of page 114 belongs on page 113; Mr. Bullen's initials should be "A. H." not "H. A."—Professor Schoell is to be thanked for his excellent and much needed reprint and congratulated upon his unimpeachable proof of Chapman's authorship. Students interested in this play look forward to the forthcoming edition of Heywood's *The Captives*, announced by the Yale Press, and drawn from Bullen's rare volumes. But when shall we have an edition of the greatest of Bullen's "finds"—*Sir John van Olden Barnaveit*?

S. C. C.

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The primary object of Mary, Countess of Lovelace, in writing *Ralph, Earl of Lovelace: a Memoir* (London, Christopher's, 1920. 8°, vi + 170 pages), was to justify her husband in regard to his publication of *Astarte* (1905), the contents of which involved the name of his grandfather, Lord Byron, in such unspeakable scandal. We see from this memoir that its subject owed a deep debt of love and gratitude to his maternal grandmother, the poet's widow, for he had spent a great part of his childhood under her roof (after his mother's death in 1852, we presume, although the writer does not say so), and it was, therefore, entirely natural that he should have conceived it to be his duty to clear away the mists of misapprehension and prejudice which had enveloped her reputation from the time of her separation from Lord Byron, and, particularly, in her old age. The real origin of this, for the most part, undeserved unpopularity was, of course, the fact that she had been drawn into domestic strife with one of the great geniuses of modern times—a man, too, who, as the foremost champion in literature of liberty, in an age that was seeking liberty, was all the more certain to attract to his side the sympathies of the world at large. The only way to vindicate the victim of this false judgment was to publish the contemporary correspondence, pertinent to the question, which

would set in its true light her conduct towards her husband in the great crisis of her life. As appears from the present work, Lord Lovelace cherished this purpose for many years before he fulfilled it, and we have here the history of the various circumstances that caused the delay: first, the objections raised by the trustees of Lady Byron's estate (including Dr. Lushington, who was her legal adviser in the matter of her separation from Lord Byron), subsequent difficulties about obtaining access to the letters, owing to the attitude on the subject of the elder Lord Lovelace (who, it may be remarked incidentally, was estranged from his son, during the greater part of the latter's life), similar difficulties of access to an important body of correspondence between Lord Byron and Lady Melbourne, extending from 1812 to 1815, which threw light on the question of the separation and which had been inherited by Lady Dorchester from her father, Lord Broughton, etc., etc. Consequently, it was not until 1893, when the elder Lord Lovelace died and his son and successor came into possession of the family papers, that the main obstacles to the intended vindication were removed. The account of these affairs constitutes a long story, but one of great interest. Lady Lovelace observes, by the way, that the above-mentioned letters of Byron to Lady Melbourne are not inferior to any that he ever wrote. They are still unpublished, although Lord Lovelace, to ensure their preservation, made or had made, in all, four copies of them.

The chief interest of the present book is, of course, due to its connection with the great Byron mystery. Lord Lovelace, however, himself possessed a vigorous and highly cultivated mind and he numbered among his friends such contemporaries as W. E. H. Lecky, Lady Ritchie, Francis Galton, and others. The author has done well, then, to include in her volume a selection from his letters—especially, a considerable number relating to his achievements in Alpine climbing. The extent to which he allowed his mind to dwell on the dark episode in the life of his famous grandfather reveals a morbid strain in his character, for which his solitary bringing-up in childhood is, no doubt, in part, responsible, but, on the whole, one cannot rise from the perusal of this memoir without a feeling of high respect for his ability and conscientiousness.

Lady Lovelace speaks of herself as "unpractised in writing." Nevertheless, her work, as a matter of fact, is admirably written. The only fault that we have to find with her is that she is so chary of dates. Not even the birth-year of Lord Lovelace is given.

All students of Byron will be glad to read the following Publisher's Note at the end of the preface: "A new edition of 'Astarte,' including many hitherto unpublished letters from Lord and Lady Byron, Mrs. Leigh, and Mrs. Villiers, is in preparation at the time of going to press."

J. D. B.

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## SHAKSPERE'S PURPOSE IN DROPPING SLY<sup>1</sup>

A solution satisfactory to all scholars for the early disappearance of Sly is yet forthcoming.<sup>2</sup> The play as it stands naturally leaves something to be desired, for it obviously is not well rounded out. To account for this flaw many suggestions have been made, some of them being less plausible than others. Ulrici thought that the dramatist intended the closing of the old farce, *A Shrew*, to be reproduced in his own, a statement that rightly has been questioned.<sup>3</sup>

It does not seem probable that Professor Schelling's recent observation<sup>4</sup> is the key to the solution, namely, that the dramatist wearied, dropping the adventures "when the play within the play

<sup>1</sup>The problem of authorship, even though collaboration is assumed, is not involved, for the drunken tinker appears in both "accepted" and "spurious" parts. For a discussion of the authorship of *The Shrew* see my forthcoming volume.

<sup>2</sup>End of I. i.

<sup>3</sup>See R. W. Bond's statement in *The Shrew* (Arden ed.), 32 n. See further Bond's sane objection to Fleay's highly ingenious theory (*ibid.*). Schomburg, *The Taming of the Shrew*, Halle, 1904, 8 f., lists others. Cf. also Mrs. C. C. Stopes, *Athenaeum*, June 11, 1904, 763; *ibid.* (reprinted article) *Shakespeare's Industry*, 1916, 145. She finds in the play a satire: the Lord and not Justice Shallow is a fling at Sir Thomas Lucy (143, 149). Chas. Knight, *Studies of Shakspeare*, 1851, 146 f., has a suggestion which is at least novel: "Had Shakspeare brought him (Sly) again upon the scene, in all the richness of his first exhibition, perhaps the impatience of the audience would never have allowed them to sit through the lessons of the 'taming school.'"

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Boas, *A Shrew*, 1908, ix f.



was at an end."<sup>5</sup> There was no need of any great creative work; in fact *A Shrew* contains all the necessary remarks of Sly, speeches that the later playwright might have used had he wished. For indeed he borrowed freely from the Induction of the old work, helping himself to this good bit and that as was his practice in general.<sup>6</sup> Moreover it is difficult to imagine Shakspeare's tiring of one of his comic creations. It would be more plausible to assume that the poet was guilty of carelessness, a charge to which he was to lay himself open (to all appearances) even in his mature dramas.<sup>7</sup> But this reason seems unsatisfactory also, since the tinker plays not a small part in the Induction, and (as we shall later see) his exit seems carefully planned.

Elze<sup>8</sup> and others have remarked that the end was lost. The difficulty with this view is that Sly should appear somewhere between his dropping out of sight (close of I, i.) and the epilogue. This he actually does in the older play. It is hardly conceivable that he should merely "sit and mark"<sup>9</sup> silently for nearly five acts. If he is too drowsy to make comments,<sup>10</sup> he is also too sleepy to stay awake. He was too garrulous a creature to remain unheard. Neither could he have slept through four or more acts, and then make remarks. There would be nothing *apropos* for him to say: he had witnessed none of the taming scenes; in fact he had not even seen Petruchio. He could hardly point a moral<sup>11</sup> when he had not had a glimpse of the tamer! Probably the best theory is that stated by Professor Neilson: "in the necessity of clearing the gallery, from which Sly is viewing the stage for the appearance of the Pedant from a window in v. i."<sup>12</sup> This theory,

<sup>5</sup> "The Common Folk of Shakespeare," in *A Book of Homage to S.*, Oxford, 1916, 370.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Bond., *op. cit.*, 3 n.

<sup>7</sup> For a partial list, see my study, *op. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> Preface to Tieck's trans. in Ulrici's ed. of Schlegel and T's *Shak.*, 7th ed., 1877, VII, 10. Elze seems to think that the "Fortsetzung" of Sly was likewise lost, but he drops the matter at that point. Cf. Schomburg, 8.

<sup>9</sup> Stage directions (end of I. i.).

<sup>10</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Sly's moral in the epilogue of the old play. See *infra* for further remarks.

<sup>12</sup> Introduction to *The Shrew* in the Cambridge ed. of Shakespeare's plays; cf. Schomburg, 9.

however, conflicts with evidence (shortly to be presented in full) that Shakspeare in the beginning deliberately planned Sly's exodus.

Is not the solution of the problem to be found in the belief that the drunken tinker was dismissed for artistic (and psychological) reasons? <sup>13</sup> To imagine *The Shrew* with Sly's occasional remarks, let us see what the author of *A Shrew* has actually done. Greater exhibition of improbability and lack of realism could not well be found. No sooner is the rogue completely intoxicated than he is asked to witness a play; his observations are to be based on life in the academic city of Athens. But being in a stupor he is naturally in no fit condition to witness a theatrical performance. To complicate matters his physical condition grows worse, since he calls repeatedly for more "small ale."<sup>14</sup> Yet through the greater part of the spectacle he remains mentally alert and imperturbable.<sup>15</sup> Not until near the close of the fourth act does drowsiness overcome him, and he falls asleep,<sup>16</sup> being carried out at the close of that act. Though he misses entirely the final, and important, act in which the audience sees the shrew completely conquered, he appears in the epilogue to point the moral.

For Shakspeare to have pursued a like method would have been a transgression of all laws of realism. Let us see what changes were made in the composition of *The Shrew*. The Induction opens with Sly completely intoxicated just after he has been put out of an ale house by an irate hostess. Being unconscious he is presently picked up by a lord returning from a hunt. As soon as the lord's house is reached the tinker is bathed and put in a warm bed, and then made to believe that he is a lord just awakening from a long sickness. Meanwhile a consuming thirst overcomes him, and he

<sup>13</sup> Some of my remarks, independently arrived at, were anticipated by Schomburg, 9, 24-6. Elsewhere (in 'The Authorship,' etc., *op. cit.*) I have taken pleasure in indicating my indebtedness to this thorough-going piece of work. Bond in his excellent (Arden) edition of *The Shrew* (33 note) observes that Sly's return at the end of the play would be in the nature of an anti-climax. He adds that the conclusion may have been "effected . . . in dumb-show." This view of course leaves out of account the remarks Sly should make from time to time in the play.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Boas, *op. cit.*, 5, 6, 21, 53, 64 (wine).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 48 f., 53.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

begins to call for "small ale."<sup>17</sup> Under these circumstances Sly is obviously not fit to play his part for long, though (as has been shown) not realized by the author of the old drama. But Shakspeare was too familiar with the power of the "invisible spirit" for that: Falstaff's famous apostrophe to sack as well as the drinking scenes in *Othello*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and elsewhere, is proof on that point. We are not surprised to learn, therefore, that when the comedy for his benefit is about to begin he lapses into a state of lethargy, for he now reverts to prose after several speeches of blank verse; and that at the close of the first scene he is not only bored but has actually been nodding. Shakspeare consequently was remaining firm on the rock of human nature; there was nothing else to do, provided he was to remain true to his art.<sup>18</sup>

Another, in some ways more important, reason for the tinker's disappearance is the following. His presence and comments would dissipate the spectator's interest in a remarkably clever and entertaining plot. The title of the farce is significant: not (as in the old play) the taming of a shrew, but of *the* shrew.<sup>19</sup> In making the change Shakspeare presumably had a purpose (cf. 'The Winter's Tale'). Is it too much to suggest that the dramatist wished to compose a farce that should be a masterpiece? This is what he was to do in the other types of drama; and it may not be wholly without significance that *The Shrew* was probably his last farce.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Cf. sc. ii, l. 77.

<sup>18</sup> Schomburg (24) notes that Sly's lack of the "cultural background" makes one wonder how he could have enjoyed a play even like *The Shrew*. It is interesting in this connection that Sly in *A Shrew* was familiar with the theater (Boas, 7); and equally important that the later dramatist makes him ignorant of it (sc. II, 139 f.). At all events, it is not surprising that the tinker should nod at a play localized in the shadow of an Italian university; for it must be remembered that Sly never sees the tamer: the first scene (the only one witnessed by Sly) is largely taken up with Lucentio, who is about to matriculate at Padua University. Luce (*Handbook to S.*, 1906, 193) observes that the author of *A Shrew* saw the inconsistency in having comments by a drunken rogue, and as a result makes Sly remark at the close of the play that 'I dreamt upon it all this night.' A clumsy device, to say the least.

<sup>19</sup> Lest it be thought that Sly (as well as his creator) is being taken too seriously, see Aydelotte, 'Eliz. Rogues and Vagabonds,' *Oxf. Hist. and Lit. Studies*, 1913, especially p. 42. See also chapter (and bibliography) on 'Rogues' in *Shakespeare's England*, 1916.

<sup>20</sup> Unless *M. Wives* is an exception, a play that raises many queries.



As for scattering the interests of the audience, Shakspeare throughout his plays was a master in centering attention. Everywhere in his best comedies and tragedies there is one characteristic—a unity and welding of the whole piece. This singleness of effect is, according to Creizenach,<sup>21</sup> the outstanding feature in Shakspeare. His contemporaries seek “separate effective situations,” and not an “organic whole.” A notable instance occurs in *Antony and Cleopatra*. The flattening out of subordinate characters and events (the latter sometimes completely obliterated) is at times amazing. MacCallum<sup>22</sup> in his masterly treatment of the play, observes how the facts of history are warped to suit the dramatist's purpose: that nothing must interfere with the overpowering infatuation of the Roman for the “serpent of old Nile.” And again the same writer notes that everything is done “to concentrate the attention on the purely personal relations of the lovers.”<sup>23</sup> In *Macbeth*, to mention but one other instance, this unity of impression is got with consummate skill. Bradley,<sup>24</sup> in speaking of the ironing out process of minor personages, sees no reason “why the names of the persons should not be interchanged in all the ways mathematically possible.”

Now *The Shrew* exhibits this quality to a high degree. Scholars beginning with Dr. Johnson have praised the superb handling of the various threads of the play. In fact the parts are not distinct, but one and indivisible. The closing scene of the farce is in this respect unsurpassed even in Shakspeare. Every detail, particularly noticeable in the last dozen lines, is carefully managed. The final speech, led up to by two or three preceding speeches, is perfect in its focussing of interests. The compactness of these few lines, the rapid dénouement, the breathless interest all testify to Shakspeare's plan of welding the various parts of the farce into a perfect whole. If the poet then reveals such care in this matter could he possibly have wished to defeat his very purpose

<sup>21</sup> *The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (Eng. transl., 1916), 260-3.

<sup>22</sup> *The Roman Plays*, 2 ed., 1910, 338-366; cf. Creizenach, 261.

<sup>23</sup> MacCallum, 339.

<sup>24</sup> *Shakespearean Tragedy*, 1910, 387; cf. Quiller-Couch, *Shakespeare's Workmanship*, 1917, 44-8. Cf. also my remarks on this point in ‘*The Shrew*,’ *op. cit.* *Much Ado* likewise reveals this quality at every turn.

by introducing Sly? He wanted totality of effect, a characteristic, as we have seen, of his mature works. The only way to have it was to sacrifice everything in favor of the tamer and the shrew; for it does not seem probable in view of these facts that Shakspeare would permit a puppet to engage the attention of the spectators. *The Shrew* with him would have a defect; without him it is a finished piece of work.<sup>25</sup>

Furthermore, there is evidence of a definite nature indicating that the dramatist while composing the Induction deliberately planned Sly's dismissal. We have seen that the rogue was physically and mentally beyond his depth: his closing remarks (end of i. i.) reveal his drowsiness and boredom:

*First Serv.* My lord, you nod; you do not mind the play.

*Sly.* Yes, by Saint Anne, do I. A good matter, surely; comes there any more of it?

*Page.* My lord, 'tis but begun.

*Sly.* 'Tis a very excellent piece of work, madam lady: would 'twere done!

From these lines it would seem clear that the poet had no further intention of keeping the tinker.

Additional testimony of a peculiarly interesting character supports such a view. The reference in the Induction of the old play<sup>28</sup> to the moral *A Shrew* would furnish all husbands has been entirely omitted by Shakspeare. This omission can hardly be accidental. Moreover scholars have observed that the old play rounds out completely; but has the nature of the conclusion been carefully noted? Making all due allowances for a drunken and illiterate rogue's

<sup>25</sup> One recalls Hamlet's "And let those that play your clowns speak no more than is set down for them," etc.; cf. Schomburg, 9. For further discussion on the defect of the play as it stands, see *infra*. It is interesting to note that none of Shakspeare's tragedies contains an epilogue. Of the comedies four (with *Twelfth Night* which ends with a song by the Clown) end with one; but in each case the words are spoken by a chief character: *All's Well*, by the King; *As Y*, by Rosalind; and *Tempest*, by Prospero. It is obvious therefore that the closing words in each instance, spoken as they are by a main personage, have a definite relation to the play. It is also of importance to observe that none of these three comedies depends for its chief interest upon its plot.

<sup>26</sup> Boas, 4. The title is also give, of which there is no trace in *The Shrew*.

inability to keep awake, we yet have the inartistic ending of *A Shrew*, namely, its lesson.

*Sly.* Who's this? Tapster? Oh, lord, sirrah, I have had  
The bravest dream to-night, that ever thou  
Heardest in all thy life!

*Tapster.* Ay, marry, but you had best get you home,  
For your wife will course you for dreaming here to-night.

*Sly.* Will she? I know now how to tame a shrew!  
I dreamt upon it all this night till now,  
And thou hast waked me out of the best dream  
That ever I had in my life.  
But I'll to my wife presently  
And tame her too, and if she anger me.

That Shakspeare on artistic grounds could have retained such an ending is, in the light of his other plays, highly improbable. To be sure the author of the old play has done well enough with the moral as such. But that is not the problem before us. Shakspeare, in omitting the allusion to it in his Induction, did not intend that *The Shrew* should point a lesson, Hazlitt notwithstanding. Let us grant for the moment that Sly's benediction would not have dissipated the interests of the audience; it yet would have been an inartistic ending, wholly unlike anything in Shakspeare. Therefore, once granted that the moral could not be superimposed, what excuse was there for keeping Sly on the stage? He had never, it will be remembered, seen a play,—another touch in *A Shrew* which was dropped by Shakspeare.<sup>27</sup> Unlike Polonius, therefore, he could not criticise its art. Nor could it be in the manner of a climax to have him dismiss the spectators, with the request that he be left alone with his wife. And it certainly would be an anti-climax to have the play end with another of his requests for ale! What, therefore, *could* he say or do?

Of course, the question Why did the poet write the Induction at all? still remains. There is, when all is said and done, the imperfection. Apparently he saw the difficulty early, if indeed not from the beginning. For, if the observation above is correct, he planned the dismissal of the rogue in the Induction. At any rate, the humorous references to the Midlands—scemingly reminiscences of his youth—indicate that the poet enjoyed the writing of this

<sup>27</sup> See *supra*.



prologue. The added concreteness and richness of detail, in which the framework of the source is clothed with flesh and blood, is likewise of the poet's best. One noticeable improvement stands out, in the substitution of the hostess for the tapster of *A Shrew*; and the dialogue that follows between the drunken tinker and the hostess foreshadows what is soon to come in the scenes at the Boar's Head Tavern. Of irksomeness and weariness, therefore,<sup>28</sup> no hint appears in this preface.

Assuming that the dramatist may have seen from the first the inevitable imperfection, we may imagine that he argued in one of two ways. He could have reasoned that the flaw was not venial; no one can urge that the slip is worse than some others that might be mentioned: for instance the untimely disappearance of old Adam, as well as the Fool in *Lear*.<sup>29</sup> Indeed these two apparent blunders seem the result of carelessness or indifference, for (unlike Sly to all appearances) no provision for their going had been made. Obviously in the very nature of the form the bit of inartistic fault in *The Shrew* is more conspicuous. However, it is unlikely that Sly, any more than Adam or the Fool, was missed by the audience, and Shakspeare did not write for critics of another age. The spectators, once engrossed in the doings of the tamer and the shrew, forgot all about the tinker. Or, in the second place, the poet may have argued that he would like to try his hand at an innovation. Quiller-Couch has shown, in a stimulating book,<sup>30</sup> that the dramatist throughout his career never wearied of experiments. Inasmuch as an Induction does not appear in any other play, Shakspeare may have wished to see the effect of one on the audience. It lay before him in his source; why not use it? Why not, especially, when *A Shrew* as we know,<sup>31</sup> was popular. The choice of a theme familiar to his audience upon which to build a comedy or tragedy was, moreover, his usual practice.

At all events, the lively and graceful lines in the Induction testify to his pleasure in composing it; the spectators presumably

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Schelling, *op. cit.*

<sup>29</sup> Unless one assumes that his famous closing words (III, vi.) are in reality his swan-song, a view not satisfying to students of the tragedy.

<sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.*, 202 ff.

<sup>31</sup> There were three contemporary editions,—1594, 1596, 1607 (cf. Boas, *op. cit.*, intro.).

were entertained by it, forgetting all about Sly in their enjoyment of the inimitable farce to follow. Hence, for all practical purposes the rogue had served his usefulness, in that he had given a novel setting to a good play. In short, the Induction had furnished a farcical atmosphere for a farcical story. The way to the dramatist was then left open to write a farce that has proved to be his masterpiece, in which he was to obtain a totality of effect that the tinker's presence would make impossible; a farce, the technique of which equals the master's best achievements in comedy and tragedy.<sup>32</sup>

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## NATURE IN EARLIER ITALIAN

The allegorical figure Nature did not play so conspicuous a part in early Italian literature as it did in other literatures, though it appeared more strikingly than in early German. In a previous article<sup>1</sup> I have shown how the figure arose among Greek writers under the name *Physis* both as a personification and as a personage more or less divine associated with the creation of life in the world. After its establishment in the encyclopedic or scientific pre-Socratics, it assumed its greatest and most permanent significance as an agent of God, through the influence of the Platonic dialogue *Timaeus*. Thus, often with moral application, it was repeatedly employed by Latin authors of the classical and medieval periods, as by Seneca, a representative of Stoic, by Statius, a poet of epic situations, by Claudianus, composer of satires and panegyrics of an allegorical sort, and by the Latin humanists and allegorical poets of the twelfth century. The chief among these last, so far as effect on Italian literature goes, was Alan of Lille, whose works *Anticlaudianus* and *De Planctu Naturae* exerted a tremendous influence on medieval allegory. And in the thirteenth century came the more purely encyclopedic and philosophic studies of Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas.

<sup>32</sup> It is true of course that Sly is not disillusioned (cf. Freeman, *Disguise Plots in Eliz. Drama*, 1915, 10). But the same charge can be brought, for example, against Molière in *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*.

<sup>1</sup> "Nature in Earlier Periods," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XIX.

Upon such writers are dependent the chief Italian employers of the figure, Brunetto Latini (1230?-1294) and Dante Alighieri.

The first principal use of Nature in early Italian vernacular<sup>2</sup> and the only great example of it was that by Brunetto Latini in his allegorical didactic poem, *Il Tesoretto*.<sup>3</sup> In one sense it is a pocket-abstract of the extensive prose encyclopedia which he wrote in French, *Li Livres dou Tresor*; <sup>4</sup> but it is more literary in aim.<sup>5</sup>

The author represented himself as traveling in the valley of Roncesvalles. There he met a student from Bologna, and learned from him that the Guelphs had been driven from Florence. The news caused him to reflect with sorrow upon the new circumstances, and to turn to nature as a refuge. Upon coming to himself, he saw a mountain with a great crowd of different creatures, including men, animals, plants, stones, beyond the power to name. In growth and in death these objects obeyed a figure that touched the sky so that it became her veil, sometimes fair, sometimes stormy. At her command the firmament moved and expanded so that the world appeared to be in her arms. Now she smiled and now she grieved. Observing her power, he decided to approach her reverently and to get information from her. Thus he saw how beautiful were her hair, forehead, eyes, and so on—a description typical of those of women at the time. (The changeableness of her appearance was suggested in Alan's *De Planctu*, and the veil—though the symbolism is natural enough for any one of imagination—in Walter of Châtillon as well.) Like Jean de Meun in the *Roman de la Rose*, Brunetto realized that he was unable to describe her competently; but unlike him he attempted to do so. As in *De Planctu* and the *Roman de la Rose*, and indeed the English moralities, Nature explained herself. She similarly declared herself to be vicar under God, the omnipotent and omniscient. Her creatures are not eternal. Then Nature began a didactic discussion of the four modes at the beginning of everything, the six days of creation, the virgin birth of Christ, and his vicarious death for man. Followed a more detailed analysis of the days. It seemed to Brunetto

<sup>2</sup>See the article previously referred to for a consideration of the use of Nature in the Latin works of Italian writers of the general period, for instance, Henry of Milan, Henry of Settimello, Thomas Aquinas, Petrarch, and Boccaccio.

<sup>3</sup>Ed. C. B. Zannoni, Firenze, 1824; also Strassburg, 1909. A critical text is in *Zeit. f. roman. Philol.*, VII, 336 ff., by B. Wiese. See N. H. Dole, *A Teacher of Dante*, New York, 1908.

<sup>4</sup>Ed. P. Chabaille, Paris, 1863.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. T. Sundby, *Della Vita e Delle Opere di Brunetto Latini*, translated from the Danish by R. Renier, Firenze, 1884, pp. 158 ff.



he saw all things come to Nature to ask permission to complete their labor. Therefore he desired to learn from her the truth. She explained to him God's creation of angelic substance, the actions of Lucifer, and the beginning of time from the fall of Adam. Yet, she declared, in the end God wishes that all effort or trial should result well. Man is the height of his work, superior to the other animals. Then she proceeded with an encyclopedic exposition of the universe. Finally the poet had to depart, and needed directions for his journey. Nature gave them with grace and love. She told him how to go safely and whom to meet, Philosophy and her sisters. He would hear of the four Virtues; he might encounter Fortune and even Barter. If he should be fearless, he would see the God of Love and many people in bliss and woe. Then Brunetto kissed her feet and departed. After a hunt, he came upon Virtue and her four daughters and advanced to their several courts, where he received further instructions. Upon resuming his way, he met the God of sensual Love with the four attendant passions. Though he succumbed to their influence, he finally resolved to turn to spiritual love.

The theme is plainly of the same sort as that dwelt upon in the works of Alan of Lille and in *Archithrenius* by Jean de Hauteville. We find the combination of learning with the desire for experience in life. Among the distractions from the occupations of a student is love. Brunetto, like his predecessors, distinguishes between two kinds of love, the higher and the lower, and advocates the former, in harmony with the teachings of Nature, the vicar of God. With this view of love, one may compare not only the medieval theory of courtly love and Dante's conceptions, but those of the Platonists of the Renaissance, such as Marsilio Ficino in Italy, the Pléiade and its precursors in France, and Spenser in England. Man should act in accordance with the laws of Nature,—a Stoic teaching. The doctrine is like that of Jean de Meun,<sup>6</sup> the greatest of the followers of Alan and a younger contemporary of Brunetto's. But the treatment is not satirical; Nature is wholly a dignified character. And the doctrine of procreation is not so strongly enforced.

Of a different purpose and sort is Brunetto's purely encyclopedic *Li Livres dou Tresor*, but again one finds reminiscences of Alan's *De Planctu*, as in a passage in which she is called vicar of her true father and is distinguished from God at length (p. 13, I, i, viii).

<sup>6</sup> Nature in Old French will be considered in *Modern Philology*.

and again picturesquely (p. 104, i, ii, c). Brunetto explained the relation by more philosophic definition, following Aristotle.<sup>7</sup> In the discussion of "mesure" occurs the Stoic principle that ended *Archithrenius*, "nus ne doit aler contre nature."<sup>8</sup> Nature wanted man to live purely, honorably. These portions of the encyclopedia serve as an illustrative commentary on his own poem. But there is nothing new in the philosophic conception; the sole novelty in his use of Nature lies in two allegorical situations,—one at the beginning of *Il Tesoretto*, the other in her dismissal of the poet. Nature came to comfort him in his grief over the political affairs of his city and outlined for him a course of conduct for the future—a study of morals and a living through worldly experience to the attainment of a goal of virtue.

Brunetto's pupil Dante often employed *natura* for literary purposes and in philosophic senses such as we have investigated. A fairly complete list may be readily obtained from the concordances.<sup>9</sup> A discussion of Dante's use occurs in Kuhn's chapter, "Dante's Conception of Nature."<sup>10</sup> In general, Dante followed Aristotle and Aquinas, but he employed of course the conventional personifications, as when Nature makes a beautiful woman.<sup>11</sup> To his mind, Nature's purposes and activities are regular and good;<sup>12</sup> any departure in the course of events is due to the influence of Fortuna or of God himself.<sup>13</sup> Among her works Nature feels most affection for man.<sup>14</sup> She gives him love,<sup>15</sup> disposition for

<sup>7</sup> Pp. 148-9.

<sup>8</sup> Pp. 374-8.

<sup>9</sup> *Concordanza delle Opere Italiane in prosa e del Canzoniere di Dante Alighieri*, E. S. Sheldon and A. C. White, Oxford, 1905; *Dantis Alagherii Operum Latinorum Concordantiae*, E. K. Rand and E. H. Wilkins (with A. C. White), Oxford, 1912; *Concordance of the Divina Commedia*, E. A. Fay, Cambridge, Mass., 1888; *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, G. A. Scartazzini, Milano, 1898-9, II, article on "natura."

<sup>10</sup> L. O. Kuhns, *The Treatment of Nature in Dante's 'Divina Commedia'*, New York, 1897, ch. I. Accordingly I make my discussion briefer.

<sup>11</sup> *Vita Nuova*, canzone I; cf. sonetto 10; also other creations, *Inferno*, xxxi, 49 ff. Cf. with art, *Par.* xxvii, 91.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Par.*, I, 104 ff.; the discussion of Natura's providence for man in *De Monarchia*, II, 7; cf. *Mon.*, I, iii, 22; "Deus et natura nil otiosum facit"; *Convivio*, IV, xxiv, 106, 113; *Inf.*, XI, 56, xxxi, 49.

<sup>13</sup> *Par.*, VIII, 133-44.

<sup>14</sup> *Conv.*, II, ix.

<sup>15</sup> *Inf.*, XI, 56, 61-2.

pleasure, and hope of immortality.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless man is sometimes evil and then acts against Nature.<sup>17</sup>

The power of Nature is limited; it ceases at Purgatory, so that we have the same impression of Nature's aloofness from God that we have from the *Anticlaudianus* of Alan and *De Mundi Universitate* of Bernardus Silvester. The agent works at a distance from her superior. The influence of the stars and other forces interferes somewhat with her processes, as was indeed to be inferred from *De Mundi Universitate*, where the human soul, coming from a region not under Nature's control, is instructed in matters in the province of Urania rather than in that of Nature. Nature is indeed not God;<sup>18</sup> without the use of the word itself, the distinction appears in *Paradiso*, VII, 124 ff.

Dante cannot be said to have added to the tradition of Nature in personification or allegory. He afforded no important allegorical passage in which she occupies a part, and he exerted no influence in favor of such treatment. His uses are mostly grammatical or philosophical, close to those of Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas. In fact, for the present discussion he is much less significant than Brunetto Latini.

In Brunetto Latini and Dante are comprised the chief uses of Nature in Italian vernacular up to about 1500. There was a fair sprinkling of the uses made by the French, such as the formation of a beautiful woman, the bestowal of natural and intellectual gifts upon man, the contrast with Fortune, the association with Art, and the coöperation with God.<sup>19</sup> On the whole, however, such

<sup>16</sup> *Conv.*, II, ix, 96-7. Cf. the Middle English poem, *Death and Life*.

<sup>17</sup> *Inf.*, XI, 48, 110.

<sup>18</sup> She is under His intellect and art: *Inf.*, XI, 99-100; see *Mon.*, I, iii, 18; II, ii, 37; cf. *Conv.*, III, 4, 98; *Mon.*, I, x, 4; I, xiv, 12, 13; II, ii, 116; *Epistola*, VI, 47; *Quaest. de aqua et terra*, 13, 19; *Inf.*, XI, 99. Cf. *Par.*, VIII.

<sup>19</sup> Instances are *Sonetti di Antonio da Pistoia*, ed. R. Renier, Torino, 1888, 176, 3. *Il Morgante Maggiore di L. Pulci*, Canto II, vii, 2; xviii, cxliii, 8, cxliii, 4; xix, clxxiv, 5; xx, xxiii, 8; xxii, cexxvi, 2. *Canzoniere di Pietro Jacopo de Jennaro*, ed. G. Barone, Napoli, 1883, 68, 3; 99, 14; 113, 2. *Opere di J. Sannazaro*, Padova, 1723, pp. 406, 425. *Rime di Matteo di Dino Frescobaldi*, ed. G. Carducci, 1866, I, p. 21. *Cantici del beato Jacopone da Todi*, Napoli, 1615, cii, p. 269. *Rime di Fra Guittone d'Arezzo*. Firenze, 1828, 2 vols., II, cxlvi, 1. 11. *Sonetti di Cecco Angiolieri*, ed. A. F. Massera, Bologna, 1906, xv, 6. *Poesie di Cino da Pistoia*, Pistoia, 1826 (or 1813?), ed. S. Ciampi, II, canz. xv, p. 140; canz. xxiii, p. 213. II



emphasis or slightly allegorical play did not mark Italian verse. The nature of the Italian lyric and romance may have been averse to such a conventionality if not to others.

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### THE DATE OF ANTONIO DE VILLEGAS' DEATH

Most histories of Spanish literature give no date for the death of Antonio de Villegas, the author of the *Inventario*, and there is, I believe, no documentary evidence of a biographical nature concerning him aside from that contained between the covers of the two editions of the *Inventario* (Medina del Campo, 1565, 1577). Professors J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly and E. Mérimée in their histories of Spanish literature give the date of Villegas' death as 1551. The only reason which justifies this date is based on the *petición de privilegio* of the 1565 edition of the *Inventario*, where the statement is made that in 1551 Villegas had obtained a *licencia* to publish the book, that the *licencia* had been allowed to lapse, and that a new one was being requested.<sup>1</sup> Since one would scarcely go to

*Pecorone di Giovanni Fiorentino*, Milano, 1804, I, p. 2. *Opere di Girolamo Benivieni*, Venetia, 1522, p. 135. *Sonetti del Burchiello*, Londra, 1751, I, 77, iii, 157. *Il Quadriregio di F. Frezzi*, Foligno, 1725, I, pp. 187, 200, 234, 235, 244-5, 249, 340. *Opere di Lorenzo de' Medici*, ed. A. Simioni, Bari, 1913, 2 vols., *Comento di Lorenzo de' Medici sopra alcuni de' suoi sonetti*, I, 58; XLII, l. 10 (giving); canz. VI, p. 202; LXXVI, p. 213; *Altercazione*, cap. III, IV. *Rime di Benedetto Gareth detto Il Chariteo*, ed. E. Pèrcopo, Napoli, 1892, II, 422. For Petrarch, see *Concordanza delle Rime di Francesco Petrarca*, K. McKenzie, Oxford and New Haven, 1912. *Canzoni di Antonio degli Alberti*, ed. S. Andreis, Rovereto, 1865, II, p. 17; III, p. 21. *The Poetry of Giacomo da Lentino*, ed. E. F. Langley, Cambridge, Mass., 1915, canz. XVIII, l. 3. *Opere Volgari di L. B. Alberti*, ed. A. Bonucci, Firenze, 1843, I, pp. clxxxi, ccxi. *Orlando Innamorato di Boiardo*, ed. A. Panizzi, London, 1830, 5 vols., I, Lib. I, iii, stanza 37, p. 50; Lib. I, xviii, stanza 6; cf. edit. F. Foffano, Bologna, 1906; *Le Poesie Volgari e Latine di Boiardo*, ed. A. Solerti, *Amores*, XIV, 1, XIX, 5, XXVI, 9, XXXI, 2, LIV, 2, CLVI, 6, CLXIII, 3, *Pastorale*, VIII, 116, IX, 32.

<sup>1</sup>The *petición de privilegio* of the first edition of the *Inventario* (1565) reads as follows: "C. R. M. Antonio de Villegas dice, que el compuso un libro de ciertas obras en metro Castellano intitulado, Inventario de Antonio de Villegas. Y habiendo suplicado el año de cincuenta y uno, se le

the expense and trouble of obtaining a *licencia* without making use of it, it may be logical to suppose that Villegas died before he was able to effect the publication of his book. It would seem, however, that there is very definite evidence which can be adduced to prove that Villegas was alive long after 1551. This evidence is based on the assumption that the granting of a privilege *to the author* is an indication that the author was alive at the time the privilege was granted. Our knowledge of copyright laws in sixteenth-century Spain is rather limited, it is true, but it would appear from an examination of privileges taken from books printed in Toledo, Madrid, and Medina del Campo that the evidence is justified by the facts.

An edition of the works of Cristóbal de Castillejo (died 1556), published in Madrid in 1577, contains the following: "Lic. á Juan López de Velasco por ocho años: Madrid, 21 Agosto 1573.—Priv. á favor del mismo: San Lorenzo á 5 Agosto 1577."<sup>2</sup> The *Epistolario Espiritual* of Juan de Avila (died 1569), published in Madrid in 1578, contains a privilege "á Juan de Villaras heredero del autor por diez años."<sup>3</sup> In the year 1544 there was granted a "privilegio de Castilla a la mujer y herederos de Boscán por diez años" to publish the "Obras del Boscán y algunas de Garcilaso de la Vega."<sup>4</sup> In 1550 the *Lectura legum aliquarum hujus regni* of Rodrigo Suarez contains a "privilegio al lic. Hernan Suarez, hijo del autor por 10 años."<sup>5</sup> The *Prima Pars Consiliorum* of Marcos Salon de Paz, published in 1576, contains a "priv. por diez años al Doctor Burgos de Paz . . . para imprimir la primera parte de los consejos compuestos por el Doctor Burgos de Paz, vuestro padre difunto."<sup>6</sup> In the *Comoediae* of Juan Pérez de Toledo, published in 1574, there is a privilege "por diez años á Antonio Pérez, clérigo de Toledo, hermano del autor."<sup>7</sup> The *Ad*

diese licencia para imprimir, V. M. se la concedió por su cédula. Y porque no ha usado della, suplica á V. M. que, rasgando aquella, se le de otra de nuevo, por ser passado el término que se le dió."

<sup>2</sup> C. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña*, I, 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> C. Pérez Pastor, *La Imprenta en Medina del Campo*, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 197-8.

<sup>7</sup> C. Pérez Pastor, *La Imprenta en Toledo*, p. 132.

*Callosyrvim Episcopum Arsenoitem, Aduersus Antropomorphitas Liber* is printed together with St. Cyril's *De Adoratione in spiritu et veritate* and the privilege was granted in 1571 "por cinco años á D. Pedro de Mendoza heredero de D. Hernando de Mendoza que había hecho traducir este libro a Buenaventura Vulcanio."<sup>8</sup> Professor Henry Thomas makes the following statement a propos of the Spanish romance of chivalry *Cristalian de España*: "This privilege (*i. e., in second edition 1586, colophon 1587*) shows that Beatriz Bernal died before the second edition came out, for it concedes the right to print her mother's work to 'Juana Bernal de Gatos, widow, of the city of Valladolid, daughter and sole heiress of Beatriz Bernal deceased, formerly wife of the Bachiller Torres de Gatos.'" <sup>9</sup>

Privileges like the foregoing show that when authors or translators had died care was taken to issue permits and copyright privileges to their heirs. In all cases where it has been possible I have investigated *privilegios al autor*, and found that the author was living at the time the privilege was granted. In the light of what has been stated here it does not seem possible that Villegas was dead in 1565, when the *petición de privilegio* appearing in footnote 1 was written and when a privilege was granted *to the author* for ten years. Nor does it seem possible that he was dead in 1574, when a privilege was granted *to the author* for eight years to publish a second edition of the *Inventario*. In October, 1576, a privilege was granted "para imprimir la *question y disputa entre Ajax y Vlixes sobre las armas de Aquiles* con el *Inventario*, por el tiempo concedido para esta obra en el privilegio anterior." Since this supplementary privilege is not granted definitely to any one, it is impossible to assert that Villegas was living at the time. Nevertheless, since he was an inhabitant of Medina del Campo, it is logical to suppose that he was still living in October, 1576.

It seems quite certain, therefore, that Antonio de Villegas did not die in 1551, that he was still alive in July, 1574, when a privilege was granted to him, and that he most probably was alive in October, 1576, the date of the supplementary privilege appearing

<sup>8</sup> C. Pérèz Pastor, *La Imprenta en Toledo*, pp. 134-5.

<sup>9</sup> *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry*, Cambridge, 1920, p. 136, note 2.



in the second edition of the *Inventario*, which was published the following year.

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## THOMAS GOFFE'S PRÆLUDIUM

Thomas Goffe's *Careless Shepherdess*—a tragi-comedy acted at the Salisbury Court Theatre in 1629,<sup>1</sup> and printed in 1656—is a very indifferent play, but its Præludium or Induction deserves to be better known than it is,—for it throws light upon certain more or less dark places in the story of playhouse management in Charles I's time. Malone<sup>2</sup> and Collier<sup>3</sup> quoted from it the four lines following, which suggest something of the ways of playgoers and the rates of admission at the Red Bull and the Fortune:

And I will hasten to the money Box  
And take my shilling out again. . . .  
I'll go to th' Bull or Fortune, and there see  
A Play for two pence, with a Jig to boot.

Some time ago the present writer took issue with Mr. W. J. Lawrence on the question of "interior gathering" in the Elizabethan theatre.<sup>4</sup> Lawrence's view was that the fees for seats in the galleries or on the stage were collected by the gatherers between the acts,—that is to say, after the playgoer had entered the theatre and found his place. The evidence I cited in this connection would seem to indicate that in Shakspeare's time at least, this was probably not the case,—that the entrance fee was collected, instead, at the door, before the patrons entered the house. The procedure of Dekker's *Gull* seems to clinch this point.<sup>5</sup> But in the light of certain hitherto unquoted passages in Goffe's Præludium, one of Mr. Lawrence's points deserves reconsideration. He showed that "interior gathering" was well established in the Restoration

<sup>1</sup> Fleay, *Drama*, II, p. 247.

<sup>2</sup> Malone-Boswell *Shakespeare*, III, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> *Annals*, ed. 1879, III, p. 149.

<sup>4</sup> See Lawrence, *Elizabethan Playhouse*, I, p. 11; II, pp. 99 ff. and cf. *Studies in Philology*, XVI, pp. 194 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See n. 4.

theatre, and, on the principle of "the continuance of theatrical tradition," judged that the custom must have been handed down from Elizabethan times. More particularly, he held that the Restoration gallants who "went on tick for plays" were doing only what their Elizabethan predecessors had done before them. The Præludium of *The Careless Shepherdess*—which has not until recently been accessible to me—lends some support to this view; that is to say, it suggests that Restoration conditions were approximated in the last decade or two before the closing of the theatres, when the decline had set in, and the theatres were not as prosperous as they had been.<sup>6</sup> The Præludium is worthy of study for this and other reasons. It pictures vividly the shifts and wiles of an honest citizen named Thrift, who haggles with the doorkeeper about his entrance fee; it indicates that the Salisbury Court, like the other playhouses of the time, had places to suit various purses; it suggests what was charged at the "motions" or puppet-shows, which competed seriously with the legitimate drama in those days; it compliments the gallants on the stage; finally, it comments strikingly upon the fact that the professional playwrights of the time were hard put to it to keep their heads above water, because great numbers of gentlemen and noblemen were then clamoring to *give* their plays to the actors for the sake of seeing and hearing their wit on the boards. All this does not appear in the short excerpt printed by Malone and Collier, and so far as I know the rest of the Præludium has never been reprinted. Since the play is rare and relatively inaccessible,<sup>7</sup> students of the period may find it convenient to have the significant passages reproduced here.

At the beginning of the Præludium there enters

*Bolt*, a Door-keeper, sitting with a Box on one side of the Stage.

To him *Thrift*, a Citizen.

*Thri.* Now for a good bargain. What will you take

To let me in to the play?

*Bolt* A shilling Sir.

*Thri.* Come, here's a groat, I'll not make many words.

Thou hast just got my trick for all the world

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<sup>6</sup> I have shown elsewhere (cf. *PMLA*, XXVIII, pp. 152 ff.) that Restoration conditions were foreshadowed at this time also in the organization of the dramatic companies.

<sup>7</sup> I do not know of any extant copy of it except the one in the Bodleian Library, from which I quote below.

I alwayes use to ask just twice as much  
 As a thing's worth: then some pretend to have  
 Skill in my wares, by bidding of me half.  
 But when I meet a man of judgment, as  
 You have done now, they bid as neer to th' price  
 As if they knew my mark. Use me as you  
 Do hope to have my custome other times.

*Bolt* In troth Sir I can't take it.

*Thri.* Should I go

Away, I know you'd call me back again.

I hate this dodging: What's your lowest price?

*Bolt* I told you at first word.

*Thri.* What a shilling?

Why, I have known some Aldermen that did  
 Begin with twelve pence: and for half so much  
 I saw six motions last Bartholomew Fair.<sup>8</sup>

*Bolt* When you have seen this play, you'll think it worth  
 Your money.

*Thri.* Well then take this groat in earnest

If I do like it you shall have the rest.

*Bolt* This is no market or exchange, pray keep  
 Your aery groat that's thinner than a shadow  
 To mend your Worships shoes, it is more crackt  
 Than an old Beaver or a Chambermaid.

*Thri.* Well, since you will exact and stretch your Conscience  
 Here's a nine pence and four pence half-penny  
 Give me the rest again.

*Bolt* There.

*Thri.* Now for this

When I come home I'll go unto my book  
 And set a figure to each single Cipher  
 I'll cheat a shilling in a penny and  
 A pound in twelve pence. . . .

[Enter Spruce a Courtier.]

*Thri.* Sir, by your powdred hair, and gawdy cloaths  
 I do presume you are a Courtier.  
 Pray Sir, if I may be so bold to ask  
 And, if you go on Tick here too  
 What did it cost you to come in?

But Spruce calmly ignores him. Next there appears on the scene  
 a "landlord," whose remarks indicate, among other things, that

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ben Jonson on the motions,—*Bartholomew Fair*, v, i and ii,—“The  
 Gunpowder Plot! There was a get-penny! I have presented that to an  
 eighteen or twenty pence audience nine times in an afternoon. . . . An  
 there come any gentlefolks, take two pence a piece, Sharkwell.”



the Salisbury Court did, after all, have seats and rates "beneath the twelvepenny."<sup>9</sup>

[Enter Landlord.]

*Landl.* God save you Gentlemen, tis my ambition  
 [To occupy a place neer you: there are  
 None that be worthy of my company  
 In any room beneath the twelve penny.

A little later in the proceedings, Thrift commiserates with the poor playwrights who are being crowded out by the noble amateurs:

*Thri.* Sir, was't a Poet or a Gentleman  
 That writ this play? The Court and Inns of Court  
 Of late bring forth more Wit then all the Tavernes,  
 Which makes me pity Playwrights; they were poore  
 Before, even to a proverb; now their trade  
 Must needs go down, when so many set up.  
 I do not think but I shall shortly see  
 One poet sue to keep the door, another  
 To be prompter, a third to snuff the candles.  
 Pray Sir, has any Gentleman of late  
 Beg'd the Monopoly of Comedies?

The gentlemen, fortunately, did not altogether monopolize the stage. It is worth noting, however, that they had begun to compete with the professional playwrights long before 1628. So early as 1599, the Earl of Derby was "busye penning commedyes for the commoun players."<sup>10</sup> Thirty-seven years later, Richard Brome, in the epilogue of his *Court Beggar*, poked fun at the rich amateurs

Who in a way

To purchase fame, give money with their play. . . .

and he returned to the charge in *The Antipodes* (1638). "As for the poets," says Letoy,

No men love them, I thinke, and therefore  
 I write all my playes my selfe, and make no doubt  
 Some of the Court will follow  
 Me in that too.

(I, i.)

Just about that time—between 1637 and 1639—three plays of Sir

<sup>9</sup> I have examined at length the whole matter of the rates of admission in the Elizabethan playhouses, in a forthcoming study of theatrical management from Shakspeare's time to Sheridan.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, June 30, 1599, no. 35, and *New Shaksp. Soc. Transactns.*, 1889-1892.

John Suckling's were acted at the Blackfriars and at court, the productions being made at his own expense. One of them, entitled *Aglaura*, according to a contemporary letter,<sup>11</sup> "cost three or four hundred pounds setting out: eight or ten suits of new cloaths he gave the players; an unheard-of prodigality."

One bit more from *The Careless Shepherdess*, and we have done. Towards the end of its Præludium three players in succession try to speak the prologue within the prologue, but each one forgets his lines. The gallants, thinking they have put them "out," go off "to some private room." The Landlord thereupon decides that he will follow them,

Though 't be into a box.—  
Though they did sit thus open on the Stage  
To shew their Cloak and Sute, yet did I think  
At last they would take sanctuary 'mongst  
The Ladies lest some Creditor should spy them.

Thrift says the last word:

And I will hasten to the money Box  
And take my shilling out again, for now  
I have considered that it is too much;  
I'll go to th' Bull or Fortune, and there see  
A Play for two pence, with a Jig to boot.

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## DETACHED SIMILES IN MILTON'S EPICS

This is an attempt to set forth the results of an examination of so-called Homeric or detached similes in Milton's epics—of their nature, number, length, place and frequency of occurrence, and, to some extent, their sources. Naturally the first question which arises is, What is a 'detached' simile? It must be admitted that the term is incapable of exact definition. A simile is detached or not detached, as the reader chooses to regard it. Perhaps a few examples will serve to make clear the nature of the simile which the present writer has chosen to regard as not detached. In *Par. Lost*, VII, 364, Raphael says that to the sun

as to their fountain, other stars

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Strafford's Letters*, II, 150.

Repairing, in their golden urns draw light,  
And hence the morning planet gilds her horns.

Here the simile is distinctly too integral a part of the narrative by any breadth of definition to be called 'detached.' In v, 354, however, is a much harder case—a very good example of the difficulties in the way of defining the term 'detached' simile. Adam's state is declared to have been

More solemn than the tedious pomp that waits  
On princes, when their rich retinue long  
Of horses led and grooms besmeared with gold  
Dazzles the crowd and sets them all agape.

After some debate the writer has rejected this simile also from his list on two grounds: first, that it is a shade too closely connected with the narrative in process; secondly, that, while giving a picture, it yet gives too generalized a picture to be typical of the Homeric detached simile—"princes," "their," "horses," "grooms" do not permit the reader to formulate a single definite picture and one quite unconnected with Adam. There is, of course, no satisfactory way of accounting for the operation of tastes: undoubtedly some or many would disagree with this decision, and probably some similes have been included in this paper of which thorough consistency would seem to demand the rejection. The simile at the opening of Book XII has been included, despite its almost complete barrenness of picture—

As one who, in his journey, bates at noon,  
Though bent on speed

—chiefly because of its detachment from Michael.

Still more difficult of classification than those cited, which must remain purely matters of opinion, are the much more numerous examples of allusion, historical, classical, and the like, which may or may not seem sufficiently detached or developed pictures to be included in our canon. An example of fairly easy rejection is the description of the scene of the temptation in IX, 439:

Spot more delicious than those gardens feigned  
Or of revived Adonis, or renowned  
'Alcinous, host of old Laertes' son,  
Or that, not mystic, where the sapient king  
Held dalliance with his fair Egyptian spouse.



More difficult of rejection are such half-pictures as in v, 380:

more lovely fair  
Than wood-nymph, or the fairest goddess feigned  
Of three that in Mount Ida naked strove.

The best examples of such difficulty are in the long list of allusions to classical places of beauty in iv, 268, 272, 275, 280. They were, however, all rejected as allusions rather than developed pictures. On the other hand, the well-developed picture of Xerxes' bridge in x, 306 was included:

So, if great things to small may be compared,  
Xerxes, the liberty of Greece to yoke,  
From Susa, his Memnonian palace high,  
Came to the sea, and, over Hellespont  
Bridging his way, Europe with Asia joined,  
And scourged with many a stroke the indignant waves.

These examples must suffice to indicate the bases of rejection and inclusion adopted for the present paper.

The total number of the similes accepted in *Par. Lost* is 53; in *Par. Regained*, is 6. Their distribution and exact location may be noted from the table given at the close of this paper. It is probably inevitable that some similes, acceptable to the writer, have been overlooked. Undoubtedly a careful rereading of the epics would discover more examples. Hence, the list given is not intended to be taken as a completely definitive one.

The average length of the detached simile in *P. L.* and *P. R.* will be easily ascertained from the table to be approximately 5 verses. There is one simile of 10 verses in length; one of 1 verse has been admitted. The remainder are between 2 and 9 verses in length. Similes of 3, 4, 5, and 6 verses are most common and almost equally common. The largest number of similes of 7 or more verses occurs in Books I, II, III, and IX of *P. L.*; the largest number of similes of 3 or less verses occurs in Book II of *P. L.* and Book IV of *P. R.* Mere length of similes, then, can hardly be taken as an indication of the fertility of the poet's imagination in the parts of the poems in which they appear. A much better indication seems to be the frequency of occurrence, or perhaps frequency *and* length. Judged by this standard, the poet's genius has three or four great levels in the two poems: the first in the first two books of *P. L.* or, better, in the first four books, with an interruption in Book III on

account of the intractability of his matter, and a tendency to decline as Book IV proceeds; the second in Books IX and X; and the third in Book IV of *P. R.* But the differences in length of the books and the great differences in the beauty and the richness of the similes themselves make these figures deceptive. Book IV of *P. R.* has as many similes for its quota of verses as any other passage in the two epics. But they lack the splendor and romance of the similes of the better parts of *P. L.*

Other considerations of distribution, however, play an even more important part here, particularly the consideration of the poet's subject-matter. Milton follows quite steadfastly the Homeric convention that detached similes are poetic artifices proper only for the author speaking in his own person. Only three violations of this rule occur in both poems together. And two of these three are hardly to be called violations of the rule: the first occurs in Raphael's narrative of the war in Heaven at *P. L.*, VI, 195; the second, hardly complete enough for our standard of detached simile but too striking to be excluded from the list, is the verse

As children gathering pebbles on the shore

in Christ's long speech as to the value of the study of books, in *P. R.*, IV, 330. In both cases the matter is really the author's matter, only for reasons of plot put in the mouths of characters. And, too, the characters are peculiarly author's characters—Raphael nothing but a convenient puppet or chorus. One real exception does occur, however, in Adam's speech to Eve in *P. L.*, X, 1073. Adam is a real dramatic character and is feeling his dramatic limitations keenly enough even in this sermon to Eve. With these exceptions, then, the Homeric convention is carefully observed. Hence, it follows that in books largely devoted to dialogue there is little room for detached similes. And so they are least numerous in Books III, V-VIII, and XI-XII of *P. L.* Indeed none at all occur in Books VIII and XI of *P. L.* and Books I-III of *P. R.*

A broader view of the whole subject, too, may well be taken here. God, Christ, the good Angels, in short, Heaven and all Heaven's denizens, proved intractable material for Milton's genius. They had to be treated with convention and so could not be recreated in the poet's imagination. So treated they could not and did not suggest similes. To what could the Protestant Christian's Heaven be compared and thus become material for the Renaissance poet?

And so, as we might expect, we find detached similes least beautiful and least frequent in those books which we least admire, and most beautiful and most frequent in those books which we most admire. In these respects, then, the detached simile may be taken as a touchstone of the richness of Milton's poetic vein.

Probably the most interesting questions connected with the detached similes in Milton's epics concern themselves with the nature or material of the individual similes themselves and the closely related matter of their probable sources in Milton's reading, observation, or reflection. In partial answer to these questions, the writer has divided the similes into categories, more or less arbitrarily adopted. It will be readily seen that such categories cannot be made mutually exclusive and that some similes belong equally to two or more classes. The two main categories are those of similes having to do with matter which Milton probably drew from his reading, and of similes made up of material probably taken from his observation of the world about him. No attempt has been made to classify by themselves similes resulting chiefly from reflection. Material derived entirely from oral tradition, tales of travellers, and like sources may not inappropriately be classified with that drawn from reading. Both categories have been made as large as reasonably possible, so that the sum of the two considerably exceeds the total number of similes. For example, the simile of Xerxes' bridge quoted above is certainly drawn from the poet's reading. On the other hand, the long, carefully worked out simile beginning

As one who, long in populous city pent,

in *Paradise Lost*, IX, 445, seems as certainly to have been derived from the experience of Milton's life in the country at Horton. But what shall we say of such a simile as that further on at verse 670?

As when of old some orator renowned  
In Athens or free Rome, where eloquence  
Flourished, since mute, to some great cause addressed,  
Stood in himself collected, while each part,  
Motion, each act, won audience ere the tongue  
Sometimes in highth began, as no delay  
Of preface brooking through his zeal of right.

Such a simile would certainly not be written by one who had not read or heard something of classical life and classical authors. But



could it have been written by one who had not also rather carefully observed for himself the ways of orators in the world about him? Such similes seem justifiably assignable to both categories and have so been here assigned. Again, despite the large part which the poet's invention has played in many, indeed most, similes, it has seemed reasonably possible to assign all similes some basis in the poet's experience of books or of the world of sights and sounds. With these conditions of classification made clear, then, it is possible to state rather definitely the probable sources of Milton's detached similes.

The first class, drawn from reading and oral tradition, comprises approximately 25 similes; the second class, derived from observation, includes approximately 46, or nearly twice as many as the first. This result is the more surprising when one considers how learned a poet, among great poets, Milton is.

The two main classes have been subdivided. The resulting subdivisions will doubtless seem more arbitrary than the main divisions. They have been dictated by obvious considerations and by certain personal predilections. The sub-categories of the first main division, that based on reading and tradition, seemed obvious. They are: first, the Greek and Roman classics; second, the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures (including the uncanonical books); third, the fairy-lore of England, probably coming to Milton, in large part, through oral tradition; and fourth, the large fund of geographic and pseudo-geographic material, the common property of the Age of Exploration and Discovery, and probably coming to Milton partly through books of the period and partly through the tales of travellers which he heard more or less directly—material, indeed, which must have held intense interest for practically everyone in the England of Milton's time. As one might expect, the largest of these classes is that of the Greek and Roman classics; it includes 12 similes, or practically half of all in this main division. Surprisingly small, when one considers the theological aims of the two epics, seems the second class, that of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures; it includes only 3 similes—one from the Old Testament canon, one from the Old Testament Apocrypha, and one from the New Testament. So much more intimate or more tractable poetic material, then, did Milton find his classical than his Scriptural learning in poems whose theme is Scriptural. The third

class, that of English folklore, has 4 examples. The fourth class, that of far-drawn geographic material, seems to have fallen in better with the kind of romance which *P. L.* represents; it has 6 similes.

The second main division, that of material derived from observation, has had to be subdivided on a more arbitrary basis and its subdivisions have a much greater tendency to overlap not only one another, but also the last subdivision of the first class. The categories adopted are: first, human material; and second, natural, as distinct from human, material. The size of the first category, that of distinctively human material, may seem at first sight surprisingly large to some readers of Milton; it contains 14 clear examples, and could have been expanded several times over by means of the inclusion of every simile in which man enters. It may be interesting to note that the mention of Galileo's telescope occurs in three similes. Much the largest of all the subdivisions is that made up of similes dealing with material primarily of the world of Nature—certainly a strong proof of the poet's interest in the observation of Nature; this class includes 32 similes, or considerably more than the main division of material drawn from books and tradition and not far from half of all the similes. The material in this class deals chiefly with sky (perhaps oftenest used), mountains, trees, animals, insects, and the sea. Undoubtedly the kinds of material oftenest used are those calculated to produce the large effects consonant with the nature of the epic narrative. Sky and mountains naturally proved exceedingly suitable material. There are 12 similes dealing with the sea—usually the sea belonging to the experience of mariners who used sailing vessels, rather than the sea of those who dwelt by the shore—another proof of the strong hold upon Milton's imagination taken by the national experience of maritime England in the days of Elizabeth, the Stuarts, and the Lord Protector.

In conclusion, it may not be very wide of the mark to assert the belief that Milton's treatment of detached similes, like his treatment of Satan and the rebel angels in the opening books of *P. L.*, proves him, a Renaissance poet by training and environment and a Classical poet by intention, to have been by temperament quite as much what we should today call a Romantic poet.

Table of Detached Similes in Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*.*Paradise Lost*

Book I	Book II	Book III	Book IV	Book V	Book VI	Book VII	Book VIII	Book IX
197-200	285-290	38-40	159-165	261-263	195-198	66-68	None.	445-454
200-208	488-495	431-439	168-171	264-266	310-315			513-515
230-237	533-538	543-551	183-187					634-642
287-291	542-546		188-191					670-676
292-294	636-642		556-560					917-919
302-304	659-661		814-818					1102-1110
304-311	662-666		980-985					1115-1118
594-599	708-711				Book		Book	Book
612-615	714-718				x		xi	xii
768-775	943-947				273-278		None.	1-2
781-788	1017-1018				289-293			629-632
	1019-1020				306-311			
	1043-1044				431-436			
					1073-1078			

*Paradise Regained*

Books	Book
I, II, and III	iv
None.	10-14
	15-17
	18-20
	330
	563-568
	572-575

The edition of Milton used is the *Complete Poetical Works*, edited by William Vaughn Moody, in the Cambridge Poets (Boston, 1899).

PROCTOR FENN SHERWIN.

Chicago.

## POPE'S LINES ON ATTICUS

The earliest date of Pope's Lines on Atticus<sup>1</sup> is fixed by the couplet written after his publication of the *Iliad*, June 6, 1715,

<sup>1</sup> See Preface to *The Epistle to Arbuthnot* and the appendix of the versions given in Courthope's *Pope*, Vol. III.



Who when two wits on rival themes contest  
Approves them both but likes the worst the best,

by Lintot's notification on June 10 of the "malice and juggle at Button's," by Garth's "everybody liked your *Iliad* but a few at Button's," and by Gay's letter of July 8, saying, "I am convinced that at Button's your character is made very free with, as to morals, etc."

Johnson gives the last couplet of the 'first' version thus:

Who would not *smile*<sup>2</sup> if such a man there be?  
Who would not *laugh*<sup>3</sup> if Addison were he?

and the same couplet of the 'next' version,

Who would not *grieve* if such a man there be?  
Who would not *laugh* if Addison were he?

The third and fourth versions, those of *Cythereia* and *Curl's Miscellany*, read 'laugh; weep,' and the 'meaner' quill of the former has become 'venal' in the latter following Pope's credence of the Earl of Warwick's story, December, 1715. Addison's praise of Pope's *Iliad* in the *Freeholder* of May 7, 1716, would fix the limit beyond which even Pope would not have expressed himself.

Atterbury's<sup>4</sup> "I could be content to be sneered at in a line or so, for the sake of the pleasure I should have in reading the rest: I have talked my sense of this matter to you once or twice," indicates that Pope did not send the 'Lines' to Addison, for, in that case, the reading would have been 'the pleasure I *had had* in reading the rest'; but a highly tempered edge, an increased unity following the re-arrangement of couplets, a deeper subtlety through the interchange of 'scornful' and 'jealous,' 'write' and 'live,' and an insidious refinement substituting 'hint' for 'hit' and 'too fond' for 'resolved,' suggest that Pope intended this fourth sketch for Addison's eyes.

At least Pope's contention that the lines were written before Addison's death must be true; for Nichols, Warton, and Chambers<sup>5</sup> state that they were published in 1717 with an 'Answer' by Jere-

<sup>2</sup> Italics are mine.

<sup>3</sup> Johnson's *Life of Pope*.

<sup>4</sup> Letter to Pope, Feb. 26, 1722.

<sup>5</sup> See also *D. N. B.*

miah Markland. Markland certainly does not charge Pope with having attacked Addison after his death, but on the contrary, urges him to write "as each envious hint arises." This publication of 1717 is probably the same that appeared in *Cythereia*, 1723.

The fifth version of *The St. James's Journal*, Dec. 15, 1722, substitutes 'grieve'; 'weep' for the 'laugh'; 'weep' of the preceding ones, since Addison is dead, interchanges the Dennis-Gildon couplets, and omits letters from the names of Addison, Dennis, and Gildon, thereby suggesting that this was for publication:<sup>6</sup>

TO THE AUTHOR OF THE ST. JAMES'S JOURNAL

Button's, 12 Decemb. 1722

Sir,

I hear several people have thought fit to quarrel with me for my opinion of *Philaster*, which I shall take an opportunity to justify as to the Fable, Sentiments, and Diction, when I have nothing better to entertain you with. I take notice, that several of my gloomy Brethren of this Coffee-House, are not able to comprehend whether I am a Friend or an Enemy; whether I am heartily in the Interests of the Theatre, or else am secretly growling over some old Grudge, which I don't care to own. At present I shall only declare that a Dramatic Piece finely written, and justly represented, is, in my opinion, a most reasonable entertainment, and is capable

<sup>6</sup> *The St. James's Journal* published three letters signed Dorimant in 1722, dated from Button's, Nov. 18, Dec. 3, and Dec. 12 (see *The St. James's Journal*, Nov. 22, Dec. 8, Dec. 15). The first contains a criticism of Steele's *The Conscious Lovers*, the second continues it and makes some comment on *Philaster* and *Alexander*, while the third introduces the 'Lines' (see above). That Popian authorship is possible, we offer the following suggestions: (1) The 'Lines' prepared for publication were enclosed in the last letter; (2) The satire of the letters is of Popian flavor and measure; (3) The words are selected and combined in Pope's systematical way; (4) The attitude towards the stage and belief in 'Closet Representation' as a test of drama are natural opinions for one who, although he 'professes Poetry,' does not write for the stage; (5) No other writer probably, except Pope, would object so strongly to his reputation's being fixed at Button's; (6) The observations in translating Terence and Horace suggest Pope; (7) The reflections on Colley Cibber are Popian; (8) The signature, *Dorimant* (or *Rake of Wit*), is a likely one for Pope to assume. (See his *Farewell to London*, in which he calls himself

The gayest valetudinaire  
Most thinking rake alive.)

of being made a very useful one; but that the Reputation of my Understanding ought to rise or fall at Button's Coffee-House, just as my Subject happens to lead me to censure or commend the Transactions of the Neighboring Stage, is certainly very unjust Usage of your Humble Servant,

DORIMANT.

P. S. *The following Lines have been in good Reputation here, and are now submitted to Publick Censure.*

If meaner *Gil*—*n* draws his venal Quill,  
I wish the Man a dinner, and sit still;  
If *Den*—*s* rails and raves in furious Pet,  
I'll answer *Den*—*s* when I am in Debt:  
'Tis Hunger, and not Malice makes them print;  
And who'd wage War with *Bedlam* or the *Mint*?  
But were there one whom better Stars conspire,  
To form a *Bard*, or raise his Genius higher;  
Blest with each Talent, and each Art to please,  
And born to write, converse, and live with Ease;  
Should such a Man, too fond to reign alone,  
Bear, like the *Turk*, no Brother to the Throne;  
View him with scornful, yet with jealous Eyes,  
And hate for Arts which caus'd himself to rise,  
Damn with faint Praise, assent with civil Leer,  
And without sneering, teach the rest to sneer;  
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,  
Just hint Affront, and hesitate Dislike;  
Alike reserv'd to blame, or to commend,  
A tim'rous Foe, and a suspicious Friend?  
Fearing ev'n Fools, by Flatterers besieg'd,  
And so obliging, that he ne'er oblig'd;  
Who, when two Wits in Rival Themes contest,  
Approves of each, but likes the worst the best;  
Like *Cato* gives his little Senate Laws,  
And sits attentive to his own Applause;  
Whilst wits and Templers every Sentence raise,  
And wonder with a foolish Face of Praise:  
Who but must grieve, if such a Man there be?  
Who would not weep if *Ad*—*n* were he!

#### VERSIONS AFTER ADDISON'S DEATH

The Manuscript at Longleat, in Pope's hand, was sent to Lord Harley before May, 1724. It is in detail very different from the preceding version, and very like the succeeding one of the 'Fragment.' These alone—The Manuscript and the 'Fragment'—use



'furious fret,' 'to rule,' 'Or' at the beginning of the former 'Willing-to-wound' couplet, and 'What pity, Heaven'; they alone depart from,

But were there one whom better Stars conspire  
To form a *Bard*, and raise his genius higher;

they alone give 'A—n.'

The authorized 'Fragment' was published in 1727, the seventh known version before the publication of *The Epistle to Arbuthnot*, January 2, 1735.

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## WELSH BITS IN THE TUDOR AND STUART DRAMA

Many Elizabethans had at least a smattering of languages which do not enter into the school curriculum in this country, and so the editors content themselves with dismissing as mere gibberish words that they do not understand. To quote an instance, Thomas Nash makes a pun in Russian<sup>1</sup> by substituting his own name for the Russian pronoun *nas* ('us') in the well known litany<sup>2</sup>: *góspodi pamíľuj nas!* which means 'God have mercy on us.' Again Beaumont and Fletcher<sup>3</sup> use the Russian words *colpack* and *rubaska* ('cap' and 'shirt'). Their present day St. Petersburg pronunciation is *kalpák* and *rubáshka*. I indicate the stress in the usual way, namely by an acute accent. The passage containing these Russian words may be safely attributed to Fletcher, who had greater facilities for learning Russian than his collaborators. There are also easily recognizable Russian names among the *dramatis personae* of his play, *The Loyal Subject*, such as *Putki* (*púshkin*). Burris (*barís*) and *Boroskie*, which stands for the common Polish name *Borowski*.

The object of the present article is to explain the Welsh words one finds scattered here and there in the English Drama. The

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Nash, *Have with you to Saffron-Walden*, ed. J. P. Collier, London, 1870, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> I use Henry Sweet's method of transcribing Russian words. See H. Sweet's "Russian Pronunciation" (*Transactions of the London Philological Society*, 1877-79, pp. 543-561).

<sup>3</sup> Beaumont and Fletcher's *Wit at Several Weapons* I, 2.

Welsh expression most commonly met with in the English plays <sup>4</sup> is *Duw gadwa chwi* ('God keeps you!'), a variant of which, *Duw gara chwi* ('God loves you!'), is also current in Wales. The Irish parallel to this Welsh greeting is the well known *go mbeannuighidh Dia agus Muire dhuit* ('God and Mary bless you!'). One meets also occasionally the exclamation *Duw gwyn* <sup>5</sup> ('White God'), although I am not aware of its being very current in Wales. The Welsh way of bidding good-bye, namely *Nos dawch* ('good night'), occurs occasionally. <sup>6</sup> The Valiant Welshman seems to have been very fond of the Welsh national dish <sup>7</sup> *caws pobi* ('toasted cheese'), but the use of the preposition *wedi* ('after') to designate the perfect has become so general that the Welshman says nowadays *caws wedi pobi*.

The English Dramatists knew how to say *digon* <sup>8</sup> ('enough'), and sometimes even they had enough of Welsh <sup>9</sup> (*digon o Gymraeg*). The expression *Taw a sôn* <sup>10</sup> ('hold your tongue') occurs also quite frequently. Fletcher <sup>11</sup> uses the verbal form *gwnaethem* ('we had made'). The word *Sidanen* ('what is silken, fine woman') occurs only once. <sup>12</sup> Welsh proper names are found scattered here and there such as *Gwynedd* <sup>13</sup> ('North Wales'), Aberhonddu <sup>14</sup> ('Brecon') and *Madoc ap Siencin*. <sup>15</sup>

*The Chaste Maid of Cheapside* contains a long sentence in Welsh <sup>16</sup> but only the beginning of it has a familiar sound to me:

<sup>4</sup> Beaumont and Fletcher's *Custom of the Country* I, 2; *Monsieur Thomas* I, 2; *The Night-Walker* III, 6; Middleton's *Chaste Maid of Cheapside*, I, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Night-Walker* III, 6; Webster's *Northward Hoe* IV, 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Valiant Welshman* I, 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Valiant Welshman* I, 2 and IV, 1.

<sup>8</sup> Webster's *Northward Hoe* II, 1; Ben Jonson's *The Honour of Wales* (*Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. Gifford, VII, 330).

<sup>9</sup> *The Valiant Welshman* IV, 3, and Shirley's *The Wedding* III, 2.

<sup>10</sup> Webster's *Northward Hoe* IV, 1 and V, 1; Ben Jonson's *Honour of Wales* (*Works* VII, 320).

<sup>11</sup> *Wit at Several Weapons* I, 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Northward Hoe* II, 1. Cf. Thomas Fitzgerald's nickname 'The Silken Thomas.'

<sup>13</sup> Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Night-Walker* III, 6.

<sup>14</sup> *The Night-Walker* III, 6.

<sup>15</sup> *Northward Hoe* II, 1.

<sup>16</sup> Middleton's *The Chaste Maid of Cheapside* IV, 1.

A *fedrwch chwi cymraeg* ('can you Welsh?'), although in Welsh as well as in English it would be more correct to put in the word *siarad* ('talk').

The sentence in *Northward Hoe*<sup>17</sup> is much easier to transcribe and amounts to *mi caraf chwi a'm holl galon* ('I love you with all my heart').

The English plays in which Welsh words occur most frequently are Ben Jonson's *For the Honour of Wales* and *The Pleasant Comodie of Patient Grissill*, but the Welsh expressions contained in these two plays have been already explained by Gifford in his edition of *Ben Jonson's Works* and by H. Zimmer in his classic paper on the subject.<sup>18</sup>

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## REVIEWS

*English-German Literary Influences. Bibliography and Survey.*

By LAWRENCE MARSDEN PRICE. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. 9.

L. M. Price von der Deutschen Abteilung der Universität von Kalifornien hat den ersten bibliographischen Teil seines Werkes 1919 veröffentlicht und schon damit eine höchst anerkennungswerte und erfolgreiche Arbeit geleistet. Meine Notiz in den *M.L.N.* xxxiv, 511 sollte nur das Erscheinen der Bibliographie kurz anzeigen. Jetzt ist der zweite Teil erschienen, der den bibliographischen Stoff verarbeitet und kritisch abwägend den gesamten Stand der Forschung in diesem Grenzgebiet darzustellen versucht. Fiel schon beim ersten Teil der sorgfältige Fleiss auf, so wird man beim zweiten die Kühnheit des ganzen Unternehmens gewahr; und mit beidem hat sich der Verfasser den Dank aller Interessierten verdient.

Die Bibliographie bringt zuerst theoretische Werke zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte und allgemeine Ueberblicke. Dann werden im ersten Hauptteil das 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhundert

<sup>17</sup> *Northward Hoe* II, 1.

<sup>18</sup> "Das kymrische in 'The Pleasant Comodie of Patient Grissill,'" (*Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* III (1901), 574-594).



verzeichnet, aber ohne Shakespeare, im zweiten Hauptteil nur Shakespeare in Deutschland, d. h. vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert, und im dritten das 19. Jahrhundert ohne Shakespeare. Ausser einigen Sonderabteilungen, dem Vorkommen, Einfluss und Spielplan der englischen Komödianten und der amerikanischen Revolution, werden jedesmal getrennt: *Influence of English Literature on specific German Authors* und *Influence of specific English Authors on German Literature*. Im letzten Teil gibt es noch *General American Influences*.

Im *Survey* ist eine kurze Einführung in den Plan des Werkes, daran schliessen sich—den drei Hauptteilen der Bibliographie entsprechend—24 Kapitel, die einzelnen Dichtern, Kritikern oder Werken gewidmet sind. Für "Shakespeare in Deutschland" bekommen sogar Böhlingks und Gundolfs Werke ihre Sonderkapitel. Der Schlussteil enthält Kapitel 19: das 19. Jahrhundert im allgemeinen, 20: Scott, 21: Byron, 22: Dickens, 23: Amerika in der deutschen Literatur und 24: das 20. Jahrhundert. Part II hat eine alphabetische Inhaltsangabe der Einflüsse, während I. eine Liste der Forscher enthält.

Ueber die Anlage des Gesamtwerkes lässt sich m. E. nicht viel streiten. Es ist durchaus nötig Shakespeare abzusondern, nur möchte ich ihn für sich am Ende der Bibliographie wissen. Innerhalb der Jahrhunderte würde ich die betreffenden Abschnitte in der Bibliographie auch durch den Druck hervorheben. Ich bezweifle, dass es weise ist, die englische Literatur von den einzelnen englischen Dichtern zu trennen. Allgemeineres könnte in die Allgemeinberichte der einzelnen Jahrhunderte passen, alles andere wäre am besten alphabetisch einzuordnen. Die Bibliographie in der vorliegenden Form ist einseitig praktisch für das Englische, aber ziemlich verwirrend für deutsche Dichter und Literaturgebiete. Auf alle Fälle müsste das Gesamtwerk eine wirkliche *vollständige* Inhaltsangabe haben, die es ermöglicht, z. B. alles über Schiller rasch beisammen zu finden. Und beim Index der Bibliographie sollten auch "reviewers" den "investigators" zugesellt werden, weil sie zusammengehören und meistens ein und die selben sind. Die Behandlung von Böhlingk und Gundolf im Shakespeare-Abschnitt auf fast 45 Seiten könnte gut zusammengedrängt werden. An Kleinigkeiten: S. 289 fehlt Anmerkung 17 und S.

474 Anm. 2d, S. 127 muss das Jahr für Scaligers Poetices 1561, nicht 1761 heissen, Anm. 58 auf S. 376 gehört zu S. 375.

Ueber Prices eigene Stellungnahme unterrichtet sein Survey verschiedentlich, vor allem in der Einleitung. Er beschränkt sich mit wissenschaftlicher Absicht auf die Einflüsse der englischen Literatur auf die deutsche. Im Punkte Einfluss ist er sehr vorsichtig. Dagegen setzt er sich der Kritik aus, wenn er die kennzeichnenden Unterschiede der Nationalliteratur bezweifelt und meint: "For almost every second or third rate author in one country it is possible to find a counterpart in another, and if we direct attention to the geniuses of first rank we are by no means nearer to a definition in terms of nationality; Luther and Goethe were as unlike each other as Shakespeare was unlike both." Luther und Goethe haben trotzdem etwas gemein, was sie beide von Shakespeare trennt. Und alle deutschen Kritiker Shakespeares z. B. haben etwas gemein, was sie von den englischsprechenden trennt. Ein schlagender Beweis ist Gundolfs Shakespearebuch auf der einen Seite und etwa G. L. Kittredges Shakespeare-Rede von 1916 auf der andern. Es mag nicht leicht sein, es mag auch noch nicht geleistet worden sein, dieses Besondere der deutschen und englischen Literatur genau zu bezeichnen, aber es bleibt eine grundlegende Aufgabe der Literaturwissenschaft und des Unterrichts gleich jener Frage nach dem Amerikanertum in der Literatur.

Mit verschiedenen Einzelurteilen oder Folgerungen Prices bin ich nicht einverstanden. So wäre Gundolfs Auffassung von Shakespeare viel schärfer und nüchterner anzupacken. Der Glaube an den literarischen Internationalismus verführt Price zu einigen schiefen Urteilen. So erklärt er S. 154 bei den englischen Komödianten die verschiedene Aufnahme, die das deutsche und englische Publikum Shakespeare bereitet haben, einfach mit *differences of maturity rather than of race*. Bei der allgemeinen Kennzeichnung des 18. Jahrhunderts wird S. 157 manche Folgerung in Max Kochs Studie über Beziehungen der englischen Literatur zu der deutschen weise eingeschränkt, jedoch darauf behauptet, "that the English influence on German literature in the eighteenth century was largely a formal one." Gundolfs Dreiteilung der Einflüsse spukt hier nach, leider sind aber Stoff, Form und Gehalt nicht so säuberlich und zeitlich genau zu trennen, wie Price anzunehmen scheint; sie sind ebensowenig auseinanderzu-

reissen wie "klassisch" und "romantisch." J. G. Robertsons übertriebener Ausspruch: "Richardson was the sole founder of the modern German novel" hätte nicht so selbstverständlich hingenommen werden dürfen. Im 19. Jahrhundert fahren Kleist und Hebel wenig gut. S. 473 wird Fontanes englischen Aufenthalt nur in der Poesie ein Einfluss zugesprochen. Einige Belege zur entgegengesetzten Auffassung brachte schon mein Aufsatz über Fontane und England (1915). Bei Scott wird Fontane, wenigstens im Survey, ganz ausgelassen. S. 486 ff. wird beim Verhältnis der Jungdeutschen zu England meine Rezension der Dissertation von John Whyte, in den *M. L. N.* xxxiii, 168-172, besprochen und u. a. kritisiert, dass ich vom Jahre 1850 als einem Wendepunkt in der seelischen Haltung der Deutschen England gegenüber rede. Zwischen Whytes Belegen (abschliessendes versucht seine Arbeit nicht) und meinen Worten vermag ich auch heute keinen Widerspruch herauszufinden. Bei Scott (S. 501) sucht Price eine andere Stelle aus meiner Besprechung zu entkräften, worin ich vor der Ueberschätzung des tatsächlichen nachweisbaren Einflusses Scotts warnte. Karl Wengers Arbeit über die historischen Romane deutscher Romantiker, besonders S. 89 f., findet bei Arnim wirklich keinen Scott-Einfluss. Mit Tieck steht es anders. Für die Behandlung von Wilibald Alexis, S. 502 ff. hat sich Price wie manche vor ihm Fontanes sehr gescheitene "Essai" über Alexis entgehen lassen, siehe *Aus dem Nachlass*, 2. Auflage, Berlin 1908, SS. 169-218, worin wertvolle Worte über Alexis und Scott gesagt werden. Endlich beschäftigt sich Price, S. 571, auch mit meiner Studie über deutsche und amerikanische Romane, die ich 1916 im *Germanistic Society Quarterly*, New York, III, 96-105; 158-117, veröffentlichte. Selbst ich muss für seine kosmopolitische Theorie herhalten: His review would make it appear that our (i. e. American) novel is becoming less puritanical, less colonial, more philosophical, in other words that in essentials it is itself gradually assuming European characteristics. Nor is this to be wondered at. It is usual that the more primitive literature lends to the older ones new subject matter, "Stoff," but accepts from the older ones in return "Form" and "Gehalt." Auf gut deutsch hiesse es, dass der amerikanische Roman je entwickelter umso europäischer würde. Das könnte ich niemals vertreten, da ich seit Jahren gerade dem Amerikanertum in der Literatur nachgehe. Anderes im 23. Kapitel, "America in



German Literature," wird sehr richtig dargestellt, z. B. die *Whitman mania* als *an isolated and abnormal instance of German interest in an American poet* abgetan, aber der Schlussabsatz endet recht töricht, nachdem gesagt wurde, es hätten die deutsche und amerikanische Literatur um 1850 aufgehört einander zu beeinflussen and *Germany about the same time began to regard the realm of the air as unworthy of her powers and turned her attention to the dominion of the earth*. Man denke, als der poetische Realismus eben einsetzte und alle die grossen Dramen, Romane und Novellen des 19. Jahrhunderts geschaffen wurden!

F. SCHOENEMANN.

Kiel.

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*Étude sur le Lancelot en prose*, par FERDINAND LOT. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, No. 226. Paris, Champion, 1918. 452 pp.

The discovery of the previous generation of mediæval scholars was that mediæval writers were conservative. In the twelfth century a story-teller still departed from the traditional version at his peril. This conservatism accounts for a host of survivals in twelfth- and thirteenth-century texts that interest the anthropologist and the historian of primitive religion. It was these vestiges of an earlier and more picturesque world that appealed to the romantics who, in the nineteenth century, discovered the Middle Ages. It was these fossils of a far earlier time that interested Gaston Paris and still interest most of his pupils in twelfth-century French literature.

The discovery of the present generation of Arthurian students is that writers of mediæval romance were progressive. To the scholar who succeeded Gaston Paris in the Collège de France, anthropology, mythology, folk-lore, even comparative literature, were distinctly uncongenial, if not actually repugnant. M. Bédier, even in his first work, *Les Fabliaux*, shows clearly his impatience of studies which, exhausting themselves in discovering the history of the transmission of a given twelfth-century story, leave out of account everything that the twelfth century contributed to it. To M. Bédier the materials which the author used were of no more interest than the

quarries from which the stone was drawn for Rheims Cathedral. He proceeded, therefore, in his following work to turn his back upon the search for sources and to devote himself to studying the literature of the twelfth century as the expression of the ideas of twelfth-century men.

Other scholars, chiefly French, have followed his example. The Tristan romance, the *chansons de geste* and the *Roman de Renard* have thus been given their rightful place in the history of French literature. M. Lot's study of the *Lancelot-Graal* now adds another important genre to those already reclaimed for literature. A typical French prose romance, hitherto regarded as a conglomerate more or less accidentally brought into its present form, is here studied for the first time as the reflection of a thirteenth-century idea rather than as a collection of fossils.

The *Lancelot-Graal* is a biography of Lancelot, including the story of the Holy Grail brought to the island of Britain by Lancelot's ancestor and revealed at last to Lancelot's son,—a biography ending with the tragic story of the destruction of the Table Round, the consequence of Lancelot's sin with Arthur's queen.

The *Lancelot-Graal* was not the first romance to present in sequence the history of the Grail, the story of an Arthurian Grail hero, the treason of Modred, and the tale of Arthur's death. A prose trilogy on this subject already existed, the *Joseph-Merlin-Perceval* (including a *Mort d'Arthur*) associated with the name of Robert de Boron.<sup>1</sup> A French poem, which Ulrich von Zatzikhoven translated, had given a biography of Lancelot; Chrestien de Troyes had elevated him to the position of the Queen's chosen lover, availing himself for that purpose of a tradition about the abduction of Guinevere, and borrowing hints for its treatment from a similar incident in the Tristan story; Robert de Boron, and possibly Wauchier, had given a Christian coloring to Chrestien's Grail story; and in the wealth of incident about Tristan, Gawain, Perceval, and other knights current in French romance and Latin chronicle, a mine of material lay ready at hand. To introduce all this into the framework of the *Joseph-Merlin-Perceval* trilogy did not require a striking degree of originality. What is, however, striking and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lot, p. 133, 188. Critics are not agreed as to the authorship, date, or sources of the *Perceval*.

original in the *Lancelot-Graal*, is that here Lancelot becomes for the first time the central figure in the Arthurian story and, through Galahad his son, of the Grail Quest as well. Perceval and Arthur are reduced to a subordinate position. The whole cycle is thus given a new unity and a new significance.<sup>2</sup>

M. Lot does not in the least contend that the *Lancelot-Graal* is the creation of an individual author in the same sense as *David Copperfield* or *Clarissa Harlowe* or even as *King Lear* or *Winter's Tale*. He recognizes clearly that the parts are still to be regarded as *remaniements*, however thorough and extensive, of earlier texts. He is interested in determining the purposes and method of the *remaniement*.<sup>3</sup> The two chapters entitled *Sources et élaboration de l'œuvre* are among the most illuminating passages in the history of the criticism of mediæval French literature.

It is in the *Quête*, that the *Lancelot-Graal* has operated the most profound changes in the story. To retell it for the edification of the orthodox involved a host of difficulties: How could a Christian interpretation be given to the Lance? the Cup? the Sword? the Maimed King? the Fisher King? the Perilous Seat? To oust Perceval and to give the glory of the winning of the Grail to a son of Lancelot was an undertaking that bristled with dilemmas: How could the conception of Galahad take place in so sacred a spot as the Castle of Corbenic? But how could it take place anywhere else if he was to be the grandson of the Grail King? How could he be born there without destroying the mystery and the difficulty of the Quest? But how could the daughter of the Grail King, without an undue amount of unseemly adventure, bear him anywhere else to an errant knight unwilling to espouse her? How could the perfect knight be a child born out of wedlock? But how could he be other than illegitimate if Lancelot was to keep his faith to Guinevere?

A careful study of the contradictions and ambiguities of the *Lancelot-Graal* shows them to be due for the most part to the effort to Christianize the motifs furnished by its sources. This effort "involved the author in dilemmas from which he succeeded in

<sup>2</sup> Cf. esp. pp. 168-71, 183, 190-1, 193, 203, 205, 249, 261, 289-91.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 205, 213, 215, 260.



extricating himself only with the greatest difficulty, at the price of perpetual artifices, sometimes clumsy and sometimes subtle."<sup>4</sup>

"Author" is the word M. Lot uses, not "redactor" or "compiler" or "interpolator." He states the thesis of his study in his first chapter as follows:

"Le corpus *Lancelot-Graal* [i. e. the seven volumes in Sommer's series], déduction faite du *Merlin* et de ses suites [i. e. Sommer's volumes 2 and 7], qui sont certainement postiches, est dû à un seul auteur. Il présente sous une diversité apparente une unité de conception et de plan certaine. Ce n'est pas l'œuvre romanesque et mystique la plus parfaite du moyen-âge français, mais c'en est, à coup sûr, la plus puissante."<sup>5</sup>

To establish the fact that the *Lancelot-Graal* is the production of a single author, M. Lot shows that the Lancelot biography, composed with the shrewd attempt to pass as history, carries the chronological thread through a labyrinth of adventures with a tenacity which can be attributed only to the conscious design of an artist. He devotes two chapters to showing that the concatenation of presage and retrospect is scrupulously preserved in the cycle as a whole, giving it complete unity of plan. He shows that the episodes are interwoven and dovetailed in such a way that if one is stricken out the whole series is disturbed. He shows that the sources used are the same throughout the cycle.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> P. 260.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 7-8.

<sup>6</sup> The view of Prof. J. D. Bruce who recently published an extensive study on the composition of the *Lancelot* in the *Romanic Review*, may be summarized as follows: "The *Lancelot* was composed as a separate work, without any thought of the Grail, but later became contaminated with the Grail story. The *Quête* was also originally written as a separate work, the author wishing to replace Perceval by a more ascetic hero. The *Mort Artu* was next composed; then the *Estoire* to supply an early history of the Grail which should accord with the *Quête*. Lastly the *Merlin* was written. There was no concert among the men who wrote these romances. They came into existence in the same way as the *chansons de geste* of the Guillaume d'Orange cycle or the Old Greek cyclic epics about Troy. Finally, however, recognizing the cyclic character of these romances, inspired, perhaps, by the cyclic plan which Robert de Boron, at least, partially executed, *assembleurs* brought them together in single manuscripts or series of manuscripts, and made some interpolations, but not a great many, some of which were designed to fit them more closely to one another." The summary here quoted is an extract from a personal letter.

Cf. *Rom. Review*, ix (1918), 243 ff., x (1919), 377-88.

What Prof. Bruce credits to this series of *assembleurs* M. Lot credits to

Further investigation may modify M. Lot's conclusion to the extent of distinguishing the work of more than one hand in the *Lancelot-Graal*, but his book has demonstrated that the *Estoire*, the *Lancelot*, the *Quête* and the *Mort Artu* are parts of a conscious and unified artistic design.

Previous critics have been fortified in the hypothesis of multiple authorship by the contrast between the gross sensuality of certain passages in the *Lancelot* and the intense asceticism permeating the *Quête*. How far an antinomy of this sort is compatible with single authorship is a question which critics will answer differently according to their different observation of life. To the present reviewer this inconsistency seems characteristic of a number of mediæval authors. Asceticism and mysticism have been in all ages the refuge of ardent souls tormented by sensuality. Colder natures can better preserve a middle path. The fact that in some parts the *Lancelot-Graal* is under the influence of Wauchier, in whom the same dual spirit is manifest, should also be taken into account. Another argument advanced in behalf of multiple authorship is the length of the romance. But even if the *Lancelot-Graal* were as original a work as a modern novel, it would be entirely within the limits of one man's powers. Otherwise *Le Grand Cyrus* and the *Rougon-Macquart* and the *Waverley* novels are prodigies.

M. Lot sets the composition of the work between 1214 and 1227, and limits the *Estoire* even more narrowly to the years 1221-5. He believes the author to have belonged to the secular clergy and to have been attached as chaplain to the court of some feudal lord, a count of Champagne or Flanders. The *terminus ad quem* seems to the present reviewer very imperfectly established. M. Lot puts it at 1227 from the fact that Manessier seems to have been acquainted with the *Lancelot-Graal* and that Manessier says he wrote at the request of "Jeanne la comtesse qu'est de Flandres dame et maitresse." But as M. Lot himself recognizes in a footnote the fact that, her husband having been released from prison, Jeanne ceased, in 1227, to be *sole* mistress of Flanders, does not make that

a single *assembleur* and calls him author. The difference between the two points of view is the difference between the tendency to minimize the originality and unity of the *remaniement* and the tendency to emphasize it. In view of the overwhelming body of new evidence presented by M. Lot, the burden of proof must rest on those who refuse to accept his conclusions.

date a necessary *terminus ad quem*. She may well have been alluded to as "de Flandres dame et maitresse" as late as 1244. The later date would fit better into the development of French fiction as at present conceived.<sup>7</sup>

To signalize all that is new and important in M. Lot's book is impossible within the limits of the present review. The chapter on *Les Destinés de l'Œuvre*, of the utmost importance for the history of the French prose romances, must pass with bare mention. Likewise the two charming literary essays by Mme. Lot-Borodine. It is regrettable that the book has no index. The selection of illustrations from fifteenth-century manuscripts is difficult to account for. Thirteenth-century illustrations such as those reproduced from the Yates-Thompson manuscripts would far better represent the thirteenth-century romance.

GERTRUDE SCHOEPPERLE.

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*L'Influence des Lakistes sur les Romantiques Français.* Par AUSTIN SMITH, B. A. et M. A. Université de Wisconsin, Lecteur américain à la Sorbonne 1918-1920. Paris, Jouve & Co., 1920. 361 pp.

Il faut savoir gré à M. Austin Smith d'avoir rassemblé dans son travail, présenté en Sorbonne comme thèse de doctorat d'université, des détails non sans intérêt sur le culte voué aux Lakistes par une petite "chapelle" d'écrivains romantiques. On y trouvera une étude consciencieuse et nouvelle sur Amédée Pichot, dont le *Voyage historique et littéraire en Angleterre et en Ecosse* (1825) a révélé à un petit groupe de fidèles certaines tendances des poètes lakistes et surtout de Wordsworth. On y verra comment Sainte-Beuve a non seulement imité de très près les Lakistes, mais s'est efforcé toute sa vie de convertir ses contemporains à une conception d'ailleurs singulièrement rétrécie des théories lakistes dont il s'était constitué l'apôtre. On y lira enfin des pages intéressantes et fines sur Bri-

<sup>7</sup> To place the *terminus ad quem* at 1236 (cf. Lot, p. 135) would obviate one of Prof. Bruce's two chief objections to M. Lot's hypothesis. Cf. *Rom. Rev.*, x (1919), 378-9.



zeux, Maurice de Guérin et un éloge, que l'on ne peut accepter sans réserves, du poète breton Hippolyte de La Morvonnais sur qui il existait déjà un ouvrage très complet de l'abbé E. Fleury (Paris, 1911).

Quels que soient les mérites fort sérieux de ce travail et bien qu'on y trouve des aperçus nouveaux sur quelques coins peu connus de l'histoire de la poésie française au dix-neuvième siècle, le titre choisi par M. Smith faisait espérer une étude d'une toute autre envergure. Fort justement, l'auteur admet lui-même, dès les premières lignes, que "les grands-prêtres du romantisme ont fait aux Lakistes un accueil assez froid" (p. 27), plus loin que c'est Sainte-Beuve "presque tout seul qui a su enrichir la poésie française d'un genre hardi et nouveau qu'il a emprunté à l'école anglaise" (p. 68), ailleurs encore que "de tous les romantiques français, à l'exception peut-être d'un poète breton, La Morvonnais, il n'y a qu'Amédée Pichot qui ait vraiment apprécié les idées fondamentales où le grand Lakiste (Wordsworth) a puisé son inspiration" (p. 45). Dans ces conditions, on peut se demander si un titre moins ambitieux et moins général comme *Les défenseurs et les disciples des Lakistes*, ne répondrait pas mieux au sujet véritable de la thèse de M. Smith.

Il y aurait quelque injustice à reprocher à M. Smith d'être tombé dans l'erreur d'optique commune à tous les auteurs de thèses et d'avoir attribué une importance exagérée au mouvement qu'il étudiait. Je me refuse à accepter sans plus ample démonstration que "l'apport inestimable des Lakistes français, c'est qu'ils ont aidé à ramener la poésie française de son adoration traditionnelle pour les héros aristocratiques à un souci plus profondément humain de l'existence ordinaire et quotidienne" (p. 358). En dépit de quelques affirmations de ce genre et de généralisations bien hardies sur la poésie romantique (p. 86), M. Smith est d'une prudence parfois excessive. Malgré les "affinités" qui existent entre Brizeux et les Lakistes, il reconnaît que Brizeux doit plus à sa Bretagne natale qu'à Sainte-Beuve et à Wordsworth. Malgré des ressemblances frappantes déjà signalées par M. Legouis entre certains poèmes de Wordsworth et d'autres poèmes de Lamartine, l'auteur n'ose se prononcer nettement et évite plutôt qu'il ne résout un problème qui avait cependant quelque importance. Même en admettant que dans des questions de ce genre il soit souvent impossible d'arriver à

une solution précise, encore valait-il la peine de vérifier dans le détail et de discuter textes en main, les indications données par M. Legouis. La seule affirmation de Sainte-Beuve, citée page 346, que Lamartine connaissait "fort légèrement" les poètes anglais ne saurait suffire et ne doit être acceptée que sous toutes réserves. Par contre, l'auteur a montré, et c'est là, ce me semble, la partie la plus neuve et la plus importante de son travail, comment Victor Hugo a manifestement subi l'influence de l'école anglaise par l'intermédiaire de Sainte-Beuve. Par malheur, M. Smith s'est arrêté trop tôt et là encore n'a fait qu'indiquer en quelques pages (215 à 224) un sujet qui, creusé plus à fond, mériterait à lui seul d'être étudié séparément. Si véritablement c'est par l'intermédiaire du disciple français des Lakistes, Sainte-Beuve, que Victor Hugo "a été amené à entrer avec les *Feuilles d'Automne*, dans la voie de la poésie intime" (p. 223), il aurait valu la peine de pousser les recherches plus loin et là encore de citer des textes précis. Il est d'ailleurs inexact que les pièces des *Feuilles d'Automne* que cite M. Smith offrent un contraste saisissant avec "le reste de l'œuvre poétique de Hugo," cette veine de poésie domestique et le genre démocratique de poésie qui apparaît dans une pièce comme *Pour les pauvres* se prolongent bien au delà jusque dans les *Contemplations* et se manifestent encore dans certains poèmes de *La Légende des Siècles* comme *Petit Paul* ou les *Pauvres gens*.

Grâce à M. Smith, nous avons désormais des précisions fort utiles sur l'accueil fait en France à la poésie des Lakistes anglais; nous savons que Sainte-Beuve et après lui Hippolyte de La Morvonnais ont ignoré les grands horizons ouverts par Wordsworth pour suivre le plus étroit des sentiers tracés par les maîtres anglais, toutes choses qui sont loin d'être sans valeur. Il reste cependant encore à déterminer les limites de l'influence exacte exercée par les Lakistes sur Lamartine et sur Victor Hugo. L'enquête vaudrait la peine d'être entreprise, même si elle ne devait donner que des résultats négatifs.

Un erratum de deux pages relève la plupart des fautes d'impression. Quelques-unes des corrections indiquées ne s'imposent pas. Je ne vois aucune nécessité d'écrire *appelés* au lieu de *appelé*, page 10, ligne 26; il n'était guère utile de corriger *ca été* en *c'a été* page 19, ligne 11, pour adopter une troisième graphie *ç'a été* page 347, ligne 19; une construction moins familière aurait d'ailleurs

été préférable. Si l'on s'en rapporte à la bibliographie, de Victor Hugo M. Smith n'aurait utilisé que les *Feuilles d'Automne*, de Lamartine que *Jocelyn*. La simple indication de "Barat.—Thèse de doctorat ès-lettres, Paris, 1904," sans mention du titre, est insuffisante.

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*Verslag van een onderzoek betreffende de betrekkingen tusschen de Nederlandsche en de Spaansche letterkunde in de 16<sup>e</sup>-18<sup>e</sup> eeuw.*  
By WILLIAM DAVIDS. s'Gravenhage: Martinus Nyhoff, 1918.  
191 pp.

Since Dozy published his *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne*<sup>1</sup> no Dutch scholar of international repute has devoted much effort to the study of Spain. A student of Spanish literature may perhaps recall the name of Putman in connection with Caldéron, but who has ever heard *e. g.*, of Arend's *Manual de la literatura española*? The traditional hatred of Spain in the northern Netherlands may not be foreign to this neglect of Spanish studies; the fact is that even now not a single course on Spanish literature is given in any Dutch university; there is nowhere in Holland a single chair of Spanish, nor even a lectureship or a readership. It would no doubt be for the best interest of all literary research to have Holland take a more active part in the study of Spanish literature and history. If the book of Dr. Davids is the herald of a change in this direction, it should be received with the warmest applause.

Sponsored by Professor Kalff of Leiden, whose broad views and sincere interest in comparative literature are well known, it aims to be in the main a complement to the important article with which, in 1881, the late Professor te Winkel initiated the scientific study of Spanish influence in Holland, and to certain other articles which have appeared since.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Leiden, 1849, 1860, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> J. te Winkel, *De invloed der Spaansche letterkunde op de Nederlandsche in de zeventiende eeuw*. *Tydschrift der Maatschappij voor Nederlandsche . . . letterkunde*, Leiden, I (1881), 59-114; A. Borgeld, *Nederlandsche vertalingen van Cervantes' novellen*. *Tydschrift*, xxv; R. A. Kollewyn,



Professor te Winkel was mostly concerned with the drama, and found that about seventy Spanish plays had been translated into Dutch; thirty through French translations, the rest directly from the originals. Not more than one translation, however, appears to have been made before 1640. Mr. Davids has left the stage out of consideration, partly because he expected to find little new material in this field, partly because, if he had found unknown translations, the lack of modern editions of seventeenth-century Spanish dramatists in Dutch libraries would have proved a serious hindrance! Perhaps Mr. Davids was right in taking Mr. Gossart's impression as final,<sup>3</sup> and Kollewyn's expectations as really too sanguine; nevertheless, a more painstaking search in Belgian libraries, which the war prevented Mr. Davids from completing, might very well have yielded surprises.

As it is, after an introductory chapter on historical and linguistic relationship, Mr. Davids gives a series of chapters on Dutch translations of the following classes of Spanish books: *Amadís* romances, romances of roguery, the *Quixote* (in fact only the translations of Lambert van den Bos), the *novelas*, pastoral novels, strictly didactic literature, works of theology, descriptions of travels, and technical books. In each case, after a short, mostly biographical, introduction, the author prints parallel extracts of the original and of the Dutch translation, sometimes adding a parallel passage from the French version, tries to decide whether the translation was made directly or not, and expresses his opinion as to its faithfulness and eventual literary merit. This latter part of the work seems to be by far the most questionable. But the method, though slow, is honest and direct, and there are interesting passages: it is good to know that Van Nispen's *Spaansche Diana* (1653) is not a translation of Montemayor, but of Gil Polo's imitation. It is pleasant to read some extracts from the *Quixote* translation of Lambert van den Gos (one would like to know more about him), and the numerous quotations from the Dutch prefaces, dull and futile as they are,

*Theodore Rodenburch en Lope de Vega, De Gids*, Sept., 1891. See also Kok, *Van Dichters en Schryvers* (1898-99); Worp, *Drama en Tooneel in Nederland* (1904-08); and Prof. Kalf's *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde*, III, IV, and V. In this connection the studies on relations between Germany and Spain by Schwering and Schneider should also be mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> Ernest Gossart, *La Révolution des Pays-Bas dans le théâtre espagnol*.

were perhaps worth printing once, if only to show the mental attitude of most seventeenth-century translators. Mr. Davids modestly calls his book a report, and thereby forestalls criticism which would undoubtedly be aimed at his work if it had raised any higher claims. The printing is carefully done, but only in a publication of this kind, which is half-way a catalogue, could such a bewildering variation of type be tolerated. Indeed, the publishers' taste must have keenly suffered from the abnormal typographical emphasis in which the author has indulged.

With all that Mr. Davids' attempt is to be cordially welcomed, especially because of the broadening interest among Dutch philologists which it seems to indicate. With university courses in Spanish, with better library facilities, more and better work will undoubtedly be done. To the deficiencies in Dutch libraries one may well ascribe the fact that Mr. Davids does not use or quote Professor Rennert's book on *Spanish Pastoral Romances*, and that he does not seem to have used the *Bibliographie hispanique*. With a complete set of the *Revue hispanique* at his disposal he would probably have found his attention drawn to Mr. Foulché-Delbosc's *Bibliographie des voyages en Espagne*, which mentions Dutch versions of Benjamin de Tudela's travels (Amsterdam, 1666), the voyage to Spain of Janus Secundus in 1533 (Leiden, 1618, etc.), the Dutch text of Zeiller's *Itinerarium* (Amst., 1659), the notes on Spain of François van Aerssen "van Sommelsdyk" (1630-1658), and the description of Spain by Willem van den Burge (s'Hage, 1705). Indeed, the subject of the relations between Holland and Spain opens the most interesting vistas: there are the printers of Spanish books, Bellerus, Steelsius, Velpius, Foppeus in Brussels, Martin Nucius (Nucio, Nuyts), Simon, Vervliet, Verdussen, and Plantin in Antwerp, and others. There is the influence of the Portuguese and Spanish Jews who settled in Holland and often began by teaching Spanish for a living. It would be interesting to know more, for instance, about Abraham Ramires and Ishac Castello, at whose expense was printed the *Comedia famosa dos successos de Jahacob e Esav, composta por hum autor celebre*, at Delft in the year 5459 (i. e., 1699).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup>The Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid possesses two copies of the first edition (it was republished at Amsterdam in 1701) of this play, which even Kayserling knew only from a bookseller's catalogue.

A further search for Spanish books in Dutch and Belgian libraries would perhaps not be quantitatively successful; indeed, if one considers what an early bibliographer in Germany knew of Spanish books, this would seem very probable: George Draudius, in his *Bibliotheca exotica* (Francofurti, 1610) devotes 165 pages to French, forty-two to Italian, but only four to Spanish books. But in return there is no telling what rarities might not lurk in some of the only partly catalogued libraries of the Low Countries. At any rate, there is interesting work waiting for the Dutch Hispanists of the future—and may they be many and come soon.

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*Dickens, Reade, and Collins. Sensation Novelists. A Study in the Conditions and Theories of Novel Writing in Victorian England.* By WALTER C. PHILLIPS, Ph. D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1919.

The Graduate School of English at Columbia University has been peculiarly happy in the choice of thesis-subjects; year by year meritorious treatises on some aspect or other of literary history are added to the list of "Studies in English and Comparative Literature." In many cases new points of approach have been attempted, new trails blazed in various directions. The primary object of Dr. Phillips' work is "to present the problems and opportunities of fiction-writing as the Victorians saw them sixty years ago." Under what conditions of trade, of the relation of publishers to authors, of the "market," and so forth did writers go about their business? The answer is a study in the economic interpretation of literature; to a surprising degree, and, it may be, to some minds a disillusionizing degree, the form and content of the Victorian novel were regulated by the traditions and conditions of the trade. As these controlling elements fluctuated and altered the novel-form altered and fluctuated with them. The facts of the matter are best studied and illustrated in the "output" of Dickens and his two chief disciples. The emphasis upon the commercial aspect accounts in part for the not altogether satisfactory arrangement of Mr. Phillips' material.



The Byronic *heldentypus*, traced long ago to its beginnings in Mrs. Radcliffe's novels, changed gradually and degenerated in the eighteen-twenties and thirties into the hero of the "Newgate Novel," a *genre* much exploited by Bulwer, Ainsworth and others (including Dickens) that received its death-blow from Thackeray. New commercial conditions and a new and much wider "reading public" caused the adaptation of the old novel of terror to the new demand while the novelist continued to draw upon records of crime and villainy for materials. Between 1825 and 1850 the book-trade was revolutionized; popular education combined with the removal of the tax on paper to open up great avenues to the enterprising publisher. The results were such ventures as *Constable's Miscellany*, *The Penny Magazine*, and the publications of "The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge." Meanwhile the "three-decker" novel, at the outrageous price of a guinea and a half, continued (and continued sporadically down to the eighteen-nineties) as an anomaly amid the new circumstances of the book business. The connection of scholars of great repute with such undertakings as *The Penny Magazine* aided greatly in establishing the prestige of periodical publication. The immediate predecessor of the pamphlet-novel was, however, Egan's *Life in London* (1821), which prepared the way for *Pickwick*, which in turn established the instalment plan as a medium for novel-publication. The pamphlet-form did not at once drive the expensive three-volume form from the field, but served the temporary intermediate need of providing cheap literature for the masses before the custom grew up of following the first "three decker" edition, after a few months when the sales began to lag, by inexpensive one-volume reprints. A great many other considerations enter into the problem; the influence of Mudie's library was, for instance, most important. On these matters and on such other questions as the financial profits that accrued to novelists (and these grew enormously during the Victorian epoch) Dr. Phillips is able to cast much light.

Scattered through the book with singular disregard for logical arrangement, but most closely connected together in his seventh, eighth, and tenth sections, are considerations of the problems that suggest the title of Dr. Phillips' book: the personal and literary relationship of Dickens, Reade, and Collins; their "Creed in Fiction" (formulated in part from observation of their actual practice which closely conformed to their critical *dicta*, and in part

from fragments of theories expressed in letters, prefaces, postscripts and what not); and the common characteristics of the Dickensians as Sensationalists. These characteristics are those of what the Dickensians themselves liked to call the "dramatic novel": an inordinate use of surprise, coincidence, and fortuitous retribution, and the repudiation of the dissection of character and analysis of motives as part of the novelist's function. In these qualities all three men, and especially Reade, are in marked opposition to the type of novel represented in Victorian England by George Eliot and Anthony Trollope—the type that has had so much influence upon the fiction of our own day while the sensational novel is an altogether outworn influence. The stages of the decline of this sort of fiction (its influence is obvious not only to the critic but to the author himself in the earliest of Mr. Hardy's books) is an interesting subject upon which Dr. Phillips does not enter. To have pursued it further than he does would have led him altogether beyond the domain of literature proper into the "sad, obscure, sequestered place" where dwell the dime novels and penny dreadfuls.

This is but a brief indication of the abundant interest in this study. Dr. Phillips exhibits remarkable "control" of his material and has been able to fortify his conclusions by generous and apt quotations from a multitude of novels. The lack of any index and of exact references to many of his citations, and the frequent carelessnesses in the printing are regrettable.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### A NOTE ON SHELLEY AND PEACOCK

When Professor Spencer Baynes, writing for the *Edinburgh Review* in 1871, applauded Shelley's invention of the word *marmoreal* in *The Revolt of Islam* (1818), I, 302-304, where Shelley describes how "the Woman"

unveiled her bosom, and the green  
And glancing shadows of the sea did play  
O'er its marmoreal depth

he lacked the evidence, furnished by the *NED.*, that the word had been used previously by Landor, in *Gebir* (1798) IV, 43-44, describing how

Love's column rose

Marmoreal

Those who recall Hogg's description of Shelley's rapturous absorption in *Gebir* when at Oxford, will have little difficulty in deciding that Shelley probably derived the word from that source. It is not my purpose to dispute the fact that Shelley probably first encountered the poetic adjective in *Gebir*; but to suggest that its use by another author, Peacock, in his *Rhododaphne* (1818) I, 156-159, raises a minor Shelley problem. Peacock writes:

Long ringlets  
    fell in many a graceful fold,  
Streaming in curls of feathery lightness  
Around her neck's marmoreal whiteness.

During the winter months of 1817-18 which immediately preceded the appearance of both poems, *The Revolt of Islam* and *Rhododaphne*, in March, Shelley and Peacock were in close touch with each other. From an undated letter to Hogg, assigned by Mr. Ingpen to "Winter, 1817-18," we know that Shelley saw at least a part of *Rhododaphne* in ms., and the painstaking research of Mr. Forman unearthed for us, sixty years later, Shelley's enthusiastic review of the poem, an essay revealing in what high esteem "the Hermit of Marlow" held the achievement of his friend. Query: was it his second meeting with *marmoreal* in Peacock's ms. which prompted Shelley's use of the word in *The Revolt of Islam*?

My answer to this is, that though it is possible, it is improbable. *Laon and Cythna*, the earlier version of *The Revolt of Islam*, written during the Summer of 1817, was actually printed in the latter part of that year, but temporarily suppressed to permit Shelley to make certain changes in its text which Ollier insisted upon; and but for this delay in publication, would have anticipated the publication of *Rhododaphne* by three months, at least. It seems far more likely that Peacock had the word *marmoreal* from Shelley, who had finished the composition of *Laon and Cythna* three months before the author of *Rhododaphne* had finished his verse narrative.

On the other hand, a number of passages in other poems of Shelley are reminiscent of this or earlier works by Peacock. Take, for example, the famous bit of self-portraiture in the *Adonais*, 271-274:

Midst others of less note, came one frail form,  
A phantom among men; companionless  
As the last cloud of an expiring storm  
Whose thunder is its knell

an obscure forerunner of which description is to be found in *Rhododaphne*, Canto VI in the picture of young Anthemion's fate:

Yet, from this hour, forlorn, bereft,  
Companionless, where'er he turns,  
Of all that love on earth is left  
No trace but their cinereal urns.

Or for another parallel, one might select the lines from *Fiordispina*



(1820) conjectured to refer to the love Shelley vainly bore, in his youth, for his cousin Harriet Grove:

they grew together like two flowers  
Upon one stem, which the same beams and showers  
Lull or awaken in their purple prime,  
Which the same hand will gather—the same clime  
Shake with decay.

These would hardly have read just as they do but for Peacock's *Rhododaphne*, Canto VI:

We grew together, like twin flowers,  
Whose opening buds the same dews cherish;  
And one is reft, ere noon-tide hours,  
Violently; one remains, to perish  
By slow decay.

The pursuit lures one; but I forbear. The study of "influences" may easily become a snare and a delusion, becoming far-fetched or erroneous because it fails to take into account an unkenneled common source in older writers, or in the electric air of the age itself in which these writers worked. But when reading Shelley's

Fear not the tyrants shall rule for ever,  
Or the priests of the bloody faith;  
They stand on the brink of that mighty river,  
Whose waves they have tainted with death;  
It is fed from the depths of a thousand dells,  
Around them it foams, and rages, and swells,  
And their swords and their sceptres I floating see,  
Like wrecks in the surge of eternity.

*Rosalind and Helen* (1819), 894-901.

there will spring up the remembrance of Peacock's

Hark! the stream of ages raves:  
Gifted eyes its course behold;  
Down its all-absorbing waves  
Mightiest chiefs and kings are rolled.  
Every work of human pride,  
Sapped by that eternal tide,  
Shall the raging current sweep  
Tow'rds oblivion's boundless deep.

*Genius of the Thames* (ed. 1810, pg. 53).

and such instances of the interaction of ideas between the two friends are neither to be viewed as plagiarism, imitation, or any sort of conscious appropriation. It was the natural result of a friendship begun before Shelley had published *Queen Mab* and ending only with his death—a friendship of immeasurable profit to the genius of both in that their tastes in literature were broadened, deepened, and enriched by a mutual readiness to receive criticism and suggestion; and without which it is as impossible to understand the evolution of Peacock from *The Genius of the Thames* to *Rhododaphne* as that of Shelley from the *Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson* to *Alastor*.

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WALTER EDWIN PECK.

## ROSENCRANTZ AND GUILDENSTERN

Prince Hamlet is represented by Shakespeare as a student at Wittenberg. Was this simply because Wittenberg enjoyed the highest reputation among contemporary Englishmen? Giordano Bruno, the friend of Sidney, after residence in London and in Oxford, went thither. Marlowe's Faustus was presumably, as in the German original, a Wittenberg professor. Thomas Nash invented at Wittenberg "a solempne disputation where Luther and Carolstadius scolded levell coile."<sup>1</sup> Fynes Moryson described his visit there; how he saw the house of Dr. Faustus and "the aspersion of ink cast by the divell at Luther when he tempted him, on the wall of St. Augustine's college."<sup>2</sup> He and many contemporaries matriculated at Wittenberg.<sup>3</sup>

Shakespeare then may have chosen Wittenberg simply on account of its fame. It is interesting to note, however, that Hamlet's Wittenberg friends, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, may actually have been drawn from the life, as there were men of this name at the university. A Holger Rosencrantz who studied at Wittenberg in the years 1592-95 was later attached to the Danish embassy in London.<sup>4</sup> A Frederick Rosencrantz, son of another Holger Rosencrantz and of Karen Gyldenstjerne, matriculated in December, 1586.<sup>5</sup> There was also a "Gabriel Gûldenstern Danus natus in equestri familia" who registered on 15 May, 1573.<sup>6</sup> Is it not likely that the poet met, or heard of, one or more of these gentlemen at court?

PRESERVED SMITH.

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## DOCTOR JOHNSON'S INTEREST IN WELSH

I have in my possession a copy of the first edition of *Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru*, a collection of Welsh poems mostly of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, published at Shrewsbury in 1773. Among the names of the subscribers to this volume we find that

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Nash's Works, ed. R. B. McKerrow, 1904, ii, 246, 250.

<sup>2</sup> The Itinerary of Fynes Moryson, 4 vols., 1907, i, 14 ff.; ii, 348.

<sup>3</sup> Album Academie Vitebergensis, 3 vols., ed. C. E. Foerstemann, 1841, passim. A study of "Englishmen at Wittenberg in the Sixteenth Century" will shortly appear in *The English Historical Review*.

<sup>4</sup> Thornbury in *Notes and Queries*, 5 Aug., 1871; *Variorum Shakespeare*, Act II, Scene ii, line 2. C. F. Bricka: *Dansk Biografisk Lexicon*, s. v. "Holger Rosenkrantz." Neither Thornbury nor the *Variorum* mention the study at Wittenberg, whereas Bricka, speaking of the man's extensive travels, does not note the residence in England.

<sup>5</sup> Album, ii, 344; Bricka, s. v. "Frederik Rosenkrantz."

<sup>6</sup> Album, ii, 236.

of "Doctor Samuel Johnson." At first it seems a little surprising to find Johnson buying a book which assuredly he could not read, for these poems offer considerable difficulty even to a person well versed in Modern Welsh, and Johnson knew hardly a word of the language, as we know from his vain attempt to read the very simple inscription on the tombstone in Ruabon churchyard.<sup>1</sup> But although he did not know Welsh he was much interested in it, not merely for the sake of the literature written in it, as were Gray and Percy, but also as a language. In 1774 he writes in the journal of his journey into North Wales,<sup>2</sup> "After dinner the talk was of preserving the Welsh language. I offered them a scheme. Poor Evan Evans was mentioned as incorrigibly addicted to strong drink. Worthington was commended. Myddleton is the only man who in Wales talked to me of literature. I wish he were truly zealous. I recommended the republication of David ap Rheese's Welsh Grammar."<sup>3</sup> Along with this interest in Welsh Johnson had a corresponding interest in the nearly related field of Irish: "I have long wished that the Irish literature were cultivated," he wrote to Charles O'Connor in 1757.<sup>4</sup>

But even granting that Johnson's interest in the preservation of the Welsh language was sufficient to induce him to help the cause by buying a book which he could not read, we have yet to discover through whom he learned of the intended publication of the *Gorchestion*, which had few subscribers outside the Principality, and these few practically all of Welsh descent. One naturally thinks first of Bishop Percy, who was so much interested in Welsh and who kept up a regular correspondence on the subject with Evan Evans ("Ieuan Brydydd Hir"), the author of *Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Ancient Welsh Bards*.<sup>5</sup> But Percy was not a subscriber to the *Gorchestion* although Evans was, and the person who induced Johnson to subscribe would undoubtedly have taken a copy for himself. It seems most probable that the person through whom Johnson learned of this book was Daines Barrington, Chief Justice of North Wales. He was a man whom Johnson respected and admired, and with whom he seems to have been upon fairly intimate terms throughout the latter part of his life.<sup>6</sup> Barrington was interested in Welsh literature and seems to have gone

<sup>1</sup> *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson*, by Hesther Lynch Piozzi. (2nd edit.) p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, edited by George Birkbeck Hill, v, 443.

<sup>3</sup> *Cambro-Britannicae Cymraecaeve Linguae Institutiones et Rudimenta*, published in 1592 by Dr. John Dafydd Rhys. It is written in Latin and contains not only a grammar of the Welsh Language but also the rules of prosody and copious illustrations from the old bards.

<sup>4</sup> Boswell, ed. Hill, I, 321.

<sup>5</sup> Percy had offered Evans the assistance of Johnson in the publication of this work. Evans, *Specimens* (2nd Edit.), p. 161.

<sup>6</sup> Boswell, ed. Hill, III, 314.



to considerable trouble to help men like Evans who were trying to make this literature more accessible.<sup>7</sup> He was one of the subscribers to the *Gorchestion*, and it is more than likely that, knowing Johnson's interest in Welsh, he should attempt to secure his help toward the publication of a book which contained so much of the best of the early Welsh literature.

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#### THE AUTHORISED VERSION'S INFLUENCE UPON MILTON'S DICTION

The famous passage in *Paradise Lost* (vii, 224-231), in which Milton represents Deity as circumscribing the limits of the universe by means of the golden compasses "prepared in God's eternal store," has given much trouble to commentators anxious to defend Milton against the charge of being too material. Addison, for example, declared that the golden compasses "appear a very natural instrument in the hand of him whom Plato somewhere calls the Divine Geometrician."

Such desperate attempts to defend Milton against a charge that cannot be disproved seem the more absurd when we find that the passage (*Prov.* viii, 27) upon which Milton relied for his authority, does not mention the compasses. The Hebrew words literally mean 'He set a circle on the face of the deep.' Here the word "circle" (Heb. *khug*) refers to the base of the solid vault of the heavens. This vault was thought of as a solid dome (*Job* xxii, 14) resting on the sea, its base forming the circle of the horizon on its surface.

Though compasses were used by the Hebrews, being mentioned in connection with the making of idols (*Is.* xlv, 13), Milton could have found no Biblical precedent for the supernatural dividers from the celestial tool-chest. We are forced to conclude, therefore, that, notwithstanding his knowledge of Hebrew, Milton was misled by the wording of the Authorised Version, which renders, "He set a compass upon the face of the deep."

Equally demonstrable is the influence of the Authorised Version upon both the thought and diction of Milton's sonnet "On the late Massacre in Piemont." Here the "Babylonian woe" of the last line has usually been explained as the pope, here identified as the Antichrist of the Apocalypse. So Waburton interprets it, and Warton confirms his judgment, reminding us that Milton elsewhere (*In Quint. Nov.* 156) calls the pope *antistes Babylonius*, the Babylonian priest. Masson points out that the Puritans identified the papacy with the mystical Babylon of the Apocalypse, and refers us to *Rev.* xvii and xviii.

<sup>7</sup> *Gwaith Ieuan Brydydd Hir.* Ab Owen, Llanuwchllyn, 1912, pp. 14, 25, 33.

While unquestionably Milton did believe the apocalyptic Babylon stood for the papacy, the scriptural source of the phrase "Babylonian woe" was probably not *Rev.* xvii and xviii, but *Jer.* li. The latter was the source of the passage in *Revelations*, and was similarly interpreted by the Puritan divines. Here the prophet uses Babylon as a type of worldly power, self-deifying, and the enemy of God. In verses 25-26 he employs the symbol of the volcano. Babylon, the "destroying mountain" is to become an extinct, or burnt out, volcano, whose vitrified stones are not even fit for building material. To this mountain God is represented as saying, "I will roll thee down from the rocks." The phrasing of the threat, so nearly identical with that of the seventh and eighth lines of the sonnet, suggests that in Milton's mind the retribution to be visited upon the papacy, namely the "Babylonian woe," was to duplicate the cruel policy of extermination hitherto countenanced by the Roman church. Milton meant to suggest the threat which Jeremiah expressly utters (*Jer.* li, 24), "I will render unto Babylon . . . all their evil that they have done in Zion in your sight, saith the Lord."

The passage in *Jeremiah* not only throws light on what Milton meant by the "Babylonian woe," but accounts for the peculiar and otherwise unaccountable, use of the word "roll'd" in line seven—

. . . . . Piemontese that roll'd  
Mother with infant down the rocks.

The influence of the Authorised Version seems, therefore, to be apparent, not only upon the thought, but upon the diction as well.

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### A NOTE ON THE *Comedy of Errors*

Critics and editors of the *Comedy of Errors* uniformly assert that Shakespeare got no hint of the pathos of Ægeon's situation from the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, which is Shakespeare's main source. May it not be, however, that Shakespeare who is extremely sensitive to suggestion did get a cue from lines 34 to 36 of the prose prologue to Plautus' play?

The lines cited read as follows in the text of Professor Nixon (*Loeb Classical Library, Plautus*, ii, p. 368):

Pater eius autem postquam puerum perdidit,  
Animum despondit, eaque is aegritudine  
Paucis diebus post Tarenti emortuost.

Professor Nixon translates these thus: "As for the father, after

he lost his son, he was broken-hearted, and died of grief at Tarentum a few days later."

Shakespeare, apparently believing early in his career, that the more complicated a comedy the better it would be, "improved" on Plautus by adding the twin Dromios and keeping Ægeon, the father, alive for a happy reunion at the end of the play. But the Ægeon of Act I, Scene 1, is the broken-hearted father of the Latin prologue. Has not this been overlooked by editors?

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### BRIEF MENTION

*On the Art of Reading.* By Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, King Edward VII Professor of English Literature in the University of Cambridge (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920). In his inaugural lectures, published under the title *On the Art of Writing* (1916; see *MLN.* xxxii, 59 f.), and now in this companion volume *On the Art of Reading*, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch has frankly and enthusiastically expounded fundamental articles of his professorial *Credo*. Sir Arthur has been insistently proclaiming his purpose to effect a desired change, a reformation, in University methods of training in English. He has won official approbation for a new tripos, which is now on trial. That in the first stages of this new endeavor the plain-clothes subjects of reading and writing have been exalted to high University privileges must surely beget the reflection that these subjects have a depth of significance too generally undervalued. From this reflection should also spring an eagerness, not restricted to the mind of the educator, to be competently instructed as to the complete intellectual and æsthetic reach and implications of these subjects.

It cannot be assumed that the designation 'Art' will suggest to any large class of minds the full import, intellectual and æsthetic, of the common experience either of reading or of writing. Obstructing the desired effect are those connotations of 'Art' which are charged with diminished seriousness and with even a trifling estimate of personal responsibility. Hard to combat is that common-place tendency to relegate art to the domain of what is adventitious and ornamental rather than fundamentally essential in the training and sustaining of mind and character. If for art the word culture be used to symbolize the reward of right reading and writing, there will still remain in the mind of the 'practical' man the difficulty of accepting indirect paths to a straightforwardly



conceived end. In spite of these hindrances of an easy access to minds of limited or untrained inclination to respond to the wider and finer interpretation of what is essential to life, the words art and culture in connection with the activities and experiences under consideration—reading and writing—are the supremely just words, not to be displaced by any others. What remains to be done, therefore, is to persist steadfastly in defining these words, so that what is meant by them may more and more become a vitally fruitful possession of the average mind.

The titles of Sir Arthur's two series of lectures are not novel. It is a well-established practice to employ the designation 'art' on the title-pages of treatises on Reading, Writing, and Discourse; Literature is, of course, defined as an art,—it may be noticed that T. Bailey Saunders, with a just sense of this usage, entitled a volume of selected passages from Schopenhauer *The Art of Literature* (1897); and Grammar is perhaps still timidly defined as the science of the art of language, or of correct speech. All these uses of the term art are absolutely correct; but what is to be noticed is the bountiful lack of adequate discussion of how the subjects named are but divisions of one comprehensive art,—the art of articulate expression. The interrelations of these divisions of an organic unity, a philosophic whole, are commonly disregarded or at best but incidentally or superficially recognized in both practical and critical treatises and consequently in pedagogic methods.

One's native language is not inherited. It is acquired just as an art is acquired, and the practice of it thru life is the practice of an art. The gradations of this art of expression extend from the simplest colloquial use to the summit of literary workmanship. This is the fundamental truth that should determine the methods in the teaching of the vernacular language and literature. Obviously, in the teaching of foreign languages no method can be sound that ignores the same fundamental truth, for it is the gateway to true appreciation. It is implied that the schools and colleges do not satisfactorily, if at all, inculcate this fundamental fact that dealing with any aspect or department of expression is dealing with one and the same comprehensive art. Inspired by this true conception of the art of language the teacher would have the most effective access to the mind and character of the pupil. Individuality in refinement and correctness of taste, in intellectual integrity and efficiency, and in all the elements of a complete character, these subjects would cohere in lessons of personal responsibility in the use of one's language. The pupil would now easily be led to perceive the innate relation between the provinces of the art. What would now be apprehended to pertain to the definition of literature

—the fine art of the vernacular—would prepare him for a vital understanding of all the creative and conventional aspects of the art that is too much obscured by the methods of the schools.

The praise of books, the choice of books, the benefits of reading as one should, and the consequences of reading as one should not, these are topics that for generations have elicited reflections of many superior minds. Has this best thought so influenced the methods of the schools as to render unnecessary a repetition of the whole argument? No, says Sir Arthur, with the conviction that has impelled him in the selection of the subject for his lectures. He has accordingly enlivened selected chapters of the argument with the earnestness of his personality. An 'Introductory' lecture is devoted to general observations on knowledge and culture and on the difficult educational problem of doing what should be done in the schools for the subject of reading. Levelled at the very heart of the matter is the declaration, "Anything that requires so much ingenuity as reading English in an English University must be an art." Teachers of English in the schools and colleges of America can match that note with one of genuine discomfiture. They are consciously dealing with a problem that has not yet been satisfactorily solved.

The next lecture, on 'Apprehension *vs.* Comprehension,' is not a compactly reasoned philosophic essay, but its meaning emerges clear at the end: "For all great Literature . . . is gentle towards that spirit which learns it. It teaches by *apprehension* not by *comprehension*. . . . Literature understands man and of what he is capable." That two lectures, which follow, should here be devoted to 'Children's Reading' is assumed to be a surprise (p. 75). A determination to discredit this surprise seems to have occasioned the unexpected turns, the clever indirections, and the prevailing avoidance of a coherent and simple argument of these lectures; but yet fresh emphasis is gained for the cultural value of the child's imitative faculties, and its intuitive apprehension of the universal (p. 68), and for a protest against the short-comings of the schools in dealing with "poor children" who leave school at an early age (p. 75). Concrete and direct enough, however, is a suggested lesson in the practical teaching of poetry. This "presupposes of the teacher himself some capacity of reading aloud, and reading aloud," it is confessed, "is not taught in our schools." The context runs: "In our Elementary Schools, in which few of the pupils contemplate being called to Holy Orders or to the Bar, it is practised, indeed, but seldom as an art. In our Secondary and Public Schools it is neither taught nor practised: as I know to my cost" (p. 72). This confession admits of a verifiable extension that will exclude few if any mature readers and speak-

ers; and it thus proves in the most impressive manner that the schools do not succeed in teaching language as an art. One wishes that Sir Arthur had taken his personal confession as the leading thought in a course of lectures. He would then have been led to show that sound pedagogical methods must be based in the truth that the acquisition and the practical use of one's native tongue is the acquisition and the practice of an art. From a cultivated taste and personal art-responsibility in colloquial speech, he would have proceeded by natural steps to the cultivation of taste and of the creative faculties in writing and in reading, and thence to the sound apprehension of the fine art of literature.

The remaining lectures occupy the larger portion of the book (pp. 77 to 244). The titles are 'On Reading for Examinations'; 'On a School of English'; 'The Value of Greek and Latin in English Literature'; 'On Reading the Bible' (three exceptionally good lectures on the Bible as literature); 'Of Selection'; 'On the Use of Masterpieces.' These are all to be commended for earnest and inspiring instruction imparted in an engaging and unhackneyed manner.

J. W. B.

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*Danish Ballads.* Translated by E. M. Smith-Dampier (Cambridge University Press, 1920). Students of balladry in this country, where, even in the institutions of higher learning, so little attention is given to the Scandinavian languages that probably not one college graduate in a thousand can read Danish, will be ready to give an eager welcome to Mr. Smith-Dampier's *Danish Ballads*. No other European tongue except our own has so fine a body of traditional narrative popular song as the Danish, nor are the ballads of any other country so close to ours in theme, temper, and style. The likeness is such that the editors of the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* do not hesitate to trace the origin of Danish balladry to that of Britain,—both ultimately, of course, to France. Yet this great body of kindred popular poetry is closed to most Americans by our ignorance of Danish; nor has there been any adequate attempt made to open the door by translation. The translations in Jamieson's *Popular Ballads* (1806) are not easily accessible; R. Buchanan's *Ballad Stories of the Affections from the Scandinavian* (1869) are ill chosen and—as the title indicates—are not rendered in the ballad spirit. There was, then, a genuine service to be performed for English readers by the competent rendering of representative Danish ballads into English in the spirit of the original.

Mr. Smith-Dampier gives us twenty-nine ballads, in four groups: nine dealing with traditional themes from Danish history in the



twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries; four upon legendary heroes (Theodoric, Ogier the Dane, Hagbard and Signe); seven 'ballads of magic;' and nine 'miscellaneous ballads.' In a selection intended, as this is, for the general reader, he was probably well advised in taking as his source not the record of actual tradition as preserved in Grundtvig but the selective versions devised by Olrik in his *Danske Folkeviser i Udvalg*. These are rarely identical thruout with any one of the versions in *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, Olrik holding (with Quiller-Couch in his *Oxford Book of Ballads*) that from the very nature of ballad tradition there is no special sanctity attaching to any given text. One who knows ballads as profoundly and as sympathetically as Olrik did may reasonably be trusted to make a version that shall be truer to the spirit of the ballad than any that the chances of tradition have left to us. All but two of Smith-Dampier's translations are based upon the versions in Olrik's two 'Selections.' The renderings are spirited, ballad-like, careful in preserving the refrain.

The introductory matter is in the main also selected from the introduction to the *Udvalg*. One cannot help wishing that the translator had confined himself altogether to that admirably lucid and illuminating exposition of the Danish ballad, and had given it in full. He would then have avoided the confusion that waits like Nemesis upon facile speculators upon ballad origins. He would not have found himself saying on one page, with Pineau, that "at the period when these songs were born, classes were mingled together, or rather did not as yet exist," and on another, with Olrik, that "the two classes, however, are distinct, and keep their distance. The knight may farm his own land—may even be found holding the plough—but he is, none the less, the yeoman's social superior. His daughter, if she weds a yeoman, must 'doff the scarlet fine, and don the wadmal grey.'" The two statements are flatly contradictory—and Olrik, of course, is right.

H. M. B.

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*Grundlagen der neuhochdeutschen Satzlehre. Ein Schulbuch für Lehrer* von B. Delbrück (Berlin und Leipzig 1920, Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger Walter de Gruyter & Co., pp. viii, 90). As the reviewer took this little book into his hand he was attracted by both the name of the author and the title. The name means a good deal to those interested in syntactical studies. To many of us Delbrück has been for a generation an inspiration and a helpful guide. He has heretofore appealed to scholars, now at the close of a long period of scientific activity he turns to teachers of his native language. This is all the more noticeable because it is only one of a series of such efforts to put the results of modern scholarship in the reach of teachers of German. Sütterlin's

*Deutsche Sprache der Gegenwart* began this work some time ago and then followed an uninterrupted succession of books of all kinds to help the teacher. Not only philologists but also psychologists have helped in this good work. Dittrich's *Die Probleme der Sprachpsychologie* is a fine contribution from the psychological side. Dr. W. Fischer's little book *Die deutsche Sprache von Heute*, must have lightened the load of many a teacher. Dr. Ernst Wasserzieher's *Woher?*, a little etymological dictionary of 164 pages, has gone thru a number of editions within a few years. Professor Kluge has just finished his History of the German Language, and a new edition of the *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Behaghel is progressing with his German Syntax, and Sütterlin is about to publish a new German Grammar on historical principles in coöperation with Siebs, who will treat of German pronunciation. Paul has published his German Grammar in five handy volumes, a work of unusually high scientific merit and especially valuable because of the simplicity and clearness of language and presentation, which will make it accessible to every willing student. Mention has been made here of only a few of the best books of this veritable flood of grammatical literature. A good many of the authors of these books are guided by enthusiasm for a good cause rather than by sound scholarship. Not only truth but error has been spread and will do much harm. And yet the reviewer envies the Germans this enthusiasm for their language. It would be gratifying to see in our midst new societies arise for the study of English and an extensive literature presenting various phases of language study that might help our teachers. Especially would it be gratifying if some of our large comprehensive minds would put their learning at the service of our teachers. Mr. Onion's valuable little work on English Syntax has gone thru three editions and has shown that there is really a need for such books. We can console ourselves with the fact that the great Oxford Dictionary is approaching completion and that we shall have the best dictionary of any people, but we all must fear that the high price will prevent its reaching the study-rooms of our teachers. The reviewer envies the Germans these little books that can find a way to the teachers in the most out-of-the-way places and put them in touch with the scientific centers of learning.

G. O. C.

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*The First Quarto Edition of Shakespeare's Hamlet.* Edited with an Introduction and Notes, by Frank G. Hubbard (University of Wisconsin Studies, 1920). The relation of the texts of *Hamlet* is almost as puzzling as the character of the Prince, especially the bearing of the First Quarto to the *Ur-Hamlet* on the one hand and the Second Quarto and the First Folio on the other. It

has been generally agreed that Q1 is not a garbled version of Q2 or F1, but that it may be a piracy printed from reporters' notes of the play as acted with such additions and corrections as might be obtained from unscrupulous actors. This latter position Professor Frank G. Hubbard contests in his edition of the Quarto. He holds that the play as we have it was from "copy" procured in a legitimate way from the players, and his evidence is both external and internal. The printer and the publishers were men of good repute, and one of the publishers brought out the Second Quarto; there is nothing suspicious on the title-page or in the entry in the Stationer's Register; the systems of shorthand in vogue at that time were inadequate to report a play as accurately as the text of this quarto. Furthermore, the mistakes in printing are those of the eye and not solely of the ear. The general character of the play, moreover, bears out the belief in its authenticity; the action is complete and is sufficiently motivated, and it is consistent even in minor details.

Textual evidences of piracy would seem to be supported by such passages as the "To be" soliloquy and these lines from the Ghost's speech (I, v, 81 f.):

But, howsoever thou pursuest this act,  
Taint not thy mind, nor let thy soul contrive  
Against thy mother aught;

which appear in the First Quarto as

But, howsoever, let not thy heart conspire  
Against thy mother aught.

The text of the soliloquy is undoubtedly very corrupt, but the explanation is not that this condition is due solely to inaccurate reporting. In fact, if the original bore any close resemblance to the final version, it is hard to see how a reporter could make such glaring and inexcusable errors as he must have done. He must surely get the short and easily caught expressions, "that is the question," "To die, to sleep, no more," "Ay, there's the rub"; and he would follow the thought in the order of its utterance and not shift backward and forward. The lines from the Ghost's speech look more to hurried reporting, but they are just as readily explained as due to a desire to abbreviate the text by the omission of a line.

The puzzling question of the relation of this text to Kyd's *Ur-Hamlet* and to the German version in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is not touched upon by Professor Hubbard. This involves an effort to determine the genuinely Shakespearean portions of the play, the amount conveyed from Kyd, the part, if any, contributed by other authors. The state of the text is not to be explained as due merely to corruption and it would have been well to consider whatever bears upon the interpretation of this quarto.

J. W. T.



# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## THE THEORY OF "NATURAL GOODNESS" IN ROUSSEAU'S *NOUVELLE HELOISE*

The present article proposes to study in detail the theories expressed in the *Nouvelle Héloïse* regarding what is commonly called the "natural goodness of man." It is evident that no subject can have greater importance for an accurate understanding of Rousseau's novel. Mr. Schinz has already pointed out that Rousseau's views on the question of natural goodness did not remain fixed and free from variation in works anterior to the *Nouvelle Héloïse*; namely, the First and Second Discourses.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore dangerous to speak of the theories of Jean-Jacques *en bloc*. Each work is deserving of separate and detailed study from the point of view of this theory and generalizations must be made with great caution.

Can we safely follow Mr. Schinz in grouping together the *Nouvelle Héloïse* and *Emile* in the statement that both picture man as "bon au fond"?<sup>2</sup> Shall we, with Beaudoin, speak of all Rousseau's work in one breath and say: "Dans son système, suivre sa nature est toute la morale"?<sup>3</sup> Ought we to agree fully with M. Cuendet that Rousseau's conception of nature "est dans tous les cas aux antipodes de la conception augustinienne de la corruption radicale de l'homme séparé de Dieu et privé de la grâce"?<sup>4</sup> Was Masson right in accusing Rousseau of forgetting "la faiblesse

<sup>1</sup> Albert Schinz, "La notion de vertu dans le Premier Discours de J. J. Rousseau," *Mercur de France*, 1er juin 1912. "La théorie de la bonté naturelle de l'homme chez Rousseau," *Revue du XVIIIe siècle*, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> *Rev. du XVIIIe siècle* (1913), p. 445.

<sup>3</sup> H. Beaudoin, *La vie et les œuvres de J. J. Rousseau* (1891), II, p. 513.

<sup>4</sup> W. Cuendet, *La philosophie religieuse de J. J. Rousseau* (1913), p. 162.

humaine" and is his a Christianity "d'où le sentiment du péché a disparu"?<sup>5</sup> To what extent did Rousseau in the *Nouvelle Héloïse* deny the reality of "the civil war in the cave,"<sup>6</sup> the struggle between good and evil in the breast of the individual? How far did Jean-Jacques believe in the doctrine of "innate goodness"<sup>7</sup> so often associated with his name?

An answer to these questions, so far as the *Nouvelle Héloïse* is concerned, can safely be given only after a study of all the passages which mention or imply the existence or the non-existence of "la bonté naturelle." Among these, as will appear, there are contradictions to be taken into account, contradictions doubtless in part explained by the necessity, in a philosophical novel, of permitting the clash of conflicting points of view. Moreover, no study of this subject would be accurate or complete if it were limited to weighing the evidence of individual passages, important and necessary as that is; we must also consider the trend of the work as a whole.

We soon find that the term, "natural goodness," needs definition and that Rousseau himself does not always offer us the same conception of it. The word "nature," then as now, is used sometimes with one meaning, sometimes with another. In a majority of cases, however, the word is employed to designate a state, a character, or impulses, which are primitive, instinctive, or non-artificial.<sup>8</sup> Thus,

<sup>5</sup> Pierre Maurice Masson, *La religion de J. J. Rousseau* (1916), II, p. 294.

<sup>6</sup> Irving Babbitt, *Rousseau and Romanticism* (1919), p. 187. Cf. pp. 122, 130, 157, 256, 330. Cf. Diderot, *Œuvres* (Assézat), II, p. 246.

<sup>7</sup> Paul Elmer More, *Shelburne Essays*, VI, pp. 215, 223.

<sup>8</sup> After analysing the use of the word "nature" in the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, I have reached the following conclusions. *Nature* is used fifty-five times to designate the original creative force in the universe; one hundred five times to mean that which is due only to this original creative force, hence a primitive, instinctive, or non-artificial state, character, or impulses; ten times to indicate the existing scheme of things; twelve times applied to the physical universe; twelve times meaning the physical human or animal body or life; once in the sense of sort or kind; and three times to indicate accord with truth or probability. Of course, in such classifications, the dividing line is not always easy to draw and it is not claimed that these figures are to be taken as more than approximately true. Different individuals, even the same individual at different times, would undoubtedly make a somewhat different classification. Hence, we feel justified in concluding only that Jean-Jacques puts the emphasis overwhelmingly upon primitivism in the passages where he uses the words *nature* or *naturel* or *naturellement*.

it is clear that in the passages where Rousseau specifically uses the word "nature" he is most often stressing his belief in *primitivism*, but when the question of man's goodness or virtue is raised, we soon find Rousseau offering us several different points of view.

There is, for example, the belief expressed by Wolmar that man is neither good nor bad, but neutral. "Je conçus que le caractère général de l'homme est un amour propre indifférent par lui-même, bon ou mauvais par les accidents qui le modifient."<sup>9</sup> This theory might be criticized as implying that man is really selfish, hence ready to commit a bad action at the invitation of circumstances, and therefore already bad in principle. But I have not found this idea expressed elsewhere in the *Nouvelle Héloïse* and we need not dwell upon it here.

Much more important, as we should expect from our previous discussion, is the place given to what we may call *primitive goodness*. Man was good "before the Fall," said the Church, "before being spoiled by society," said Rousseau as he looked back regretfully, like many another since, to "the good old days." Saint-Preux writes: "Tout consiste à ne pas gâter l'homme de la nature en l'appropriant à la société."<sup>10</sup> Julie comments upon her children: "Nourris encore dans leur première simplicité, d'où leur viendroient des vices dont ils n'ont point vu d'exemple?"<sup>11</sup> Saint-Preux, using a commonplace of voyage literature, speaks of "les peuples bons et simples"<sup>12</sup> and Julie says: "L'on devient comme un nouvel être sorti récemment des mains de la nature."<sup>13</sup> Saint-Preux feels himself "confus, humilié, consterné, de sentir dégrader en moi la nature de l'homme."<sup>14</sup> "Tous les caractères sont bons et sains en eux-mêmes, selon M. de Wolmar. Il n'y a point, dit-il, d'erreurs dans la nature; tous les vices qu'on impute au naturel sont l'effet des mauvaises formes qu'il a reçues."<sup>15</sup> Other similar passages might be quoted.<sup>16</sup>

Closely allied to this theory of *primitive goodness* is the idea of *instinctive* or *innate goodness*, which has offered to opponents of

<sup>9</sup> J. J. Rousseau, *Œuvres complètes* (Hachette, 1863), III, 459.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 545.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 525.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 492.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 368.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 291.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 510.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 131, 375 (man is here admitted to have a tendency toward evil), 455, 512, 525. Contrast p. 513.



Rousseau abundant opportunity to hold him up to easy ridicule. It is really *primitive goodness* looked at from a slightly different angle, for, if men are good by instinct, then primitive men are more likely to be true to their instincts, and hence good. Julie writes to Saint-Preux: "Tu reçus du ciel cet heureux penchant à tout ce qui est bon et honnête: n'écoute que tes propres désirs; ne suis que tes inclinations naturelles."<sup>17</sup> Later she herself thanks Heaven "de lui avoir donné un cœur sensible et porté au bien."<sup>18</sup> Saint-Preux writes of her to Edouard: "Pour Julie, qui n'eut jamais d'autre règle que son cœur,<sup>19</sup> et n'en sauroit avoir de plus sûre, elle s'y livre sans scrupule, et, pour bien faire, elle fait tout ce qu'il lui demande."<sup>20</sup>

But more frequently the *Nouvelle Héloïse* offers still another conception of life; namely, that of a combat against one's desires and inclinations. "La foiblesse est de l'homme," says Julie, but, "suivant une règle plus sûre que ses penchans, il sait faire le bien qui lui coûte, et sacrifier les désirs de son cœur à la loi du devoir."<sup>21</sup> Claire writes to Julie: "Toute ta vie n'a été qu'un combat continu, où, même après ta défaite, l'honneur, le devoir, n'ont cessé de résister, et ont fini par vaincre."<sup>22</sup> If it be objected that here "honor" and "duty" are but man's "natural goodness" gaining the victory, we are merely brought to a conception of goodness as a result of man's higher nature triumphing over the lower. This constitutes a third interpretation of "la bonté naturelle," perfectly legitimate here, but certainly very different from that usually given. Note too that Julie writes to Saint-Preux: "Voilà, cher Saint-Preux, la véritable humilité du chrétien; c'est de trouver toujours

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 269.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 624.

<sup>19</sup> When Rousseau here uses the word *cœur*, does he mean *instinct*, *intuition*, or *emotional feeling*, all three being in contrast to *raison*, or does he perhaps mean *conscience*? If the latter, then of course, this passage means something quite different from merely following the path of least resistance. The query helps to illustrate the difficulty of treating this subject of "la bonté naturelle" and warns one of the danger of basing an argument wholly, or even chiefly, upon Rousseau's use of special words or upon what seems to be his meaning in particular passages quoted.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 486. Cf. pp. 142, 175, 260, 347 (this view is later renounced), 488, 153, 252 (this instinctive goodness is later lost), 253, 268, 271, 293, 521, 577.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 367.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 467.

sa tâche au-dessus de ses forces.”<sup>23</sup> Saint-Preux himself writes to Julie: “Chère amie, ne savez-vous pas que la vertu est un état de guerre et que pour y vivre on a toujours quelque combat à rendre contre soi?”<sup>24</sup> Certainly this would seem to accord with Mr. Schinz’s statement regarding the First Discourse that virtue is considered as “une lutte contre les penchans naturels de l’homme,” thus implying that “l’homme est naturellement mauvais.”<sup>25</sup> If it be maintained that man, primitively good, is now struggling against himself to get back to his former state of goodness, what have we but the Biblical doctrine of the Fall, expressed in other words? Certainly, to all intents and purposes, man, whether spoiled by society or not, whether fallen from his state of original goodness or not, now appears in the words of the *Nouvelle Héloïse* as evil and forced to struggle “contre soi” in this present age. Surely Rousseau has not here lost sight of “la faiblesse humaine,” as Masson has stated he sometimes did. We note these words of Saint-Preux to Julie: “S’ensuit-il de là que la prière soit inutile? A Dieu ne plaise que je m’ôte cette ressource contre mes foiblesses!”<sup>26</sup> Julie is orthodox enough when she says: “Nous sommes libres, il est vrai, mais nous sommes ignorans, foibles, portés au mal. Et d’où nous viendroient la lumière et la force, si ce n’est de celui qui en est la source?”<sup>27</sup> Thus she refers directly to divine aid as necessary to supplement human weakness. “J’osai compter sur moi-même,” says Julie, “et voilà comment on se perd.”<sup>28</sup> In another passage she observes: “Le premier pas pour sortir de notre misère est de la connoître. Soyons humbles pour être sages; voyons notre foiblesse, et nous serons forts.”<sup>29</sup> Saint-Preux quotes Julie on the Protestant religion, which not only follows nature but corrects it, “qui la suit et la rectifie.”<sup>30</sup> Moreover, Julie came to modify her first views on the education of her children. “J’avois d’abord résolu de lui accorder tout ce qu’il demanderoit, persuadée que les premiers mouvemens de la nature sont toujours bons et salutaires. Mais je n’ai pas tardé de connoître qu’en se faisant un droit d’être obéis, les enfans sortoient de l’état de nature presque

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 585.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 595.

<sup>25</sup> *Rev. du XVIIIe siècle* (1913), p. 445.

<sup>26</sup> Rousseau, *Œuvres*, III, 596.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 587.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 625.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 588.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 494.

en naissant, et contractoient nos vices par notre exemple, les leurs par notre indiscrétion.”<sup>31</sup> This saves the face of the theorizer, but “tout juste.” It is really an absolute denial of any practical value in the goodness of nature principle, primitive or otherwise. Who does not here see the practical Rousseau replacing, at least for a moment, the theoretical? In support of the combat theory of virtue there are, strange as that may seem in the light of traditional views regarding Jean-Jacques, many more passages than there are in favor of other theories of life and conduct.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 516.

<sup>32</sup> Note also the following: “Il n’y a que l’art de les réprimer [les passions] qui nous manque” (p. 143); “l’honneur de combattre” (p. 144); “j’ai si peu de combats à rendre contre moi-même, tant je vous trouve attentive à les prévenir” (p. 145); “la dure espèce de combat que nous aurons désormais à soutenir” (p. 173); “témoins de ses combats et de sa victoire” (p. 179); “tu as plus combattu” (p. 181); “ce noble enthousiasme . . . qui t’éleva toujours au-dessus de toi-même” (p. 181); “tel est, mon ami, l’effet assuré des sacrifices qu’on fait à la vertu; s’ils coûtent souvent à faire, il est toujours doux de les avoir faits” (p. 198); love, “qui sait épurer nos penchans naturels” (p. 209); “ma foiblesse” (p. 209); “ne serez-vous vertueux que quand il n’en coûtera rien de l’être?” (p. 221); mention of “la fermeté stoïque” and of “Epictète” (p. 239); “il est fait pour combattre et vaincre” (p. 246); “veux-je être vertueuse” is contrasted with “veux-je suivre le penchant de mon cœur,” but nature is here thought of as on the side of duty (p. 252); “je vois ainsi défigurer ce divin modèle que je porte au-dedans de moi, et qui servoit à la fois d’objet à mes désirs et de règle à mes actions” (p. 291); “les premiers actes de vertu sont toujours les plus pénibles” (p. 330); “Julie m’a trop appris comment il faut immoler le bonheur au devoir” (p. 331); “insensée et farouche vertu! j’obéis à ta voix sans mérite; je t’abhorre en faisant tout pour toi” (p. 332); “en te livrant à la fois à tous les penchans, tu les confonds au lieu de les accorder, et deviens coupable à force de vertus” (p. 348); “celui qui, par respect pour le mariage, résisteroit au penchant de son cœur” (p. 349); “les désirs mêmes ne sembloient naître que pour nous donner l’honneur de les vaincre” (p. 359); “la force dont j’avois besoin pour résister à mon propre cœur” (p. 363); “malgré que j’en aie, il m’élève au-dessus de moi-même, et je sens qu’à force de confiance il m’apprend à la mériter” (pp. 415-16); Julie believes in discipline, not indulgence, for children (p. 421); “elle soutint ce jour-là le plus grand combat qu’une âme humaine ait pu soutenir; elle vainquit pourtant” (p. 481); “on n’a besoin que de soi pour réprimer ses penchans, on a quelquefois besoin d’autrui pour discerner ceux qu’il est permis de suivre,” thus pointing out the necessity of a check upon many of our inclinations (p. 483); “le spectacle d’une âme sublime et pure, triomphant



If it seems that these passages are not in themselves conclusive, consider the book as a whole. "The first parts of the *Nouvelle Héloïse* are the story of the downfall of Saint-Preux and of Julie through following their natural instincts without check. Then comes Julie's conversion, and what started as though it were to be a glorification of the primal rights of passion and of "natural" instincts, continues as the narrative of Julie's struggle toward a virtue to be won, not through her own strength or "natural goodness" alone, but through divine aid. It is true that at the end we find her love for Saint-Preux still burning, but in spite of this she is able to rejoice that death will soon remove from her the possibility of yielding to this love, a fact which seems to show that she too at the end finds herself very human in her weakness and unable to work out alone her own salvation. Her very acquiescence, however, in this outcome shows that duty has triumphed over her natural instincts. Is not the outcome optimistic rather than pessimistic?<sup>33</sup> Was not her real mistake in thinking that the *ménage à trois* could be successful? Whether Rousseau consciously intended it or not, such seems to be the conclusion of his book. Let us note

de ses passions et régner sur elle-même" (p. 482); "je doute qu'on puisse jamais tirer un bon parti d'un mauvais caractère, et que tout naturel puisse être tourné à bien" (p. 513); "aurions-nous jamais fait ce progrès par nos seules forces? Jamais, jamais, mon ami; le tenter même étoit une témérité" (p. 582); "ne goûtons-nous pas mille fois le jour le prix des combats qu'elle [la vertu] nous a coûtés?" (p. 582); "l'homme est plus libre d'éviter les tentations que de les vaincre" (p. 583); "si la vie est courte pour le plaisir, qu'elle est longue pour la vertu!" (p. 584); "un homme qui sut combattre et souffrir pour elle [la vertu] (p. 585); "toute la résistance qu'on peut tirer de soi je crois l'avoir faite, et toute-fois j'ai succombé" (p. 602); These passages emphasize clearly the necessity of effort and struggle to realize the possibilities of one's higher nature. They are numerous enough to show that Rousseau by no means escaped so completely from tradition and from his Calvinistic ancestry as some have led us to believe. Whether they were written by Rousseau consciously or unconsciously, the important thing is that they are there and must not be passed over.

<sup>33</sup> Did Rousseau bring about Julie's death at the end of the novel because he was afraid she would yield to her love for Saint-Preux, because he wished the novel to close with a scene likely to affect "les âmes sensibles," or because he felt the impossibility of continuing successfully the *ménage à trois*?

too with Lemaître <sup>34</sup> that marriage, though an institution approved by society, is greatly instrumental in Julie's redemption and that in consequence we must conclude that nature and society are not always and completely at war. If it be urged that Rousseau, who is here writing a novel, merely yields to the necessities of the *genre* in depicting a struggle, that he is unconsciously influenced by his voracious reading of novelistic literature and by his familiarity with French classic drama, or that his Genevan and Protestant heritage is here to the fore, I do not doubt that all these factors played their part in thus causing him to emphasize the idea of a struggle for virtue. Explanation may account for the fact, it does not dispose of it.

Furthermore, though Saint-Preux is generally taken as more completely Rousseau's mouthpiece than Julie and though it is true that Saint-Preux less commonly expresses doubt in human self-sufficiency, yet we note that he is generally guided and overruled by her in thought and action and is portrayed as looking up to her with respect and deference.<sup>35</sup> His virtue is almost wholly dependent upon hers. Julie herself has a chance to yield to her love for Saint-Preux, marry him, and live on Edouard's estate in England, but, in favor of her duty to her family, she refuses to follow her own inclinations.<sup>36</sup> Saint-Preux will not permit Edouard to follow "nature" to the extent of marriage with Laure,<sup>37</sup> and thus quite evidently defers to the conventions of society. Julie advocates humility rather than self-confidence,<sup>38</sup> although belief that man's inclinations were naturally good would produce exactly the opposite attitude.

Thus, in addition to the unemphasized neutral attitude of Wolmar, we have found expressed in the *Nouvelle Héloïse* three other conceptions of human life in relation to good and evil. These are the theory of *primitive goodness*; the theory, so closely allied with primitivism, of *instinctive goodness*; and the theory of *goodness as harmony with man's higher nature*. The first and the last have this in common; namely, that both admit that man in this present age must struggle against evil tendencies in order to become virtuous. Even the second, conceived as following the *inner light*

<sup>34</sup> Lemaître, *J. J. Rousseau* (Eng. trans., N. Y., 1907), pp. 199-200.

<sup>35</sup> Rousseau, *Œuvres*, III, 418.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 257-58.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 553.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 585.

possessed by every one, does not necessarily exclude the idea of difficulty and struggle in carrying out the dictates of one's conscience, though this is hardly the normal, natural interpretation that we should expect it to have. It is not the interpretation given to it by those who most closely followed so-called Rousseauistic doctrine.

We have shown that in the *Nouvelle Héloïse* Rousseau broke much less with tradition than has been thought. He is more conservative than radical, clinging instinctively to much of his Calvinistic heritage, conscious that his own life was filled with bitter struggle, influenced also probably by the technique of the novel and the drama. Explain as you will the reasons for this, the fact remains. Does it not seem that the closely associated ideas of *primitive* and of *instinctive* goodness were theoretical conceptions which pleased his fancy and gave him a *point de départ* from which to attack the shortcomings of his own time, but did not really form part of his own actual experience, did not harmonize with his own struggle-filled life, which showed so clearly the presence of evil tendencies that must be overcome by actual combat against one's natural inclinations? If Rousseau did not always hold to this latter view, the fact but shows how his theories sometimes led him away from the rock bottom of tested experience. The *Nouvelle Héloïse* is in the main truer to life. "*La Nouvelle Héloïse*," says M. Lanson, "est dans le plan du réel."<sup>39</sup> As between the three conceptions of "la bonté naturelle," primitive goodness, instinctive goodness, and goodness that is natural to the best in man, we find most prominently emphasized in the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, not the second, the untenable doctrine that has often been considered as summing up all of Rousseau's thought, nor the first, which is opposed to all modern evolutionary ideas, but the third, which portrays man's higher nature warring for the victory against the evil in his lower nature, a doctrine which does in fact seem most in accord with daily experience.

Rousseau, as we have seen, uses *nature* in a majority of cases to indicate a primitive state or character, which is non-artificial and good, but this prehistoric state must in no way be confused with the present, for man now is not good but possesses bad tendencies

<sup>39</sup> G. Lanson, "L'unité de la pensée de J. J. Rousseau," *Annales de la Société J. J. Rousseau*, VIII, p. 24.



and must fight to overcome these evil inclinations. Hence virtue requires a moral struggle. It is no easy road. In proportion to the success of this struggle will man recover his primitive goodness and divest himself of artificial accretions, which are "unnatural" and bad. The contrast between Rousseau's idealistic attitude toward the past and his realistic estimate of the present helps to explain many of the seeming contradictions in his thought. It is a contrast which should be taken into account by modern criticism.

The true significance of the doctrine of natural goodness may easily escape us at this distance from the eighteenth century. Especially is this the case if emphasis is placed upon the false psychology patent in any theory of instinctive goodness literally interpreted. But its real significance lies elsewhere. To those who held a horrible belief in the eternal damnation of unbaptized infants or of the non-elect <sup>40</sup> it preached the gospel that any one might be freed from his sin regardless of his creed, a belief which is now becoming a commonplace of our daily thought. To many others, devoted to *salon* and *boudoir* life, it called for an about-face toward a wholesome frankness, simplicity and naturalness.<sup>41</sup> It opposed fatalism and *laissez faire* and called man to fulfil a nobler mission than in the past and to realize the highest possibilities of his nature. These are its permanent contributions to the cause of civilization. For them it deserves to be remembered.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Cf. W. E. H. Lecky, *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe* (N. Y., 1886), I, pp. 357 ff.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. G. Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française* (14th ed., 1918), p. 784.

<sup>42</sup> For helpful suggestions made during the composition of this article, I am very grateful to Professors G. Chinard, E. P. Dargan, H. C. Lancaster, and A. O. Lovejoy. It is a pleasure to acknowledge their kindness.

## PERSONAL AND LITERARY RELATIONS OF HAUPTMANN AND WEDEKIND \*

According to Paul Schlenther, the official Hauptmann-biographer, Gerhart Hauptmann spent the summer of 1888 in Zürich, Switzerland.<sup>1</sup> It was during that summer that he made the acquaintance of Wedekind. "Außerdem gehörten Gerhart Hauptmann und Mackay zu unserem Kreis," Wedekind writes in an autobiographic sketch.<sup>2</sup>

The vast Hauptmann-literature is silent on this subject. Two critics<sup>3</sup> of Wedekind briefly refer to the meeting of the two poets. They also make mention of the fact that Hauptmann used Wedekind as the prototype of Robert in *Das Friedensfest*, and that Wedekind avenged himself by introducing Hauptmann as the naturalistic poet Meier in his comedy *Die junge Welt*; but no one has apparently attempted to compare the resemblances in the two plays with the actual events in the lives of the two dramatists. Such a detailed comparison is the purpose of this paper.

For the facts of Wedekind's life we are practically restricted to the above-mentioned autobiographic sketch. The parallels with *Das Friedensfest* are striking.

Robert in *Das Friedensfest* says of his father, "Ein Mann, der als Arzt in türkischen Diensten gestanden" (p. 31).<sup>4</sup> Wedekind reports, "Mein Vater . . . war Arzt und war als solcher zehn Jahre lang in Diensten des Sultans in der Türkei gereist."

In another place Robert continues, "Anno 48 hat Vater auf den Barrikaden angefangen" (p. 92). Wedekind relates, "Er saß 1848 als Kondeputierter (Ersatzmann) im Frankfurter Parlament."

\* A paper read before the German section at the meeting of the Modern Language Association, held at Poughkeepsie, December 30th, 1920.

<sup>1</sup> Paul Schlenther, *Gerhart Hauptmann—Leben und Werke*, 1912, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> "Autobiographisches von Wedekind" (niedergeschrieben 1901 in München für Ferdinand Hardekopf) *Pan*, 1911, p. 147 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Hans Kempner, *Frank Wedekind als Mensch und Künstler*, Berlin-Pankow, 1911. Artur Kutscher in *Das Wedekindbuch*, München und Leipzig, 1914, p. 196.

<sup>4</sup> All references to *Das Friedensfest* are to vol. 3 of the *Gesammelte Werke*, 1906.

Robert remarks, "Ein Mann von vierzig heiratet ein Mädchen von sechzehn" (p. 30). Wedekind tells the following: "Mit 46 Jahren heiratete er eine junge Schauspielerin, die genau halb so alt war wie er selber. Diese Tatsache scheint mir nicht ohne Bedeutung." This latter phrase seems to point to an incompatibility between Wedekind's parents, a fact which Hauptmann apparently utilized in Wilhelm's remarks, "Mutter und Vater haben auch ihr Leben lang verschiedene Sprachen gesprochen" (p. 99), and in the cynical outburst of Robert, "Na, und danach ist es denn auch geworden; ein stehender, fauler, gährender Sumpf, dem wir zu entstammen das zweifelhafte Vergnügen haben. Haarsträubend! Liebe—keine Spur. Gegenseitiges Verständnis—Achtung—nicht Rühran—und dies ist das Beet, auf dem wir Kinder gewachsen sind" (p. 31).

With reference to her origin, Frau Scholz says, "Ich bin eben 'ne einfache Seele—der Vater war eben zu vornehm für mich.—Seine Mutter hatte ooch so was Vornehmes. Aber mei' Vater war früher bluttarm—in mir steckt eben das Armutsblutt!" (p. 80). Wedekind narrates, "Mein Vater, aus alter friesischer Adelsfamilie—Der Vater meiner Mutter war ein Self-mademan. Er hatte als ungarischer Mausefallenhändler angefangen."

The taint of insanity in the Scholz-family is paralleled by Wedekind's report about his grandfather, "Er starb in voller Geistesumnachtung." The musical ability in Frau Scholz and in Wilhelm reminds of Wedekind's remark, "Er (der Vater seiner Mutter) war im hohen Grade musikalisch begabt. Was meine Schwester Erika und meine Wenigkeit an musikalischer Begabung besitzen, stammt entschieden von ihm."

Toward the end of the play Robert speaks of his vocation, "Sieh 'mal, ich gehe jetzt in ein kleines geheiztes Comtoirchen, setze mich mit dem Rücken an den Ofen—kreuze die Beine unter dem Tisch—zünde mir diese . . . selbe Pfeife hier an und schreibe—in aller Gemütsruhe hoffentlich, solche . . . na, du weißt schon, solche Scherze, . . . solche Reklamescherze: Afrikareisender . . . nahe am Verschmachten, na . . . und da laß ich denn gewöhnlich eine Karawane kommen, die unseren Artikel führt.—Mein Chef ist sehr zufrieden—es geht durch den Inseratenteil aller möglichen Zeitungen" (p. 91). Wedekind's sketch contains the following passage, "1886 wurde in Kempthal bei Zürich das indes weltberühmt ge-



wordene Etablissement Maggi für Suppenwürze gegründet. Maggi engagierte mich gleich bei der Gründung als Vorsteher seines Reklame- und Pressbureaus." As a matter of fact, I remember distinctly having seen German children playing with the colored Maggi-cards, bearing the picture of the poor explorer, saved from starvation by the timely arrival of a caravan carrying the Maggi-goods.

Even the mask of Robert bears a striking resemblance to a picture of Wedekind dating back to 1889, which is very different from those of his later years. This picture <sup>5</sup> shows a slim figure, with wan face, mustache and goatee. Hauptmann describes Robert as follows: "Mittelgroß, schwächlig, im Gesicht hager und blaß, Seine Augen liegen tief und leuchten zuweilen krankhaft. Schnurr- und Kinnbart" (p. 24).

Apparently Wedekind had at that time gone thru the extreme of cynicism and pessimism, as is indicated by the three pantomimes unearthed by Artur Kutscher.<sup>6</sup> But even then he had that ruthless impulse to speak the truth as he saw it, that loathing of cheap sentimentality and emotionalism, of philistine morality and of moral compromises, which led him to deny the very existence of morals and of ideals. He had seen the contradictions of life and of civilization.

Fortunately, Carl Hauptmann has given us an interesting picture of the Wedekind of 1888: "Ich habe die Freude, Frank Wedekind seit seiner Frühzeit zu kennen, seit der Zeit, wo er in Zürich studierte. Der Mensch mit den edel beherrschten Zügen konnte im nächsten Augenblicke wie in mystischer Verwandlung auch immer der melancholische oder tolle Gaukler sein, der sein blutendes, aus der Brust gerissenes Herz wie ein tanzendes Rad über den Jahrmarkt trieb." And speaking of the later Wedekind, he continues, "Es handelt sich um das von der Urleidenschaft 'Leben' und 'Liebe' zerrissene Menschenherz, mit dem er seine Gaukeleien betreibt. . . Ein hochgradig erregter Erkenner unsrer Lebenstriebe zerquält seine Seele."<sup>7</sup>

Wedekind is the idealist turned cynic, who with all his antics cannot free his soul from the idealistic impulse. Some of that early

<sup>5</sup> See *Wedekindbuch*, opp. p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Wedekindbuch*, p. 194.

<sup>7</sup> L. c., p. 117.

idealism, child-like purity and longing for the infinite is found in a few of his lyrics. The anguish of soul, which longs for harmony and sees only the meaningless contradictions of life, has found expression in the remarkable poem

Selbstzersetzung.\*

Hochheil'ge Gebete, die fromm ich gelernt,  
Ich stellte sie frech an den Pranger;  
Mein kindlicher Himmel, so herrlich besternt,  
Ward wüsten Gelagen zum Anger.

Ich schalt meinen Gott einen schläfrigen Wicht;  
Ich schlug ihm begeistert den Stempel  
Heillosen Betrugs ins vergrämte Gesicht  
Und wies ihn hinaus aus dem Tempel.

Da stand ich allein im erleuchteten Haus  
Und ließ mir die Seele zerwühlen  
Von grausiger Wonne, vom wonnigen Graus:  
Als Tier und als Gott mich zu fühlen.

Auch hab' ich den mörderischen Kampf in der Brust,  
Am Altar gelehnt, übernachtet,  
Und hab' mir, dem Gotte, zu Kurzweil und Lust,  
Mich selber zum Opfer geschlachtet.

Such an idealist turned cynic is also Hauptmann's Robert. Several times Hauptmann uses such stage-directions as, "er lächelt ironisch" (p. 66), "lacht bitter" (p. 69, 80) and has him exclaim "lachhaft . . . direkt komisch" (p. 73). His own sister calls him "pietätlos" (p. 26) and "schamlos" (p. 27). When he finds himself moved by the emotional appeal of the Christmas-celebration and the sunny idealism of Ida and Frau Buchner, he disdainfully and, as it were involuntarily, utters the word "Kinderkomödie" (p. 70). He actually experiences physical pain. "Robert scheint gegen Ende des Gesanges unter den Tönen physisch zu leiden. Die Unmöglichkeit sich dem Eindruck derselben zu entziehen, scheint ihn zu foltern und immer mehr und mehr zu erbittern" (p. 69). While conversing with his brother he mutters "Akrobatenseele" (p. 61) and confesses, "ich habe das unabweisbare Bedürfnis mich selbst anzuspucken."

In the spirit of *Selbstzersetzung*, he says to his mother, who has

\* Frank Wedekind, *Gesammelte Werke*, 1912, I, 76.

used the pious phrase, "der liebe Gott wird mich schon bei Zeiten erlösen!" . . . "Von Gott erlöst sein, möchte man lieber!" (p. 81).

Hauptmann has motivated Robert's cynicism thru the horrible home-life of the Scholz-family and the cruel and unfeeling education received at the hands of his father and his teachers. "Volle zehn Stunden täglich hockten wir über den Büchern." Wilhelm tells Ida, "da spielten sich Szenen ab—Mutter zog mich am linken, Vater am andern Arm. . . . Wir wehrten uns . . . natürlich half das nichts, unser Dasein wurde nur noch unerträglicher. . . . Wir waren ja zu der Zeit erst Jungens von neun oder zehn Jahren, und von da ab hörte die gute Absicht auf. . . . Fünf Jahre lang waren wir uns selbst überlassen. . . . Banditen und Tagediebe waren wir. . . . Wir verfielen aber noch auf ganz andre Dinge, deren Folgen wir wohl kaum jemals verwinden werden" (p. 47).

I am inclined to believe that this is also the explanation of Wedekind's cynicism. I have no direct evidence, except possibly the vitriolic way, in which he caricatures the teaching profession in such characters as Rektor Sonnenstich and Professors Affenschmalz, Knüppeldick, Hungergurt, Knochenbruch, Zungenschlag and Fliegentod in *Frühlings Erwachen*. But there is a startlingly reminiscent passage in *Tod und Teufel*, where the philosophic white-slaver Casti Piani breaks out, "Was ich als Kind erlebt habe, das erlebt kein menschliches Geschöpf, ohne daß seine Tatkraft bis zum Grabe gebrochen ist. Können Sie sich in einen jungen Menschen hineindenken, der mit sechzehn Jahren noch geprügelt wird, weil ihm der Logarithmus von Pi nicht in den Kopf will?! und der mich prügelte, war mein Vater! Und ich prügelte wieder! Ich habe meinen Vater totgeprügelt!"<sup>9</sup> Does not this incident remind one of the box on the ear, which Wilhelm Scholz gave to his father? And did Wedekind perhaps draw on his own experiences, when he makes Casti Piani continue, "Ich habe . . . nie mehr die Beschimpfungen gehört, die während meiner ganzen Kindheit meiner Mutter zuteil wurden. . . . Aber das sind Kleinigkeiten. Die Ohrfeigen, Faustschläge und Fußtritte, in denen Vater, Mutter und ein Dutzend Lehrer zur Entwürdigung meines wehrlosen Körpers wetteiferten, waren Kleinigkeiten im Vergleich mit den

<sup>9</sup> Frank Wedekind, *Gesammelte Werke*, v, 19 f. (1913).



Ohrfeigen, Fußtritten und Faustschlägen, in denen die Schicksale dieses Lebens miteinander wetteiferten, um meine wehrlose Seele zu entwürdigen."

Wedekind is the absolute individualist, who will brook no interference with the full play of his instincts. Robert Scholz asserts, "Das muß jedem unbenommen bleiben . . . sich auf seine Art zu vergnügen. Ich wenigstens würde mir dieses Recht auf keine Weise verkümmern lassen, selbst nicht durch Gesetze" (p. 29). In another place he says, "Ich bin, wie ich bin. Ich habe ein Recht so zu sein, wie ich bin" (p. 92).

The foregoing parallels are as much as, with our limited knowledge of Wedekind's early life, we can claim as direct influence. It is very probable, however, that many other details are taken from Wedekind's experiences, for he felt deeply wounded by Hauptmann's betrayal of his confidence.

He took his revenge in the little-known comedy *Die junge Welt*, written according to Wedekind's own testimony in 1889, but not published until 1897.<sup>10</sup> In this light comedy, he introduces Hauptmann in the disguise of the naturalistic poet, Franz Ludwig Meier, "ein Jüngling mit bartlosem Antlitz, starkem Haarwuchs, während des ganzen Stückes in Jägerscher Normalkleidung." Meier is a naturalist, going about with pencil and note-book and writing down his observations. In the end he goes crazy, as he himself admits, "Wenn ich meine naturalistischen Studien an Alma machte, dann wurde Alma unnatürlich. Wenn ich meine naturalistischen Studien an einem andren Objekt machte, dann wurde sie eifersüchtig. So blieb mir denn weiter nichts übrig, als meine naturalistischen Studien an mir selber zu machen. Und das hat mir den Rest gegeben" (p. 88). In this passage Wedekind satirizes the craze of the young naturalists to outdo Zola in his scientific observation of life. Gerhart Hauptmann still adhered to this notebook-habit at the time of his journey to Greece.<sup>11</sup>

Meier is the editor of the as yet not fully launched "Sonne," and as he boasts of how he has overcome one obstacle after the other, he exclaims, "Die 'Sonne' harrt gewissermaßen nur noch meines

<sup>10</sup> Frank Wedekind, *Gesammelte Werke*, II, 1-91 (1912).

<sup>11</sup> "Ich schreibe meiner Gewohnheit nach, im Gehen, mit Bleistift diese Notizen." Gerhart Hauptmann, *Griechischer Frühling*, Berlin, 1908, p. 40.

Winkes, um aufzugehen" (p. 64). This remark is clearly an allusion to Hauptmann's first play *Vor Sonnenaufgang*, which is further referred to by Karl Rappart, "Sein erstes realistisches Sittendrama erschien. . . . Er hatte . . . einen Riesenerfolg. Das Wiederaufblühen der deutschen Literatur schien durch Meier verbürgt. Leider erlebte sein Stück nur einige Aufführungen, indem es auch eigentlich keinem Menschen gefallen hatte; und man verlangte etwas Neues von ihm.—Und nun kommt sein Geniestreich." And with an emotional seriousness quite uncommon in Wedekind, which shows how deeply he felt hurt, Wedekind has Karl continue: "Ich hätte Meier damals auf den Knien dafür danken können, in ihm wenigstens einen Menschen zu haben, dem ich mein übergelassenes Herz ausschütten konnte. . . . Und dieser Mensch geht hin und setzt meine Seelenergüsse, Wort für Wort, stenographiert gewissermaßen, seinem Theaterpublikum als realistische Delikatesse vor! . . . . Er mußte sich, während die Geschichte spielte, schon die genauesten Notizen gemacht haben. Die Tage werden mir unvergeßlich sein. Ich sitze von früh bis spät allein in meiner Mansarde, über meinen Zeitungsartikeln, um mir abends meinen einsamen Tee mit einem Stück Wurst illustrieren zu können. Der Abend kommt, die Wurst kommt, dann kommt Meier von einem opulenten Diner, streckt sich auf den Diwan, gähnt, bewitzelt meinen ärmlichen Luxus, und angesichts seiner Glückseligkeit geht mir das Herz auf. Meier lacht sich derweil ins Fäustchen und denkt: Das gibt eine prachtvolle Bühnenfigur! . . . Wenn sich der Realist noch wenigstens an die Realität gehalten hätte. Aber die war ihm natürlich nicht realistisch genug! Da mußte ein Vater her, den kein Mensch mit der Feuerzange anfassen würde; eine Mutter, die kein Mensch mit der Feuerzange anfassen würde. . . . Und alle diese Schauergestalten, diese Mißgeburten sehe ich mit meinen Worten, mit meinem Seelenschmerz, mit meinen Erlebnissen und Empfindungen aufgeputzt" (p. 75 f.).

Then follows a turn to the grotesque in Wedekind's best style: "Das Stück wird aufgeführt. Ich sehe mich vom ersten Helden-darsteller gespielt. Eine fürchterliche Sensation aber—damit war es auch aus. Es hatte nicht gefallen. Und nun denke dir, nun kommt Meier zu mir und macht mich für seinen Mißerfolg verantwortlich. Er sagte, er habe sich genau an meine Mitteilungen gehalten; entweder müsse ich ihm was vorgelogen haben, oder ich

sei ein verschrobener Mensch, der sein Leben nicht realistisch richtig zu leben verstünde. Nun sah ich mich noch dazu unsterblich lächerlich geworden. Natürlich beschäftigten sich die Zeitungen mit dem Fall. Es ging so weit, daß die Straßenjugend mit Fingern auf mich zeigte" (p. 77).

Viciously Wedekind hints at Hauptmann's marital troubles, which must have begun about then. "Seine junge Frau hielt anfangs so tapfer, so geduldig bei ihm aus, wie er es sich nur hätte wünschen können. Nun hat er ihr aber so lange und eindrücklich gepredigt, daß ihre Gegenwart überhaupt die wesentliche Ursache seiner Gemütsleiden sei, daß sie schließlich vollkommen an sich irre geworden ist und sich zu allem bereit erklärt." This and earlier passages read almost like a take-off on Hauptmann's *Einsame Menschen*,<sup>12</sup> provided they were inserted later than 1890. As Anna Mahr in *Einsame Menschen*, so Anna Lauhart is a "Studierende der Medizin" (p. 27), who has been in Zürich and in Paris (p. 39), and Meier talks of matrimony much as Johannes Vockerat as an "Einklang der Seelen" (p. 34) and as "ein auf sittlicher Grundlage basierendes, lebenslängliches, ernstes Zusammenwirken, Zusammenstreben" (p. 62). One is tempted to assume, that when Wedekind makes Karl say to Meier's wife Alma, "Fürchten Sie denn nicht, meine Gnädigste, daß Ihnen das einsame Leben noch trostloser werden könnte als Ihre Häuslichkeit. . . ?" (p. 86) he is poking fun at Hauptmann's play.

Finally a cheap reconciliation takes place between Alma and Meier, and she agrees to try her luck with him once more, "Aber ohne—ohne—ohne—Notizbuch" (p. 91).

Wedekind never forgave Hauptmann, as is proved by several flippant references to the naturalist in later works, and Gerhart Hauptmann did not contribute to the book issued in honor of Wedekind's fiftieth birthday.

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<sup>12</sup> For similar passages in *Einsame Menschen*, cf. pp. 131, 132 and 216.



## THE DRAMAS OF RICHARD CUMBERLAND, 1779-1785

Richard Cumberland's sentimental masque, *Calypso*, was acted March 20, 1779, at Covent Garden Theatre. This play tells a moral tale of the struggle of Telemachus to resist Calypso. On a "rocky shore, wild and desart," (I, i) Calypso mourns Ulysses, and even Proteus can give no news of the wanderer. Telemachus is wrecked upon the island, and, despite the protests of Mentor, yields to Calypso. He is moved to repentance by discovering the real wickedness of Calypso, and, with the moral awakening of Telemachus, the palace of Calypso vanishes. "The plot," as *Biographia Dramatica* (III, 77) says, "is well known to every school boy and girl who has read Telemachus," and "the adventures of Telemachus, in different shapes, have already surfeited the world. Opera, masque, and Tragedy have all maintained this hero in a languishing kind of existence." Calypso was, however, effective as eighteenth-century stage-craft. "It has," says *The London Review* for March, "something in it picturesque and poetical, we wish we could say equally dramatic and theatrical; but in these points it is somewhat defective, altho' we think it by no means so deficient as our play-house and newspaper critics pretend." The prophecy of *The London Magazine* for April that *Calypso* was "not likely to outlive the nine nights that include three benefits" was true, since the masque was acted but three times. *Calypso* must be set down as one more unfortunate experiment by Cumberland in a field for which he was totally unfitted.<sup>1</sup>

*The Bondman*, an adaptation of Massinger's play, was acted on October 13, 1779. It is probable that the play was offered to the world anonymously. *The Public Advertiser* of October 14 reviews it, "altered, as 'tis said, by Mr. Hall." *The Bondman* was "acted only about six nights."<sup>2</sup>

The failure of *The Duke of Milan*, acted November 10, 1779, at Covent Garden, marked Cumberland's third unsuccessful attempt

<sup>1</sup> Cumberland says that *Calypso* was written to bring Butler forward, *Mémoires*, I, 800. See *The Widow of Delphi*. Further comment upon *Calypso* may be found in the *St. James Chronicle* of March 23, 1779; *The London Chronicle* of March 22, 1779, and Genest, vi, 95.

<sup>2</sup> *Biographia Dramatica*, III, 64. Further comment upon *The Bondman* may be found in *The London Chronicle* of October 15, 1779; *Lloyd's Evening Post* of October 13, 1779, and in Boaden, *Life of Mrs. Siddons*, p. 117.

within two years to adapt Elizabethan tragedies. Revision of the plays of Shakespeare, of Massinger, or even of Fenton, could never result with any degree of credit to Cumberland, since he was in no sense a writer of good tragedies, nor even a capable adapter of them. Exactly what he professes in his Advertisement to *Timon of Athens* he never achieves, namely, the bringing of plays "upon the stage with less violence to their authors, and not so much responsibility on his part."<sup>3</sup>

Cumberland now turned again to musical comedy. On February 1, 1780, Covent Garden Theatre advertised *The Widow of Delphi*, or *The Descent of the Deities*. The author's powers in this species of drama had not improved. *The Widow of Delphi* was performed six times.<sup>4</sup>

*The Walloons*, written during Cumberland's sojourn in Spain as ambassador, was acted April 20, 1782, at Covent Garden. On January 28, 1783, there appeared at the same theatre *The Mysterious Husband*, a good example of eighteenth-century domestic tragedy. Lord Davenant, the villain, was played by Henderson. "Well, Mr. Cumberland," Mrs. Henderson is reported to have said, "I hope at last you will allow Mr. Henderson to be good for something on the stage." "Madam," replied the poet, "I can't afford it—a villain he must be."<sup>5</sup> This was Henderson's third appearance as Cumberland's leading character in a tragedy. Certain lines in the prologue of *The Mysterious Husband* have interest as a possible allusion to *The Critic*:

Now parody has ventured all its spite  
Let Tragedy resume her ancient right.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs*, I, 384. The prologue of *The Duke of Milan* was said to be written *en revanche* for the attack on Cumberland in *The Critic*. Further comment upon *The Duke of Milan* may be found in *Lloyd's Evening Post* of November 15, 1779.

<sup>4</sup> Further comment upon *The Widow of Delphi* may be found in *The Westminster Magazine* for February, 1780; *The Town and Country Magazine* for February, 1780; *The Universal Magazine* for February, 1780; *The London Chronicle* of February 2, 1780; *The Public Advertiser* of February 1, and February 2, 1780; *Biographia Dramatica*, iv, 405, *Mudford, Life of Cumberland*, p. 341; and Genest, vi, 146.

<sup>5</sup> *Life of Mrs. Siddons*, p. 229.

<sup>6</sup> Further comment upon *The Mysterious Husband* may be found in *The Lady's Magazine* for February, 1783; *The Critical Review* for February,

*The Carmelite*, a so-called Gothic tragedy, was acted with some measure of success at Drury Lane on December 2, 1784. Mrs. Siddons won fame as Matilda. On the twenty-second of the same month appeared a sentimental comedy of Cumberland's, *The Natural Son*. The story of this piece follows: Blushenly, without name or fortune, but with all the other graces of a sentimental comedy hero, escapes the meshes of Phoebe, an elderly spinster, and wins, in spite of his diffidence, the hand of Lady Paragon. Rueful, moved to remorse by the virtues of his natural son, Blushenly, acknowledges him, and repents publicly of his wrong-doing. *The Natural Son* is sadly deficient in incident for a five-act play, and the December *Westminster Magazine* points out that "it must require a considerable husbandry to draw out so slight a fable into five acts." This fault, and Cumberland's ancient weakness of firing all his artillery in the first two acts, destroyed a promising comedy. "It has of late," says *The Universal Magazine* for the same month, "been remarkably the lot of the theatres to produce plays which began well, and sink both in interest and effect as they proceed. *The Natural Son* is a piece which comes within this description. The first and second acts are good ones, and though there are many happy incidents, excellent sentiments, and pointed witticisms and remarks in the third, fourth and fifth, yet considered as acts, they are by no means equal to those that precede them. It were to be wished that Mr. Cumberland had compressed his plot, and written the comedy in three acts only; all would then have been alive and interesting."

Cumberland, with undying belief that any "unequal production" of his, if properly cared for, would ultimately succeed, reduced the five acts of *The Natural Son* to four, and the play in this form was acted at Drury Lane on June 10, 1794. "The omissions," says *The European Magazine*, "were chiefly the exclusion of a character called Rueful, which certainly added nothing to the merit of the play. In its present state it is much improved." <sup>8</sup> The worth of *The Natural Son*—and it has worth—

1783; *Aickin's Review* for 1783; Genest, vi, 268; Mudford, p. 413; Oulton, *History of the Theatres of London*, II, 2; and Dunlap, *Life of George Frederick Cooke*, I, 338, 341, 343.

<sup>7</sup> *The London Chronicle*, December 25, 1784.

<sup>8</sup> *The European Magazine*, June, 1794.



lies partly in "well-delineated character."<sup>9</sup> Cumberland was bold enough to use old wine. Major O'Flaherty re-appears, and is effective, although he lacks the wit of earlier days. "Upon the whole well contrived," is one judgment, though the same writer laments that "Major O'Flaherty throws sad disgrace on young Dudley,"<sup>10</sup> for the votaries of the early play knew the promise that "Dudley made . . . at the conclusion of the *West Indian*,"<sup>11</sup> and now the Major is "totally unprovided for."<sup>12</sup> In the production of a decade later the Major's name "was changed to Captain O'Carol."<sup>13</sup> *Biographia Dramatica* praises the characters of Rueful and Dumps, and *The Westminster Magazine* discerns in "Jack Husting's first interview with Sir Jeoffrey, and his address to Miss Phoebe . . . abundant humour."

*The Arab*, or *Alcanor*, acted March 8, 1785, at Covent Garden Theatre, has the familiar Cumberland plot: Mariamne, the former queen, having been imprisoned, the royal Augusta exults over the faded charms of her rival. Herodian, the son of Mariamne, has returned only to find his mother dethroned, while Alcanor, lost for years past in the desert, arrives as the heir-presumptive, magnificent in his simplicity, his naïveté, his fierce and generous passions. When he is made aware of the just claims of Herodian to the throne, in spite of the imprecations of Augusta, he yields the kingdom to his rival. Shortly afterwards, he learns that Glaphyra loves and is loved by Herodian. Since Alcanor has earlier saved the maiden's life, and loves her, this crisis is the supreme test of his generous nature. He wavers, sending Barzilla, who proves to be his own father, to kill Herodian, but virtue conquers, and Alcanor's suicide liberates Herodian and Glaphyra. In all likelihood, *Salome*, a lost tragedy by Cumberland, *The Arab*, as acted at Covent Garden, and *Alcanor*, as found in *The Posthumous Dramatick Works*, are successive versions of the same drama. In letters to Garrick in 1770 Cumberland describes *Salome*, and says he has made her life "twice attempted by Mariamne."<sup>14</sup> "If yet,"

<sup>9</sup> *Biographica Dramatica*, iv, 74.

<sup>10</sup> *The Westminster Magazine*, December, 1784.

<sup>11</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>12</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>13</sup> Genest, vi, 152.

<sup>14</sup> *Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, i, 380, Cumberland to Garrick, January 25, 1770.

he writes two months later, "the catastrophe is too shocking, by the danger in which Glaphyra is kept, I have a plan for softening that, though I am humbly of the opinion it has a very great effect as it is."<sup>15</sup> What became of the unfortunate *Salome* it is impossible to tell, but the mention of the characters of Mariamne, Glaphyra, and Bethanor links the lost play with both *The Arab* and *Alcanor*. Mariamne appears in *Alcanor*, Bethanor in *The Arab*, and Glaphyra in both. The relationship of *The Arab* to *Alcanor* is clear. *Biographia Dramatica* does not realize that these are essentially the same play.<sup>16</sup> Listed as separate plays, *The Arab* is said to have been never published, and *Alcanor* never performed. *Alcanor* is, in fact, a later evolution of *The Arab*. Of *The Arab's* *dramatis personæ* of five characters, two, Herodian and Glaphyra, reappear in *Alcanor*. Contemporary references to incidents of *The Arab* prove that the plots were substantially alike. "There can hardly be a doubt," says Genest of *The Arab*, "that this is the T. published in Cumberland's posthumous works as *Alcanor*."<sup>17</sup> *The Arab* was acted but once. In the cast were Henderson, Lewis, Wroughton, Mrs. Bates,<sup>18</sup> and Miss Young. "This tragedy," says *The London Magazine* for March, 1785, "abounds in business; some of the incidents are effected by great contrivance and ingenuity. Several of the situations are as full of force as any we have observed in tragedies of a late period. Glaphira's avowal of Herodian being her lover; the confession Bathanor<sup>19</sup> [*sic*] makes, of his being the father of Abidah;<sup>20</sup> the interview between Herodian and Glaphira; and the death of Bathanor, deserve particular attention. The language is full of imagery, some of which possesses novelty. The tragedy was well got up, and the performers played with infinite spirit." At his last benefit Henderson<sup>21</sup> acted the

<sup>15</sup> *Idem.*, March 17, 1770.

<sup>16</sup> *Biographia Dramatica: The Arab*, III, 35, *Alcanor*, III, 12.

<sup>17</sup> Genest, VI, 360.

<sup>18</sup> Mrs. Bates acted regularly at Drury Lane.

<sup>19</sup> Bethanor = Barzilla in the play of *Alcanor*.

<sup>20</sup> Abidah = Alcanor in the play of *Alcanor*.

<sup>21</sup> In the *Memoirs*, II, 207, Cumberland says: "I have now in my mind's eye that look he (Henderson) gave me, so comically conscious of taking what his judgment told him he ought to refuse, when I put into his hand my tributary guineas for the few places I had taken in his theatre: 'If I were not the most covetous dog in creation,' he cried, 'I should not take your money; but I cannot help it.'"

part of Alcanor with success. A friend, E. T., wrote to him: "I saw in one paper, Bensley preferred to you in Horatius. I have not seen your Horatius, but I have your Alcanor, and I am sure your Horatius must be good."<sup>22</sup>

From this time on Cumberland's pen was never idle. During the Summer Season at the Haymarket Theatre was produced *The Country Attorney*. It was withdrawn after the fourth performance. Genest (VI, 452) gives the number of performances of *The Country Attorney* as four, but The Theatrical Register of *The Gentleman's Magazine* records six. The play was never printed, and Cumberland hardly mentions it in the *Memoirs* (II, 278). *The European Magazine* justly calls *The Country Attorney* "one of those hasty productions by which Mr. Cumberland has been gradually writing down his reputation, ever since the appearance of the *West Indian*."<sup>23</sup>

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### WORDSWORTH BANDIES JESTS WITH MATTHEW

Three stanzas from Wordsworth's poem *The Tables Turned* have always held a very prominent place in the minds of all his readers. They are the following:

Books! 'tis a dull and endless strife:  
Come hear the woodland linnet,  
How sweet his music! on my life,  
There's more of wisdom in it.

And hark! how blithe the throstle sings!  
He, too, is no mean preacher:  
Come forth into the light of things,  
Let Nature be your Teacher.

<sup>23</sup> *The European Magazine*, July, 1787. Further comment upon *The Country Attorney* may be found in *The Town and Country Magazine* for July, 1787; *The London Chronicle* of July 9, 1787; Adolphus, *Life of John Bannister*, I, 160; *Memoirs of Mrs. Crouch*, II, 24, 56; and Mudford, p. 547.

<sup>22</sup> *Letters and Poems by the late Mr. John Henderson*, p. 213, E. T. to Henderson, November 13, 1777. Further comment upon *The Arab* may be found in the *Memoirs of Mrs. Crouch*, I, 238.



One impulse from a vernal wood  
May teach you more of man,  
Of moral evil and of good,  
Than all the sages can.

The entire poem, to be sure, but particularly these lines have been regarded as Wordsworth's most concise and memorable expression of his belief in the moral power of Nature. She, and not traditional wisdom, is to be regarded as man's surest ethical guide. Adverse critics of naturalistic morality of this sort, in particular, have fallen foul of this passage. Professor Irving Babbitt, for example, in *Rousseau and Romanticism* says, "Wordsworth . . . would have us believe that man is taught by 'woods and rills' and not by contact with his fellowmen. He pushes this latter paradox to a point that would have made Rousseau stare and gasp when he asserts that 'one impulse from a vernal wood,' etc."

The persistent use of this passage as though it were a direct and formal expression of Wordsworth's philosophy, is hardly justified. The entire poem, as a matter of fact, is essentially dramatic,<sup>1</sup> and helps to form our conception of one of the most original figures in all Wordsworth's poetry. These remarks compose one speech in a little comedy of character which runs through a number of his poems. Properly considered, they form a bit of indirect characterization of an engaging fellow, named Matthew. William, the poet, in them is making a vivacious reply to some teasing to which the old man, in *Expostulation and Reply*, has been subjecting him. William has at length caught the contagion of Matthew's spirit and turns the tables by answering him in just the tone in which he has pitched the argument.

Matthew's character, therefore, must be clearly understood by anyone who hopes to interpret these lines aright. This figure is

<sup>1</sup> Wordsworth, to be sure, in the Advertisement prefixed to the 1798 edition of *The Lyrical Ballads* says "the lines entitled 'Expostulation and Reply,' and those which follow, arose out of conversation with a friend who was somewhat unreasonably attached to books of moral philosophy." This conversation may even conceivably be the inconclusive "metaphysical argument" which Hazlitt records as having had with Wordsworth, in "My First Acquaintance with Poets." These facts, however interpreted, do not affect the nature of the obvious drama which has been built upon them as a base. Certainly no one will seek to find any of Hazlitt's features in Matthew.

an imaginative creation of Wordsworth's,—one of his most distinctive dramatic individuals. He is the central figure in *Matthew*, *The Two April Mornings*, *The Fountain*, and *Address to the Scholars of a Village School*,<sup>2</sup> besides being the moving spirit of the discussion carried on in *Expostulation and Reply* and *The Tables Turned*.<sup>3</sup>

This Matthew was built up, as were almost all of Wordsworth's fictions, on a strong basis of actual fact. He doubtless owes many of his most attractive traits to one of his author's teachers at Hawkshead,—The Rev. William Taylor.<sup>4</sup> But Wordsworth, himself, explicitly warns us against identifying the two. In the Fenwick note to the poem called *Matthew*, the poet, after indicating the relation of its hero to this Taylor, says: "This and other poems connected with Matthew, would not gain by a literal detail of facts. Like the Wanderer in 'The Excursion,' this Schoolmaster was made up of several, both of his class and men of other occupations."

Matthew is conceived as being a merry old schoolmaster of seventy-two,<sup>5</sup> with hair of glittering gray.<sup>6</sup> Volatile in the extreme, at frequent intervals he is veritably possessed by mad gaiety. Robertson calls him "the most highly fantastical pedagogue whom we have in all poetic literature." Wordsworth tells us that he was:

As blithe a man as you could see  
On a spring holiday.<sup>7</sup>

He calls him "the gray haired man of glee"<sup>8</sup> and tells us that

<sup>2</sup> The fact that these poems were all written later than the two directly under discussion, does not weaken their value as supplementary descriptions of the dramatic figure to whom Wordsworth speaks in *The Tables Turned*.

<sup>3</sup> I do not include, it will be noticed, lines 531 ff. in *Prelude X*, in which Wordsworth gives an account of a visit to the grave of an old schoolmaster. The person referred to is clearly an historical person, who here shows none of Matthew's distinctive qualities.

<sup>4</sup> The entire question of the relation of this Matthew to real persons is exhaustively discussed by Eric Robertson in his *Wordsworth and the English Lake Country*, pp. 115-134.

<sup>5</sup> *The Fountain*, 4.

<sup>6</sup> *The Two April Mornings*, 6.

<sup>7</sup> *The Two April Mornings*, 7-8.

<sup>8</sup> *The Fountain*, 20.

The sighs which Matthew heaved were sighs  
 Of one tired out with fun and madness;  
 The tears which came to Matthew's eyes  
 Were tears of light, the dew of gladness.<sup>9</sup>

His mirth at times overflowed into improvised song. In *The Fountain* at least, the poet suggests that he and Matthew sing together

That half-mad thing of witty rhymes  
 Which you last April made.

But in the midst of Matthew's seizures of contagious animal gaiety, there would suddenly fall upon him trances of thought.

Yet sometimes, when the secret cup  
 Of still and serious thought went round,  
 It seemed as if he drank it up—  
 He felt with spirit so profound.<sup>10</sup>

These ideas, which come to him as suddenly as his moods of joy, have as random and gusty a character as they. A brief study of *The Fountain* will show how little regard he pays to logical consistency when the mood of thought is upon him. As he and the poet are lying near a woodland spring, the latter suggests that they sing together some of his songs. But Matthew does not hear; he is hypnotized by the approach of a thought. When it arrives, he ceases to stare with unseeing eyes at the fountain, and lets the oracle speak through him. Fugitive thoughts pour from his lips. Natural creatures, says the volatile spirit who is talking, enjoy a glorious freedom in comparison to man, who is beset by social laws which precipitate discord within his nature. The blackbird and the lark seem to him free to follow their impulses to natural happiness.

With Nature never do *they* wage  
 A foolish strife; they see  
 A happy youth, and their old age  
 Is beautiful and free.<sup>11</sup>

But when Matthew comes to mention the heavy laws by which men are oppressed, he seems not to realize that they are laws of Nature to which the gayest birds are subject as inevitably as man. What

<sup>9</sup> *Matthew*, 17-20.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 25-28.

<sup>11</sup> *The Fountain*, 41-44.



interests him, however, is that these natural laws of death and loss are indifferent facts to creatures devoid of memory, but are mournful to all men, and most mournful to a man of mirth like him. These wayward and incoherent inspirations of thought, however, produce in him no permanent sense of grief. The feeling proves as evanescent as all his moods, for, a few minutes later, as he and the poet walk away from the fountain, he begins to sing his

Witty rhymes  
About the crazy old church-clock  
And the bewildered chimes.

In this poem, as in all the others in which he appears, Matthew remains true to his character. He is no person to be taken with sustained seriousness. His thought is harmonious with his conduct; both are delightfully innocent of logic and consistency. Only those who deny Wordsworth even a boyish sense of fun, which took the place in his mind of a sense of humour, will allow their zeal for discovering the poet's philosophy to obscure this spirited characterization of Matthew.

Now when this impulsive old fantastic comes upon the poet idly dreaming on an old gray stone, he attacks him in his now familiar spirit of irresponsible and exaggerated badinage—"Why, William, you sit there mooning and gazing upon the landscape as though you were the first and only one of your kind. Come, get out your books and read them. Then you will learn that there have been great men in the world before you. Let their spirit breathe upon you with inspiration,—that will convert you from an eccentric solitary into a man among men."

Up! Up! and drink the spirit breathed  
From dead men to their kind.

The spasmodic philosopher cares little whether or not this doctrine is inconsistent with that enunciated in *The Fountain*. The wide-eyed dreamer arouses one of Matthew's gusts of mad mirth and he takes the line that will give him the most fun.

William is at first so absorbed in his thoughts that he does not enter into the spirit of Matthew's gaiety. So in the last four stanzas of *Expostulation and Reply* he develops seriously and simply his theory of the value of a "wise passiveness" in the presence of Nature. Then he turns, as it were, and for the first time catches

the mirth in Matthew's eyes. He immediately recognizes the jocose spirit of his friend's attack and awaits his opportunity to retaliate. His chance is not long in coming. In the evening he finds Matthew reading, and assails what he is doing with the same spirit of exaggerated ardor<sup>12</sup> that his old friend had shown toward his out-of-door idling.

"Don't preach wisdom to me, my old book-worm. What folly to be bending double over your books when the sun is flooding the meadows with mellow lustre. Close up the barren leaves. Away with Science and Art. Come out and hear the linnet."

How sweet his music! on my life  
There's more of wisdom in it.

"Come out into the light and let Nature be your Teacher."

Then follows the mooted stanza:

One impulse from a vernal wood  
May teach you more of man,  
Of moral evil and of good,  
Than all the sages can.

The spirit of this retort, thus put into its proper setting, is unmistakable. William has donned the gay volatility of Matthew for a purpose. He indulges in his friend's irresponsible jesting with idea. How absurd, then, to think that here the poet is giving serious and measured utterance to his cherished ideas. He is beating down a merry adversary by mere exaggeration and volubility.

Wordsworth's attitude toward tradition, books, and wisdom, it must be admitted, is often puzzling, and, to the neo-humanist it must seem sometimes frankly obscurantist. In fact, Wordsworth so often preaches the moral value of mere association with Nature that he might have expressed ideas very like these, as his final wisdom.<sup>13</sup> But in this poem he is jesting and it is annoying to

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Wordsworth's sub-title to *The Tables Turned*, "An Evening Scene on the Same Subject."

<sup>13</sup> Especially the lines in *To My Sister*, published, like these two poems, in the first edition of *The Lyrical Ballads*, in particular the following lines:

One moment now may give us more  
Than years of toiling reason:  
Our minds shall drink at every pore  
The spirit of the season.

see one of Wordsworth's few jokes so often taken in deadly earnest. Moreover, it is a pity not to recognize here a flash of sportive and vigorous dramatic ability in this predominantly philosophical poet. Most serious is such a literal-minded critic's loss of this, perhaps the most delightful, encounter which Wordsworth has arranged for his readers, with the old mad-cap Matthew.

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### FURTHER INTERPRETATIONS OF MILTON

In my endeavor to meet the doubts of certain scholarly gentlemen as to some of my recent conclusions in the interpretation of Milton, *MLN.* xxxv, 441, facts and considerations have presented themselves which seem to justify further request for the hospitality of these pages.

1. Milton's "star that bids the shepherd fold" (*Comus* 93) is often associated by the annotators with Shakespeare's "unfolding star" (*Meas. for Meas.* iv. ii, 218), and fittingly enough, for they are parts of the same conception. In my former communication I drew attention to the fact that in the Spring the constellation Leo (represented by the bright star Regulus) rises to the zenith as Aries sinks in the west. This suggests poetically the peril that causes the folding of the flock.

The unfolding star is Sirius (Canis Major), perhaps reinforced by Procyon (Canis Minor), which at the same season rises before Aries. Since the lion is the natural enemy of the flock as the dog is its natural protector, the former announces danger, the latter proclaims safety.

2. In the lines *On the Death of a Fair Infant* a more comprehensive view still more positively rejects the bracketed (Mercy) of line 53.

A note in Dr. Thomas Newton's edition (1753) says, "In some editions the title runs thus, *On the Death of a Fair Infant a Nephew of his dying of a cough*; but the sequel shows plainly that the child was not a nephew but a niece and consequently a daughter of his elder sister Anna Milton (Phillips)." But the



sequel is not so conclusive on this point as has been imagined. In the gross sense, of course, stern, masculine Winter wanted to wed a maiden, not a youth. The immaturity need not be considered. However, the body was not that which he coveted and snatched away, but the *anima*, soul, or physical life, and this is feminine whether in youth or maiden. (It is to be hoped that Milton's sister also understood so much Latin.) As we shall see, a part of the poem depends for its best sense upon the assumption that the child was a boy. Besides it is easier to understand how nephew was erroneously dropped than how it was erroneously inserted at first.

Of the precise words of line 53 I have rejected the bracketed (Mercy) and explained them as referring to Ganymede. "Would not Hylas do?" asks a cautious scholar. "Not so well," I maintain, "for he lacks that essential smile and is not associated with 'that heavenly brood' from which he ought to come." But we shall have a more convincing reason.

No one has deemed necessary a fuller identification of the "crowned Matron" who follows. She is received as a personification of Truth, sufficiently identified by the poet himself. She does indeed resemble Spenser's Una but she is more. She must have a place in the myths like her associates. She is Philosophy the Matron by eminence "the towered Cybele, mother of a hundred gods," all light-bearing divinities, "that heavenly brood" presently mentioned. Her temple at Athens was called the *Μητροῶν*; she is white-robed, for the light is her garment (*Ps.* civ. 2). Her priests are called Galli (cocks) because of their office in heralding the day. Her name, Cybele or Cybebe, was apparently related by the young poet with *κύβη* or *κεφαλῇ*, that is, the head, the citadel of Truth's empire.

What was Milton's purpose in these references? We have seen that there is at least an even likelihood that the babe was a boy. Its tentative identification successively with a star (predominantly masculine), a goddess, a maid, a youth, a matron, one of the heavenly brood (divided between the sexes) and one of the "golden-winged host" of angels (presumably all masculine) shows how little was made of the sex relation.

Nothing is more usual at the death of a child than to forecast what it would have become if it had grown to manhood. Inasmuch as the Infant's father "held a situation in the Crown Office in

Chancery" what would be more natural than to expect the child at maturity to fill the place of a jurist? This would have been logical destiny, if the spirit of Astraea had grown up within the child. The Infant's uncle was a poet in embryo and more than that in prospect; the talent was in the blood: what could forbid the hope that the spirit of Ganymede fostered within the child would make him a poet, a purveyor of the nectar of the gods? Milton, when he wrote, was imbibing Greek philosophy at Cambridge with unconquerable zest; what if the same spirit of Cybele should develop in the child and make him a philosopher or one of the honored dons of the university? The departments from which to choose are as numerous as the divine offspring of the "crowned matron."

To return to the second possibility—that the Infant might become a poet. There are two main sources of inspiration, very real and positive sources, Joy and Sorrow. Milton has many studies of their varied manifestations in his poems early and late. They generally appear under names familiar in mythology, Pan and Sylvanus, Urania and Calliope, Ganymede and Hylas, Fauns and Nymphs. In more extended and intimate comparison they are portrayed in *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. The home of these two passions in the heart is hinted in *Par. Lost* iv. 705-8 based on *Prov.* xiv. 10. Ganymede and Hylas are paired in *Eleg. Sept.* 21-24. Ganymede, as his name indicates, is Joy; Hylas (ὕλη, wood), scarcely less beautiful and no less loved, is related to the sombre Sylvanus, like him associated with the Nymphs (Grief) and by them caught bathing in a shaded pool and born away into Neptune's realm, somewhat as Orpheus (the Bereaved), another variant of Sorrow, is carried "down the swift Hebrus to the Lesbian shore." Ganymede (Joy) is rapt by Jove's eagle into the sky and has his permanent abode in Olympus dispensing nectar to the gods. Is it credible that Milton could have preferred the sorrowful to the joyous mood for his nephew—Hylas to Ganymede?

A common doctrine is, that of the two portraits, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, Milton resembled the latter. But it will hardly be denied that in his comparisons he steadfastly set the former in the higher place both of origin and power. Joy in Heaven is Euphrosyne, one of the Graces. Melancholy has no name there because she has no residence. Orpheus by his pathos was able to draw

"iron tears down Pluto's cheek" and wring a conditional release of his wife; but a song of joy in that dismal world would have revolutionized it and forced the grim monarch "to have quite set free the half-regained Eurydice."

Milton is in fact the most cheerful of poets; he utters a note of triumph amid the saddest personal privations and over the most disastrous events. This is not forced but spontaneous. The joy gushes from the base of his life like a fountain fed from the sky. The source is revealed in the consolation offered his sister in the closing lines of this poem.

It remains only to note that all who are designated, the jurist or statesman, the poet, the philosopher, or teacher, are "let down in cloudy throne to do the world some good." They are kings and though of ill-defined authority rule the spirit more effectually than many who sit on thrones of royal state.

3. On lines 76, 77 Masson remarks: "One can hardly say that this prophecy was fulfilled in Edward Phillips and John Phillips, Milton's nephews, the brothers of the fair Infant born after her (his?) death. Yet they are both remembered on their uncle's account." Masson must have felt—his hesitation shows it—that of all times at such a time as this professed divination with respect to his sister's natural descendants, had Milton been weak enough to attempt it, would have been a mockery. If we turn to the prophecy of *Isaiah* (Chap. LIV-LVI) we find consolations for childlessness whose exalted beauty and tenderness must have strongly appealed to Milton and impelled their application to his sister under the same conditions as those that occasioned their first utterance. The culmination of the promise is in chap. LVI. 5—"Even unto them will I give in my house and within my wall a place and a name better than of sons and daughters: I will give them an everlasting name that will not be cut off." Here is something far more substantial than poetic invention; it covers the ground of the scriptural promise even to its emphatic redundancy.

4. Let me venture in addition to the foregoing an interpretation of a well-known but poorly understood passage beginning with the fiftieth line of *Lycidas*. The first thing requiring settlement is the location of the *steep* in line 52. Why did Milton here use a descriptive term instead of the name as in the case of the other two localities? Was it not because he considered the steep to be



too well known to require naming? And yet editors have groped uncertainly for "it" among the unfamiliar mountains of Wales. An American school-boy knows the main features of the Giant's Causeway whose eastward thrust produces the basaltic columns of Fairhead, the chief promontory of the Irish coast, 550 feet high and directly ahead of the doomed vessel as it issued from the Chester estuary. Like Mona and the Dee the vicinity of the Causeway is replete with relics of the Druids. "The principal cairns are—one on Colin mountain near Lisburn and one on Slieve True near Carrickfergus; and two on Colinward. The cromlechs most worthy of notice are—one near Cairngrainey to the north-east of the old road from Belfast to Temple-Patrick; the large cromlech at Mount Druid, near Ballintoy, and one at the northern extremity of Island Magee. The mounts, forts and intrenchments are very numerous" etc., etc.—(*Encyc. Brit.* art. Antrim). The identification even without the name seems as perfect as that of Mona and the Dee.

The nymphs at play are not, as some teach, the Muses, but Nereids, maidens of the sea, whose presence is manifested in mists and clouds and is indicative of the weather as propitious or threatening. Had any of these appeared in their accustomed haunts—a heavy fog on the Dee or storm clouds in the direction of Fairhead or Mona—the mariners might have taken warning and postponed the voyage or at least felt their way cautiously instead of being lulled into carelessness by sly, "*sleek Panope*," the calm, fair weather that did in fact prevail.

If, as Dryden oracularly proclaimed, "Milton saw nature only through the spectacles of books," how, it may modestly be asked, did Dryden and his successors view it? I question whether he ever had first-hand knowledge, for instance, of the "Lydian measures" exploited in his *Alexander's Feast* or even had an adequate idea of what they were.

5. *L'Allegro*, line 136-. Having gone thus far at the end of the preceding note I will risk the further opinion that in the "Lydian airs" Milton complements his favorite Pindar, who frequently using Lydian metres, wrote an immense number of lyric poems—triumphal odes, hymns to the gods, convivial and dancing songs, celebrations of victory at the great games, including a description of the Islands of the Blest—all in harmony with the vivacious and joyous spirit of cheerfulness and a perfect antidote, one would

think, to "eating cares." He calls these "Lydian" rather than "Dorian" or "Æolian" airs, perhaps because of the varieties of Pindar's metres and the versatility of his genius resembling the winding flow of the Maeander, the chief river of Lydia.

Anyone who has seen the copy of Pindar in the Harvard Library with its copious notes in Milton's own hand will easily appreciate this expression of our English poet's delight in the old Greek lyricist.

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### A SOURCE FOR GULLIVER'S TRAVELS

It has long been a commonplace of literary criticism to say that *Gulliver's Travels* is like the *True History* of Lucian, though very little effort has been made to define the relationship between the two. Every edition of *Gulliver* mentions Lucian; two or three individual parallels have been pointed out by Hime in his monograph, *Lucian—The Syrian Satirist*, and by Pietro Toldo in an article entitled "Swift and Rabelais," in the *Revue des Etudes Rabelaisiennes*, for 1906; but the only full study of the sources of *Gulliver* (a German thesis by Borkowsky in *Anglia*, xv) makes no mention of Lucian whatsoever. Swift's debt to Lucian was recognized, however, by his own contemporaries. It is asserted in a conversation between Booth and the Unknown Author in Fielding's *Amelia*; and in dialogues of the dead by both Lyttelton and Voltaire, Swift is confronted by the resurrected Lucian, who proceeds to criticize *Gulliver*, comparing it to his own *True History*.

That Lucian's romance is the remote origin of the satiric *Voyages Imaginaires* cannot be questioned. In addition there are quite marked parallels to the work of Swift, several of which have not been noted before. There is a general similarity in the prefatory matter. Both *Gulliver* and *Lucian* despise falsified "Travels," and aim to be admired by posterity for their singular veracity. Both boast that they record plain facts without bias or prejudice. Both promise to omit technical descriptions and to avoid pedantic display of knowledge. Within the narrative, also, there are parallels in situation and satire. The travellers are hospitably received; they learn that the inhabitants are engaged in a desperate war;

and they enlist to help fight the enemy. Lucian's conversation with the departed spirits in Elysium, in so far as it includes Homer, Alexander the Great, and Hannibal, is reproduced by Swift in Gulliver's visit in the island of Glubdubdrib. Especially close is the common satire directed at the unfortunate commentators of Homer. The departed spirits unite in heaping disgrace upon "historians who write untruly." Yet in spite of these parallels the direct influence of Lucian is not very clear. In view of the great number of satirical romances written much nearer to Swift's time, several of which repeat these same Lucianic situations with various modifications, the burden of proof still rests upon those who assert that the *True History* furnished direct hints for *Gulliver's Travels*. After all, these parallels are not very significant. The case would be much more convincing, certainly, could we also trace to Lucian the central ideas which we meet in *Gulliver*: the satire of position and proportion embodied in the pygmies and the giants; the magical apparatus of Glubdubdrib and the superhuman statesmanship of the Houyhnhnms.

To arrive at any degree of certainty a connection between Swift and Lucian must be established. To assume that Swift had read Lucian is not a scientific procedure. So far as we know Swift had never read Shakespeare. Fortunately we can do a little better. In the *Journal to Stella*, Letter XIII, January 4, 1710-11, there occurs the following entry:

"I went to Bateman's the bookseller . . . and bought three little volumes of Lucian in French, for our Stella."

To make a long story short, among other translations of Lucian, there is one made by Perrot D'Ablancourt in the year 1648.<sup>1</sup> This translation includes the introductory essay "*Comment il faut écrire l'histoire*"; both parts of the *True History*; and in addition a third and fourth part written by D'Ablancourt himself by way of sequel, in which the traveller visits a land of pygmies; describes but does not visit a neighboring land of giants; is entertained in an island of magicians; and makes a long visit in an animal kingdom, where the animals are peaceful, prosperous, and wisely gov-

<sup>1</sup>Nicholas Perrot D'Ablancourt (1606-1664) was a successful lawyer in Paris, and a recognized scholar in the classics. His work as a translator was praised highly by Boileau. He was admitted to the Academy in 1637.



erned, in contrast to the savage and degenerate human beings who live near by and who are subject to the animal rule.

There is then first of all this striking circumstance to connect Swift with Lucian: that to a French translation are added visits to "l'île des animaux . . . quelle étoit environée de celle des géans, des magiciens, et des pygmées"; but the contribution is much more than the mere general suggestion of places visited. The animal kingdom is not confined to horses it is true; in fact the horse is merely one of many species who live together. The parallel is rather in the contrast between the highly civilized animals, and the Yahoo type of human savages who are subject to the animals. The animal king (like the governor of the Houyhnhnms) is very indignant when he learns from the traveller of the gross injustice done to his domesticated cousins in the antipodes. Like Gulliver the traveller becomes convinced of the superior virtues of the animals.

The island of the magicians bears no detailed resemblance to the island of Glubdubdrib. The island of the giants (which adjoins that of the pygmies), is briefly described as a good place for travellers to avoid. The giants, who are over five hundred feet in height, fish for whales and throw mountains about for exercise. The race of pygmies, however, is most important. Unlike the little savages who attack Hercules in the classical legend, but like the Lilliputians, the pygmies of D'Ablancourt are governed by human laws, ruled by a benevolent king, skilled in waging war, and highly ingenious in the management of their domestic affairs. To be sure the race is idealized, not ridiculed, as it is by Swift; but it is a source for the fiction and not the satire that we are seeking in D'Ablancourt. There is also something of Swift's careful proportions in the extended and detailed account of the pygmy life. The minute rations consumed, the diminutive utensils used, are all in strict conformity with the scale of life. The traveller is entertained with a vaudeville performance ("marionnette") which lacks only the tight-rope walking exhibited at the court of Lilliput. In short, no other account of pygmy life gives anything like such a parallel to Swift. Yet D'Ablancourt has never been mentioned in connection with Swift; and, though his sequel is not at all inferior to the *True History*, it is hard to find any mention of it at all.

Two questions remain. Was D'Ablancourt's *Lucian* published in "three little volumes" before 1711, and if so did that edition include all four parts of the *True History*. The Catalogue of the British Museum has the following entry:

"Nouvelle edition . . . Corrigeé. 3 pt. Paris, 1674. 8vo. Grässe, "*Tresor des Livres Rares et Precieuses*," gives two others:

"Amst. 1688 3 tom. in 12."

"Amst. 1707 3 tom. in 12."

Of these editions, the last, printed in 1707, still would have been new volumes when Swift made his purchase in 1711; and hence this edition is, from every angle, most likely to have been the gift to Stella. This edition is in the New York Public Library; a full if not a complete translation of the works of Lucian,—and it includes all four parts of the *True History*.

When we read in the *Memoirs of Martinus Scribblerus* that the *Travels* were already outlined in Swift's mind as early as 1714, at least within three years of his purchase of the French *Lucian*, it seems very improbable that the resemblance should be a mere coincidence. Adding the parallels in D'Ablancourt's sequel to those contained in the *True History* itself, we are forced to the conclusion that we are in the presence, at last, of a very definite and a very considerable source for *Gulliver's Travels*.

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## REVIEWS

*French Literature of the Great War*, by ALBERT SCHINZ, Professor of French Literature at Smith College. New York, Appleton, 1920. xiv + 433 pp.

The vast output of war literature in France is seen by us today in sufficient perspective to admit of a general survey. In France, the excellent bibliography of J. Vic, *La Littérature de la guerre* (Payot, 2 vols., 1918), is an invaluable guide, at least to the end of 1916, but it needs to be supplemented by synthetical works that classify and analyze tendencies and weigh historical, psychological, or aesthetic values. Mr. Schinz, in his desire to perform a like service for the American public, has given us a good, useful book.

His task was extremely arduous. He had to choose, sort, criticize. The field is immense, the quality of the material unequal, a standard for including or excluding a book difficult to determine: should it be literary merit, documentary value, moral or philosophical bearing? Doubtless in this choice personal preferences and reactions have a large share, but French readers, particularly the veterans of the war, are now almost unanimously for or against certain books. And I think that this public would accept with slight alteration the decisions of Mr. Schinz. All the works that I should like to find there, I find,—Lintier, Jean des Vignes Rouges, Le Goffic, Benjamin, Delvert, Gènevoix, Giraudoux, Duhamel, Dupont, Etévé, Rédier, Fribourg, the *Lettres d'un soldat*,—judiciously placed and in their true light. The criticisms are short, definite, fair: there are but few that I should question. Perhaps less indulgence might be shown toward certain names: the *Maurin des Maures* of J. Aicard (p. 31) would be astonished to see itself mentioned in the same line with Scapin or Gavroche; *Les Sauveurs du monde* of Vignaud seems less "remarkable" to me than to Mr. Schinz; *La Flamme victorieuse* of R. Gentry I find flat and ordinary; the declamatory lyricism of *Ceux de Verdun* by Péricard, often intolerable. These, however, are merely questions of personal taste. On the other hand, certain names are absent: if Barrès "during the first weeks of the war was a magnificent inspiration to the French people" (p. 11), should not Albert de Mun be mentioned also, whose articles, published in book form, *La Guerre de 1914* (1915), are fired with the same spirit? Together with the *Lettres d'un soldat*, I should name the admirable *Lettres de guerre* of Pierre-Maurice Masson. Lastly, certain authors are dealt with over-hastily: if Péricard is given six pages, *Les Derniers jours du Fort de Vaux* and *Les Captifs délivrés* of H. Bordeaux deserve more than two lines of foot-note; and I should have dwelt longer on the work of Capitaine Z\*\*\*, *L'Armée de la guerre* and *L'Armée de 1917*, in my opinion, two of the most exact and powerful accounts that we possess of the conditions of the army in the field. But these slight objections do not detract from the value of the rich, well-chosen catalogue that Mr. Schinz offers us.

I admit that I have more serious reservations to make on the order and the plan adopted. Mr. Schinz divides the war production into three periods: "emotional reaction," "documentation,"



"philosophical considerations,"—and, in announcing this division, he immediately meets objections by recognizing that "no period produced one type of literature to the exclusion of all others." This objection, however, is not sufficient to deter him from this method of classification, which he finds clear and "corresponding in a general way to what happened." I believe that by this persistence Mr. Schinz has been of doubtful service to himself, and that he is under a slight illusion as to the agreement of this purely logical arrangement with the chronological succession of events. The reader feels that he is cramped by the framework he has built (see p. 230, for instance); he is obliged to take up in the "first period," supposedly finished "about the spring of 1915," works belonging to 1918 or even to April, 1919; to speak of books of 1915 in the "third period,"—and finally, to slice authors into two or three pieces whom he should have studied only in one place (e. g., Bertrand, pp. 42, 93, 101). Why not have followed the chronology of the war in its broad, clearly-marked periods: open warfare and the Marne, trench warfare, the renewal of open warfare, the victory? If it is true, as I think, that the three characteristics, of which Mr. Schinz makes three chronological moments, are actually to be found, they should be considered as three parallel currents, blending often with one another, whose proportion and importance vary at the different periods of the war,—or, if you will, as three increasing or decreasing series, whose respective size should be determined at the essential dates. The book, I believe, would thus give a more faithful image of literary life during the four years of struggle.

I come now to a few remarks on points of detail:

P. viii.—I do not agree that "literature in such circumstances is more than ever a luxury." Literature was a source of action and of inspiration. It was also a means of "information," a sort of connecting link between the combatants and the rear,—to which fact the first "war-books" owe their enormous success. It was, moreover, a noble and legitimate means of propaganda in foreign countries.

P. 18.—I should omit the adverb "unintentionally" in speaking of the *Manifesto of the Ninety-Three German Intellectuals*.

P. 33.—Mr. Schinz criticizes rather severely *Le Feu* of Barbusse. I should be still more severe. No one can deny its literary merits.

But, at its date, the book was not only inexcusable, it gave an incorrect picture of the conditions at the front. Inexcusable, because it was a despairing book at the very time when the nation's energies needed galvanizing; an incorrect picture, because, however inhuman and infernal life in the trenches could be, it was not *always* inhuman and infernal. None of us could have stood it. There were quiet sectors, others that were intolerable. There were days when no rain fell, and when the sky was blue. There were also officers; and Barbusse ignores them,—another inexcusable action. Besides, to gauge the book, two facts are sufficient for me: the immense joy that hailed it in Germany; the alacrity with which it was published daily by American newspapers of pro-German leanings.

P. 71.—To the "prophecies concerning the war" add Jean d'Is, *A travers l'Allemagne*, 1913, whose opening pages disclose a seer.

P. 92.—"Joffre, Foch, and Castelnau are faithful Catholics." No; Joffre is a Protestant.

P. 102.—The *Lectures pour une ombre* of J. Giraudoux has been translated into English by E. S. Sargent in 1918, under the title *Campaigns and Intervals*.

P. 186.—I find Mr. Schinz's criticism of the French government's lack of foresight on the subject of submarine warfare unduly harsh. As much might be said of asphyxiating gas: in 1915, the problem was so gigantic that it could not be met at every point. The front had to be held at all costs; implements of war had to be improvised; heavy artillery, gas defense, had to be created; light machine guns manufactured; motor transportation, pursuit aviation, organized,—a thousand other things as well,—and this with the centre of industrial life invaded by the enemy, and all the men in the trenches. The government succeeded; and perhaps if at that moment it did no more for the navy, it was not through criminal neglect, but because of practical impossibility.

These objections to certain details<sup>1</sup> diminish neither the pleasure

<sup>1</sup> The book deserves, and will have a second edition. Therefore, I point out here some mistakes or typographical errors, which are regrettably numerous. Certain titles are incorrect: read p. 7, *Proses de guerre*, and not *Prose*; p. 12, *L'Amitié des tranchées*, and not *Amitiés des tranchées*; p. 61, *Quatorze histoires de soldats*, and not *Histoire de quatorze soldats*; p. 70, *Nolly, Gens de guerre au Maroc*, and not *du Maroc*, published in 1912, not in 1913; p. 70, *Psichari, Le Voyage du centurion*, and not *La Veillée du centurion*; p. 153, *Les Captifs délivrés*, and not *Les Prisonniers délivrés*;

nor the profit to be found in Mr. Schinz's book. He is indeed the first to attempt to disentangle a confused and complicated mass,

p. 160, Le Bail, *La Brigade de* (and not *des*) *Jean le Gouin* (p. 399, correct *Jean Gouin*); p. 202, Warnod, *Notes et croquis rapportés d'Allemagne*, and not *Notes et croquis de l'Allemagne*, published in 1915, and not in 1916; p. 205, *Le Martyre de Lens*, and not *Les Martyrs de Lens*; p. 317, Porché, *L'Arrêt sur la Marne* and not *de la Marne*; p. 364, Lichtenberger, *Juste Lobel alsacien*, and not *l'alsacien* published in 1911, not in 1913; p. 379, Poulbot, *Des gosses et des bonhommes*, and not *Gosses et bonshommes*.—Certain names are misspelled: p. 35: *Eckenfelder*, not *Elkenfelder*; p. 70, *Détanger*, not *d'Etanger*; p. 102, *du Fresnois*, not *Dufresnois*; p. 124, *Jules Romains*, not *Romain*; p. 161, l'amiral *Ronarc'h*, not *Rornarch*; p. 164, *Roux-Parassac*, not *Parnasse*; p. 216, lieutenant *Nioæ*, not *Niod*; p. 225, *Maurice Talmeyr*, not *Talmayre*, 1918, not 1919; p. 245, *von Bernhardt* and not *Bernardi*; p. 295, *Champsaur*, not *Chamsaur*; p. 302, *Delarue-Mardrus*, not *Madrus*; p. 377, *Derennes*, not *Derenne*; p. 411, *Ouy-Vernazobres*, not *Vernazobos*.—Certain mistakes of various sorts: p. 11, *Barrès* is not younger than *Maeterlinck*: they were born in the same year, 1862; p. 16, n. 2, *Hervé* published *Leur patrie* in 1910, not in 1915; p. 28, surely we should read *less exact*, and not *more exact*; p. 65, *Grandeur et servitude militaires* was published in 1835, not in 1836; p. 71, read *Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines*, not *des Mines*; p. 96, note 37, read *11<sup>e</sup> Chasseurs*, not *II<sup>e</sup> Chasseurs*; p. 114, *pupils*, not *pupis*; p. 115, *Croire*, by *Fribourg*, is slightly posterior to *La Flamme au poing*, by *Malherbe*; p. 125, a strange inadvertence: "a château not far from the front, in Artois, near Rheims"; another, p. 147: "le Mort-Homme (in the Vosges)", instead of "north of Verdun"; p. 149, I do not understand the "dying foot" found in a boot long abandoned in a trench; p. 165, *sergent-fourrier* should be translated by *supply sergeant*, not *quartermaster*; p. 177, "starting as an escort dragoon, he soon was made a 2nd class cavalryman; it is just the contrary: "starting as a 2nd class cavalryman, he was given the duty of escort dragoon"; p. 190, why give the title of I. Rimbaud's book half in French, half in English?; p. 193, *deputy mayor* signifies *acting mayor* and not *deputy and mayor*, which is the fact; p. 207, I should translate *La Fayette*, we are here by "*nous voici*," and not "*nous voilà*"; p. 237, *espionnage*, not *espionage*; p. 282, *Victor Cambon* is an "ingénieur des arts et manufactures," here he is confused with the two Cambon brothers, the diplomats; p. 312, read *Pithécanthrope*; p. 314, Paul Fort's lines are cut in an unacceptable fashion; p. 321, correct *Infanterie*; p. 329, *Bertrandou*, not *Bertrandoux*; p. 348-394, why write *Reims*, and another time, *Rheims*?; p. 360, *Marseille*, not *Marseilles*; p. 361, *carrosse*, not *carosse*; p. 371, *premier prix du Conservatoire*, not *de Conservatoire*; p. 385, Lamartine's *Méditations* came out in 1820, not in 1819.

The *Index* leaves much to be desired. For instance, correct p. 415, *Adju-tant*, for *Adjudant*; p. 416, *Assomoir*, for *Assommoir*; p. 417, *Marseilles*;



and others, who perhaps will criticize his work, will begin by using it. Through analyzing and judging, he thinks and makes others think. To the literature of the war, to which he is our guide, he adds one more good book.

ANDRÉ MORIZE.

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*La Galerie du Palais, comédie par Pierre Corneille*, edited by T. B. Rudmose-Brown. Manchester, University Press; London, Longmans, Green, 1920. liii + 126 pp. (Modern Language Texts).

While American publishers are competing with one another in printing new editions of often edited texts, it is refreshing to find an English firm turning to a new field, that of Corneille's early comedies. Professor T. B. Rudmose-Brown of Trinity College, Dublin, has brought out a careful and tasteful edition of the *Galerie du Palais* which will, I hope, have enough success to encourage the editing of more of these pleasant plays. In his introduction he has used to advantage the work of Marsan, Toldo, Rigal, Lintilhac, and other scholars. He points out clearly how Corneille's comedies developed out of pastoral plays, in what their originality consists, and what are their relations to various literary phenomena of the period, especially *préciosité*, the unities, the use of a realistic background. The text is carefully reproduced according to the edition of 1682. Variants and stage directions are added from the edition of 1657, which was unknown to Marty-Laveaux. The notes are ample and sound. Indeed, both in introduction and notes Professor R.-B. strikes a happy mean between discursive editions and those that are too closely trimmed.

p. 418, *J. Champenois*, for *G. Champenois*; p. 420, the name Jean Denis is followed by no reference; p. 422, read *Fusiliers*, not *Fusilliers*; *R. de Gourmont*, and not *Gourmond*; p. 423, *Gus Bofa* should be under *Bofa*, not under *Gus*; p. 424, read *Kistemaeckers*, not *Kistemaeker*; p. 428, in the reference *Orage, G.*, it is hard to recognize *L'Orage sur le jardin de Candide*.

Finally, some errors in quotations from poetry; p. 306, Rostand's line is: "*comme une Marseillaise étrange des abeilles*," not *aux abeilles*; *encor*, not *encore*, to rhyme with *d'or*; p. 307, Verlaine wrote: "*Sans rien en lui qui pèse ou qui pose*." And why a blank space cutting each Alexandrine at the hemistich?

There are, however, certain statements that one can hardly accept without reservation. P. xxviii, in order to praise Corneille's comedies, it is unnecessary to belittle Molière's, which remain, when all is said, immeasurably superior. P. 1, if the author denies that Molière's comedies, other than the *Misanthrope*, are psychological, he should define his term; what, the student may well ask, are comedies of character? and did Molière write only one? P. xxxv, add to the list of plays showing shops on the stage the *Foire de Saint-Germain* (repr. 1634), mentioned in Mahélot's *Mémoire*. P. xi, no evidence is brought forward to justify the probably correct statement that the *Galerie* was first given at the Marais. P. 1, while there is an interesting characterization of Corneille's early comedies in general, little attempt is made to differentiate the *Galerie* from the others; it might have been well to point out that Corneille here shows dramatic progress by omitting such *trucs* as his earlier plays exhibit in the use of letters, madness, and an *enlèvement*. On the other hand, the play lacks characters of interest equal to that furnished by Amaranthe in the *Suivante*, Alidor in the *Palais*, or Clindor in the *Illusion*. P. xxxiii, Mr. R.-B. states that there is complete unity of action in the *Galerie*, though he admits that there are episodic scenes; also that there is "liaison des scènes" except for these episodic scenes, but he has overlooked the lack of *liaison* between scenes 9 and 10 of Act I.

It is a pity that the index fails to include all sixteenth and seventeenth century authors mentioned in the introduction as well as in the notes. I find no reference to M. Roy, whose discovery of Hardy's quarrel with his young rivals is referred to on p. xlvi. It would have been well to refer in the notes on ll. 195 and 408 to Martinon's article, cited only in the bibliography. As a source for line 861,

Beauté de qui les yeux, nouveaux rois de mon âme,

reference might have been made to the opening lines of Malherbe, *Poésies*, LXVIII:

Ils s'en vont, ces rois de ma vie,  
Ces yeux, ces beaux yeux.

The following mistakes occur with regard to dates: P. 99, *Tyr et Sidon*, 1618 instead of printed 1608 and 1628; p. xviii, *le Déniaisé*, 1633 instead of pr. 1648; p. xxvii, Mahélot's *Mémoire*, 1633-36 instead of 1633-34. It is often not clear whether the date of print-

ing or of representation is meant. Du Ryer's *Amarillis* is dated 1650 on pp. xxiii and xxviii when the author seems to mean to indicate the date of first representation, which was about 1631-1633. Without any statement as to whether publication or representation is intended, *Sophonisbe* is dated 1634 on p. xxxiii and 1635 on p. 106; les *Visionnaires*, 1637 on p. xxxv and 1640 on p. xxvii. Marty-Laveaux's dates for Corneille's early plays are kept in spite of evidence to their lack of exactitude. One must not, however, conclude from these facts that Mr. R.-B. fails to realize the importance of dates, for to do so would be to overlook the pains he has taken to date the *Galerie du Palais* by citing lines 98-102, where, à propos of new books, the book-seller says:

Monsieur, en voici deux dont on fait grande estime;  
Considérez ce trait; on le trouve divin.

Dorimant.

Il n'est que mal traduit, du cavalier Marin  
Sa veine, au demeurant, me semble assez hardie.

Le Libraire.

Ce fut son coup d'essai que cette comédie,

and by arguing from this that if the dramatist referred to in the last line is Corneille, the date when the book is sold must be 1633, for that is the date of publication of Corneille's *coup d'essai*, and that consequently that is the date when the *Galerie* was first represented. If, on the other hand, 1633 is the year when the *Galerie* was first represented, he argues that the play offered for sale must be *Mélite*, for Corneille is the only dramatist of any importance who published his first play in 1633. Then, without having proved either hypothesis, he concludes both that Corneille is referring to himself in the last line and that 1633 is the date of representation of the *Galerie*! I might as easily prove the *coup d'essai* to be by Scudéry and the date to be 1632 or the end of 1631, for his first play was published on Sept. 18 of the latter year. Indeed my argument would be the stronger, for Corneille is not likely to have accused himself of imitating Marino, while Scudéry was actually accused of such imitation by Mairet, as Marty-Laveaux has pointed out in his note on the passage quoted above.<sup>1</sup> But, as a matter of

<sup>1</sup> Mr. R.-B. thinks that the imitator of Marino is Saint-Amant, but the text indicates that the man so referred to is the author of the *coup d'essai* and consequently a dramatist.



fact, there is nothing to show that Corneille is there referring to any special play. He is merely giving examples of the kind of literary criticism then in vogue among gentlefolk. He is furnishing no evidence that can be relied on for the dating of the play. All we can do, until proof to the contrary is produced, is to date the play according to the probabilities of the case, which, as I showed seven years ago,<sup>2</sup> point more strongly to 1632 than to any other year.<sup>3</sup>

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER.

*Gottfried Kellers Leben mit Benutzung von Jakob Baechtolds Biographie* dargestellt von Emil Ermatinger. Stuttgart und Berlin, 1916.

*Gottfried Kellers Briefe und Tagebücher 1830-1861*, herausgegeben von Emil Ermatinger. Stuttgart und Berlin, 1916.

*Gottfried Kellers Briefe und Tagebücher 1861-1890*, herausgegeben von Emil Ermatinger. Stuttgart und Berlin, 1919.

*Paul Heyse und Gottfried Keller im Briefwechsel*, von Max Kalbeck. Braunschweig, 1919.

The last word on Gottfried Keller, at least for the time being, is Emil Ermatinger's *Gottfried Kellers Leben, Briefe und Tagebücher*, in three volumes; or if not the last word, it is at least somewhere near the next to the last: the definitive scholarly edition of Keller's works has not yet appeared. This is promised for the near future.

Of the documents to which Ermatinger has access he still leaves some 200 letters unpublished:

Aber auch diese Sammlung der Briefe ist nur eine Auslese. Wohl zweihundert habe ich noch zurückbehalten. Aufgenommen habe ich alle mir zur Kenntnis gekommen Stücke, die irgendwelche Bereicherung unseres Wissens um Keller, den Menschen wie den

<sup>2</sup> *M. L. N.*, xxx, 4. Mr. R.-B. cites this article, but uses it little.

<sup>3</sup> Typographical errors should be corrected as follows: p. xxv, l. 26, read *Sylvie*; p. xxvii, l. 16, Du Ryer, instead of Rotrou; p. xxviii, l. 14, aristocracy; p. 99, l. 36, *Mariane*; p. 106, l. 46, *maitresse*; p. 107, l. 15, *prétend*; p. 111, l. 17, à; p. 117, l. 42, *rigueurs*; pp. 3-19 (running title), premier.

Künstler, bedeuten. Weggelassen wurden nur—mit ganz wenigen Ausnahmen, bei denen mir eine Veröffentlichung noch nicht gestattet wurde—blosse Geschäftsbriefe oder kurze Billette, in denen sich auch ein so gottbegnadeter Stilkünstler wie Gottfried Keller auf dem Geleise der Convention bewegt. Ich hoffe, die Freunde des Dichters werden es mir danken, dass ich seine Briefkostbarkeiten nicht mit dem belanglosen Wüste des Alltags überschüttet habe. (Preface, vol. II.)

Not included in the Ermatinger material are all but one of Keller's letters to Paul Heyse; mention of this material will be made later.

It is possible that in the course of time additional Keller material of some interest and importance may be forthcoming. But in all probability Ermatinger's work will remain for a considerable time the chief repository of Keller biography.

Baechtold's work with its human sympathy for the subject is still a readable and useful book. It has never been, however, wholly satisfactory as a piece of finished, scholarly biography. With the mass of new material that has become available since it was written it has ceased to be the last word possible on the life of Keller. It is to add this last word that Ermatinger undertook a task that is less than an entirely new book on Keller such as Baldensperger's in its time, and considerably more than a new and amplified edition of the old Baechtold. Baldensperger contributed considerably to Keller scholarship in the way of critical appreciation, but so far as his biographical material is concerned, he leans wholly upon Baechtold, and in that respect he is now superseded along with Baechtold.

A new and amplified Baechtold with "möglichster Schonung des Baechtoldschen Textes" was by no means the comparatively simple task it might at first appear. Ermatinger in undertaking the work no doubt presently realized that an entirely new biography with Baechtold merely as one of the sources would actually have been less difficult and dangerous. Concerning the peculiar difficulty of the undertaking Ermatinger says in the preface:

Die ganze Wirkungskraft dieses Umarbeitungsplanes durchschaute ich, als ich an die Arbeit herantrat, noch nicht. Es war "möglichste Schonung des Baechtoldschen Textes" ausgemacht worden. Ich glaubte denn auch zuerst, meine Erweiterungen unter leichter Überfeilung des ursprünglichen Wortlautes und mit den nötigen Verzahnungen einfügen zu können. Allein bald offenbarte

sich der minenartige Charakter des Umbauplanes: er sprengte den alten Bau nach allen Richtungen und zwang zu durchgehender Neuarbeit. Wer dies bedauert und das alte Werk nicht missen mag, hat den Trost, Baechtolds Wortlaut in der einbändigen kleinen Ausgabe weiter zu benützen, die seine Witwe besorgt hat.

The finished product of this radical reconstruction might easily have been worse. It is very doubtful if the reader unfamiliar with Baechtold could detect the patchwork. For one with a familiarity with Baechtold's text there is the additional delight in the realization of the skill with which the amalgamation was accomplished. To use the best of Baechtold so naturally and with such apparent ease, to get away so completely from his occasional structural clumsiness where it seemed necessary to do so, and to weave the whole into a well-knit narrative was no small achievement. In reading text obviously entirely new, one suddenly but smoothly glides into the familiar phrases of Baechtold and then just as suddenly and smoothly out again into obviously Ermatinger text. To depart so far from the original in general structure and arrangement and yet to have it always on hand with "möglichster Schonung" etc. when the occasion seemed propitious, betrays a consummate familiarity with the Baechtold version and the material as a whole and a skill in recasting it eminently equal to the task.

The "möglichste Schonung des Baechtoldschen Textes" by no means signifies a lack of independence as to interpretation and point of view on the part of Ermatinger; nor is it entirely free from an unobtrusive touch of humor here and there. In speaking of the poet's more or less unpoetic sister Regula, Baechtold says: "Die Schwester blieb lebenslang ein bescheidenes Wesen, das man sich, bis auf die letzten Jahre, ganz gut aus der Umgebung des Bruders wegdenken kann." With "möglichster Schonung" even of the phraseology Ermatinger says: "Die Schwester Regula blieb lebenslang ein bescheidenes Wesen, das man sich aber doch nicht aus der Umgebung des Bruders wegdenken mag." Ermatinger does much to tone down Baechtold's somewhat too naturalistic portrait of the gifted poet's sister, upon whom the gods had smiled with no excess of kindness. As in other cases, Baechtold naturally had the advantage of more immediate observation, Ermatinger that of a truer time perspective. Thruout the whole work Ermatinger brings a cooler and more objective scholarship to bear upon his subject than Baechtold, and certainly as great a human sympathy and as broad a human understanding.



Where Baechtold betrays an occasional, but by no means objectionable, gossipy flavor Ermatinger usually considerably weakens the dilution. Many picturesque idiosyncrasies of diction or expression in Baechtold are polished out in Ermatinger. Those who miss these things in Ermatinger may still enjoy them in the "Kleine Ausgabe" of Baechtold, essentially and in detail the same text as the complete Baechtold with the letters and diaries left out. Not even Ermatinger himself is so obsessed with the ambition entirely to supplant Baechtold as to omit mention of this in his preface.

Even for those who prefer the more picturesque and more brusque Baechtold, Ermatinger is a more than ordinarily readable book. The separation of the main text of the biography and the letters and diaries into separate volumes prepares the way for the continuity and the scholarly finish achieved by greater orderliness and relevancy in the arrangement of the narrative material itself in the case of Ermatinger as compared with his original. Occasional irrelevancies are omitted or given less space, but numerous interesting details that throw light upon the character and personality of the man rather than the artist or poet are by no means excluded by Ermatinger. In fact, much is added or amplified that does not appear in Baechtold at all or is passed over lightly. In Ermatinger there is, besides, better scholarly arrangement, greater emphasis upon those things that deal with Keller's development as an artist and as a poet. A better balance and greater technical skill make Ermatinger easier reading and assure a much more compact, a clearer and less attenuated, impression of the facts of Keller's life and personality. The fuller treatment of many details of Keller's life, the addition of some, by no means unimportant, episodes and the letters, about two hundred in number, hitherto unpublished, or published only recently in periodicals, make Ermatinger's work indispensable for the serious student of Keller's life and works.

Baechtold confines himself mainly to the more purely biographical; Ermatinger adds much valuable literary discussion in the way of critical comment and literary appreciation. In his critical comment and in drawing conclusions from the facts before him, Ermatinger is more conservative and objective, less positive and dogmatic than Baechtold. Thus, for example, Baechtold shows a decided tendency to belittle Feuerbach's influence upon Keller: "Diese Zeit des Unglaubens bildet indes nur einen Durchgangs-

punkt zu seiner (Kellers) späteren abgeklärten Religion, die in dem Goetheschen Satze gipfelt: "das Unerforschliche ruhig verehren." (Baechtold, I, 333.) No doubt with this page of Baechtold before him Professor Walz ("The Life of Gottfried Keller," *The German Classics of the XIX and XX Centuries*, XIV, 7) draws the unqualified conclusion: "Later in life Keller returned to the religious views of his earlier years." It is exceedingly difficult to keep discussion such as this entirely free from subjective bias. This is Ermatinger's conclusion with regard to the Feuerbachian influence upon Keller: "In Feuerbachs Philosophie hat Keller eine Weltanschauung denkend erlebt, seine Weltanschauung, und darum wirkte sie auf ihn, trotz ihres atheistischen Charakters, als Religion, trotz ihrer materialistischen Tendenz als Idealismus, und eben deswegen übte sie auf ihn die gewaltigste Wirkung, die eine bloss verstandmässige Annahme philosophischer Wahrheiten nicht haben kann. Sie hat sein dichterisches Schaffen auf Jahrzehnte hinaus aufs mächtigste befruchtet." (Ermatinger I, 204, 205.)

Much of the added material in the biographical part of Ermatinger's work is based upon letters given in full in volumes II and III. This helps to account for the greater bulk of Ermatinger's work, but it is a decided gain over Baechtold in a much more important respect. In Baechtold the letters appear in full as part of the body of the narrative; in Ermatinger, everything in the letters that has direct and positive bearing upon Keller's development as a poet and a man, but nothing more, is utilized in the main body of the biography and made an integral part of it. It is not necessary, as in Baechtold, to wade thru passages of ephemeral correspondence for the sake of the occasional passages of permanent significance. For the Keller scholar, volumes II and III give the complete text of the letters and diaries. Much material that in Baechtold appears in foot-notes and appendices is likewise worked by Ermatinger into the main body of the text.

It is not the purpose of the present review to hunt down all the errata in the Ermatinger text and appendices. One or two that incidentally came to my notice may, however, be pointed out. Volume III, p. 591 (Allgemeines Namenverzeichnis) under "Heyse," II 460 should be II 461. There is likewise no mention of Heyse on page 530 of volume III as here indicated.

In the preface to Volume II Ermatinger expresses regret as to

his inability to publish more than a single one of Keller's letters to Paul Heyse. This gap in the Keller material is supplied by Max Kalbeck's publication of the Heyse-Keller correspondence. As to its value as a contribution to Keller literature Kalbeck says in the slightly florid introduction: "Wohl wird von epochmachenden Ereignissen und grundlegenden Tatsachen nichts darin vermeldet, das nicht schon anderweitig bekannt geworden wäre. . . . Biographen, Ausdeuter und Erklärer scheinen, zumal was Keller betrifft, den Stoff so gut wie erschöpft zu haben." He pays high tribute to Ermatinger's work, but makes one important claim for his own work in connection with the publication of the Heyse-Keller letters: it will enable the reader of these letters to correct the somewhat misleading impression he may get out of Ermatinger as to the coolness and lack of real spiritual contact on the part of Keller toward Heyse. Kalbeck's accusation that Ermatinger lacks full appreciation of the warmth of Keller's feelings toward Heyse is admissible but not wholly convincing. Kalbeck seems to read an excess of coolness toward Heyse into Ermatinger's essentially cool and objective weighing of the material before him. Ermatinger, as a matter of fact, in forming his estimate of the personal and literary relationship between Keller and Heyse, seems to give fully as much weight to that which Keller wrote *about* Heyse to others as to that which he says directly to Heyse in his letters to him. Keller obviously assumes a somewhat patronizing attitude toward the younger man, but he had a very high opinion of his work, if not of his excessive literary industry, sought his advice in literary matters on occasion and, in one particular instance at least, acted on it; thus he rejected the title *Excelsior* for his last novel on the strength of Heyse's judgment that it was not sufficiently Kellersque.

Kalbeck supplements the text of the letters with copious and valuable biographical and historical notes. These in each case immediately follow the letter they are intended to elucidate, an arrangement that is much more convenient and useful for the reader than if they had been added in a separate appendix.

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*Johnson Club Papers by Various Hands.* London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1920. 238 pp. 8vo.

The first series of the *Johnson Club Papers* appeared in 1899. The present volume is the second series. In general, there is little difference between the two; each consists of a selection from the papers read at the quarterly meetings of the club, a fact which, at times, mars their excellence as literary essays. Moreover, one misses in the second a certain exuberant enthusiasm and humor which the first possessed. The papers are uniformly interesting; but, with one exception, they lack that basis of exact and exhaustive knowledge which ought to lie beneath every attempt at literary or psychological interpretation.

The exception is Henry B. Wheatley's paper, *Johnson's Monument and Parr's Epitaph on Johnson*. He brings forward some new material—correspondence and the like—which illuminates a post-mortem phase of Johnson's biography. Johnson had been dead twelve years before his statue was actually in place. 'Hawkins, Reynolds, and Boswell all died before the monument was finished, and Burke before sufficient contributions were obtained' (p. 227). One cause for much of the trouble was Dr. Samuel Parr. 'Parr was a man of great learning, with a singular lack of judgment. Having little or no sense of humour, he was continually making himself ridiculous. At the same time he was a formidable opponent, ever ready with a literary rapier as well as a bludgeon' (p. 228). In an evil hour he was asked to write the epitaph for the monument. From this point the account becomes excruciatingly funny. Of course the inscription must be in Latin—and in the proper Latin! Even Cicero was not good enough! 'Then poor Johnson must be deprived of his birthplace and of his title of Royal Academician because the Romans knew not Lichfield nor the Royal Academy. Finally, Parr reached the zenith of pedantry by hesitating to designate Bacon, the maker of the statue, by *sculptor* 'because he found in Coelius Rhodiginus that the art of statuary is divided into five sorts' with various names (p. 237).

Coming as it does at the end of the series, Mr. Wheatley's essay is positively refreshing after the often airy and speculative papers that precede it. The method of most of these is to take texts from Boswell and use them as starting points for excursions into various fields. The best of this sort are A. B. Walkley's *Johnson and the*

*Theatre*, interesting for its discussion of *Irene*, H. S. Scott's *Johnson's Character as Shown in his Writings*, which applies Johnson's statements about other writers to himself, and E. S. Roscoe's *Dr. Johnson and the Law*. Others of the same general sort are George Radford's *Johnson's Dictionary*, John O'Connor's *Dr. Johnson and Ireland*, Sir Charles Russell's *Dr. Johnson and the Catholic Church*, E. S. P. Haynes' *Dr. Johnson on Liberty*, and L. S. Hughes' *Dr. Johnson's Expletives*. Sir Chartres Biron's *Dr. Johnson and Dr. Dodd*, already a good essay, would be a good piece of scholarship, if Sir Chartres had taken advantage of the fact that the Dodd papers are now accessible.

Two others I single out: L. C. Thomas' *Sir Joshua Reynolds* and Edward Clodd's *Dr. Johnson and Lord Monboddo*. In the first, Reynolds is portrayed as an absolutely one-sided character, always kind and free-handed, with a temper quite unsoured by the world. This picture is false for two reasons: first, that no man could ever be so uniformly perfect as Mr. Thomas' Sir Joshua; and secondly, that a very short examination of, for instance, Sir Joshua's relations with his sister discloses a distinctly tart side to his nature. One of Mr. Thomas' own illustrations, Reynolds' mock dialogue with Johnson (p. 192), seems to show more than a trace of this side. The other paper, *Dr. Johnson and Lord Monboddo*, is stimulating by reason of the many questions it suggests, few of which are satisfactorily answered by the paper. Lord Monboddo, a noted Scotch jurist and philosopher contemporary with Johnson, a man sometimes credited with being a precursor of Darwin, in remarking the likeness between man and the great apes, unfortunately noticed the tail as an essential difference, and so pounced upon the idea not only that men had once had tails, but that there were probably tribes of men still possessing them. According to him, we lost our caudal appendages by dint of sitting upon them and wearing them away. Of course his contemporaries passed over the really sound ideas and leapt with one accord upon the tail. Here Mr. Clodd had a splendid opportunity—and let it pass. Was Monboddo really a great thinker laughed into oblivion by his own age because he lacked a sense of humor himself? or was he simply a slavish disciple of Plato and Aristotle, serving up their ideas with a few travellers' tales for seasoning? Was he a pre-thinker, or only a pre-guesser, if one may make such a distinction? Why did not

Johnson, a great classical scholar himself, take more kindly to a man who seems very like him in many ways? The only way to answer these questions satisfactorily would be to read Monboddo's works through carefully, judging them by their intrinsic merit alone; and this Mr. Clodd has not done. Perhaps nobody except William Knight<sup>1</sup> has gone through the twelve volumes of his two principal works for over a century. As to his connection with science, a paper by May M. Jarvis in the *Transactions of the Texas Academy of Science* for 1907 gives a modern scientist's opinion, based upon parts of Monboddo's *Antient Metaphysics*. Here is an opportunity to rediscover and map a lost mind (for Knight's treatment, though good, is not adequate); Mr. Clodd's paper only feebly scratches the surface.

It is difficult for a critic to censure a book which has given him pleasure. Many of these essays have real charm, though to a reader of Boswell they offer little that is new. They are pleasantly readable, written with the assurance of men used to speak with authority; but we have the right to expect something a little less superficial from a society bearing the name of Johnson. The multitude of chatty books nowadays crowds real authority off our library shelves; and this, when all is said, is only another chatty book about Johnson.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### TOUTES CHOSSES

An interesting instance of the attraction of an adjective to an adjacent noun that it does not really modify is found in the common expression "toutes choses," where this expression is in apparent apposition to a preceding series of nouns.<sup>1</sup> A good example occurs in Renan, *Fragments philosophiques*, p. 322 (1876): "Le devoir, le dévouement, le sacrifice, toutes choses dont l'histoire est pleine, sont inexplicables sans Dieu." It is evident that the sense here is: "Le devoir, le dévouement, le sacrifice, [qui sont] tous

<sup>1</sup> *Monboddo and his Contemporaries*, London, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> Professor H. Carrington Lancaster points out that this construction is found with other nouns than *choses*; and furnishes the following case: "l'éducation qu'il a reçue, l'organisation politique, l'état social, toutes causes de son malheur," H. Gaillard, *Emile Augier et la comédie sociale*, p. 133. (1910). So far as my personal observation has extended, this construction, in contemporary French, is more common with *choses* than with any other noun.



[des] choses etc." *Toutes*—logically *tous*—is really a pronoun in apposition to the preceding nouns, but by the propinquity of *choses* masquerades as an adjective modifying the following noun. In English we should find: "Duty, devotion, sacrifice, all of them things, etc." A comparable case is "de guerre lasse" for "las de guerre."

Further instances are: "hasard, ni fortune, ni sort; Toutes choses très incertaines," La Fontaine, *Fables*, II, 13. "Prend une main, un bras, lève un coin du mouchoir; | Toutes sottises dont la belle | Se défend avec grand respect," *ibid.*, *id.*, IV, 4. (Quoted in Littré, *tout*, 11°. It is to be noted that here *toutes* is in apposition with a series of clauses, rather than nouns.) "Le mélange du grotesque et du tragique . . . l'émotion . . . le goût de la féerie . . . la trivialité du langage . . . le réel . . . l'idéal . . . toutes choses qui ne se présentent pas à l'esprit dans la patrie de Racine et de Voltaire," Doudan, *Mélanges et lettres*, I, p. 63 (c. 1828). "Elle s'est approvisionnée . . . de gants, de papier rose, . . . d'essences fines . . . toutes choses fort utiles sans doute, mais qui le sont moins qu'un dîner," Feuillet, *Roman d'un jeune homme pauvre*, (1858; p. 13 of Heath ed.). "La parole, le mouvement, la vie, toutes choses etc.," Halévy, *l'Abbé Constantin*, ch. 3. "Mais il n'était pas en moi d'avoir un cheval, un uniforme, un régiment et des ennemis, toutes choses essentielles à la gloire militaire," A. France, *Le livre de mon ami* (1885; p. 36 of Holt ed.). "de la terre et de ses fruits, de l'industrie, du négoce, des richesses amassées, . . . toutes choses qui, bonnes ou mauvaises, ne relèvent ni du prince ni des officiers de la couronne," *Id.*, *Les opinions de M. Jérôme Coignard*, p. 214 (1893).<sup>2</sup>

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#### A NOTE ON BIRÉ'S *Victor Hugo après 1830*

This letter, of interest to students of Hugo, is self-explanatory. I find the original, together with the envelope, pasted in volume I of Edmond Biré's *Victor Hugo après 1830* (Paris, Librairie Académique Didier, Perrin et Cie, Libraires-Editeurs, 35, Quai des Grands-Augustins 35, 1891). The book, found in the library of the University of Texas, was owned formerly, no doubt, by M. Macé; a supposition which would seem to explain the presence of

<sup>2</sup>L. Clédat, in *Les Emplois de Tout* (*Rev. de phil. fran.*, XIII, p. 46), discusses a closely analogous construction, where, however, the noun is a predicative nominative after *être*. He states, furthermore, that in modern French the noun cannot be in the plural. The latest examples he gives are from *Tartuffe*, 11. 4 and 151-152. (both quoted in Littré, *tout*, 12°).

the letter. The envelope (bearing a fifteen centimes stamp and the cancellation mark of Le Pouliguen) is addressed to "Monsieur Albert Macé, Homme de lettres, à Vannes (Morbihan)." The letter, the acknowledgment of an article by M. Macé in the *Journal de Rennes* (which the writer has not been able to see), is as follows:

Le Pouliguen, 28 août 1891.

Cher confrère et ami,

Au retour d'une petite excursion en Vendée, chez mon frère, je trouve le *Journal de Rennes* et votre excellent, votre charmant article. Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire combien il m'a touché. L'assaut subi par mon pauvre livre a été si rude, que j'étais parfois tenté de croire que mes deux volumes ne valaient pas le temps et les soins qu'ils m'avaient coûtés. Votre article est venu me reconforter. Mon livre ne peut pas être mauvais puisqu'il obtient d'un si bon juge un tel témoignage. J'ai reçu du reste ces jours-ci, de divers côtés, des articles qui concordent pleinement avec le vôtre et tendent à me prouver que mon livre ne sera peut-être pas un trait impuissant, *telum imbellè, sine ictu*. . . . Je ne suis point un géant, qui brandit un cèdre, comme celui du *Moyse Sauvé*, ou un chêne, comme celui des *Odes et Ballades*; je n'ai point à ma disposition l'épée de Roland; j'ai trouvé seulement un assez joli lot d'épingles et j'en ai fait une bonne pelote. Si je ne m'abuse, ces épingles ont suffi pour dégonfler le ballon d'*Olympio*, pour percer à jour et mettre à mal cette fameuse *légende*, que Hugo était parvenu à épaissir autout de lui et à laquelle il travaillait, avec tant de zèle, depuis un demi-siècle et plus, si bien qu'il aurait pu dire au *Seigneur*, avec lequel il daignait converser parfois:

Mon Dieu, j'ai travaillé soixante ans pour MA Gloire!

J'espère pouvoir aller à Vannes avant la fin de l'année, et je serai bien heureux de vous renouveler de vive voix mes sincères et bien vifs remerciements.

A vous de tout coeur,

EDMOND BIRÉ.

ALBERT EDMUND TROMBLY.

*University of Texas.*

#### THE BIRTHDATE OF PUGET DE LA SERRE

Jean Puget de la Serre, "historiographe de France," is remembered in French literary history less for his few plays in prose than as a victim of Boileau and as one of the heroes of the famous parody *Chapelain décoiffé*. His numerous volumes on history, morals and philosophy—he is said to have produced about a hun-

dred works—are entirely forgotten, although a few of his devotional treatises are esteemed by bibliophiles for their engravings.<sup>1</sup> That they may not be entirely devoid of interest is exemplified by their “*dédicaces*” to various lofty personages, who protected Puget de la Serre, and by the incidental literary opinions which he expounds in them. His “*Tombeau des Délices du Monde*” (Reims, Moreau, 1631) contains, in the *Au Lecteur*, a eulogy of Jean Pierre Camus, Bishop of Belley, which has escaped the attention of the biographers of this pious and prolific novelist.<sup>2</sup> It also allows us to fix with precision Puget de la Serre’s birthdate, which is erroneously given as 1600 in biographical works. The two earliest in date, which speak at all about de la Serre, the *Grand Dictionnaire historique* of Moréri (vol. VIII) and Michaud’s *Biographie Universelle* (vol. 42) both state that he was born *about* 1600. Later compilers give his birthdate as exactly 1600. (*Biogr. Didot.-Grande Enc.-Lalanne, Dict. Hist.*, etc.) Now Puget de la Serre states in the *Tombeau des Délices du Monde* (p. 14): *Il y a tantost trente sept ans que je suis au monde, et à peine puis je entendre le langage de la raison, je dy entendre, car de le parler, je begaye si fort, qu’ on diroit à m’ ouyr, que je ne fais que sortir du berceau.*” Since the *Privilege* of the book is dated July 16, 1630, Puget de la Serre must have written these words during the first six months of 1630. His birthdate can, therefore, be fixed in the year 1593.

GUSTAVE L. VAN ROOSBROECK.

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#### PATHELIN, LINE 344

Guillaume congratulates himself on having driven a sharp bargain with Pathelin and soliloquizes thus: “*Ils ne verront soleil ne lune, Les escus qui [qu’il] me baillera, De l’an, qui ne les m’embrera.*” He obviously means that he will know how to put them in a safe place. The last phrase “if somebody doesn’t steal them from me” is apparently meant to conjure away any evil omen. The first phrase, if written after 1475, doubtless contains a pun, for Louis XI caused “les escus d’or au soleil” to be coined in that year. But the phrase is certainly proverbial and may have been introduced in the play long before 1475. In the response of Charles

<sup>1</sup> *L’entretien des bons esprits sur les vanitez du monde* (1629)—*Les douces pensées de la mort* (1627)—*La vierge mourante sur le mont Calvaire* (1628)—*Le Miroir qui ne flatte point* (1632)—*Les Merveilles de l’amour divin* (1632) and other works of the same nature. Cf. Brunet, *Man.*, III and *Suppl.* I.

<sup>2</sup> F. Boulas, *Un ami de St. François de Sales: Camus*, 1878; A. Bayer, *J. P. Camus und seine Romane*, 1906.



d'Ivry to the *Cent Ballades* (end of fourteenth century) we read: "Prince loial, se nul, soit jeune ou vieulx, Sert Fausseté, on le met en telz lieux Qu'il ne voie jamaiz solleil ne lune." (*Les Cent Ballades*, ed. by Gaston Raynaud, p. 218.) The ballads are full of proverbial expressions.

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#### NOTES ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF *The North Briton*

In my article "The Political Satires of Charles Churchill" (*Studies in Philology*, xvi, 4, October, 1919, pp. 303-333) I discussed briefly the work of John Wilkes and Charles Churchill in *The North Briton*. Since the publication of that article I have found in *The John Wilkes Correspondence with Charles Churchill, 1762-1764*, in the British Museum, Addit. mss. 30, 878, the following further information.

On Tuesday, July 27, 1762, Wilkes writes to Churchill from Winchester, "I admired exceedingly what I read last Saturday. Are you determined to have the palm of prose, as well as of poetry? . . . I have sent a strong *North Britain* for next Saturday, and have order'd Kearsley to bring you the proof. . . Will you undertake for Saturday sevensnight?"

On September 9, Wilkes writes to Churchill from Great George Street, telling him his plans for the attack upon Hogarth. "I shall attack him in hobbling-prose," he says, "you will I hope in smooth-pac'd verse."

On October 18, Wilkes asks Churchill if he approved last Saturday's *North Briton*, and adds, "Pray take care of next Saturday tho' I shall send a letter about the infamous story of the boy, which should be inserted: but I leave the whole to you." This refers to an attack made upon Wilkes in *The Auditor*, Number xvii, in which was quoted a libelous conversation between the demagogue and the young son of the Earl of Bute.

On November 2, Wilkes notes that *The North Briton* has "deviated into the primrose paths of down-right poetry" and says he will allow Churchill to continue in those paths till "Saturday sevensnight, when I shall bring him back to the dull hobbling road of insipid prose."

Those passages indicate more definitely than those hitherto quoted the part played by Wilkes and by his collaborator in producing the greatest mouthpiece of the Opposition in 1762 and 1763.

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## BRIEF MENTION

"The Background of the 'Battle of the Books,'" by Richard F. Jones (Reprinted from *Washington University Studies*, Vol. VII, Humanistic Series, No. 2, pp. 97-162, 1920). The title designates Swift's satire (1697-1698), and Dr. Jones aims to show that it was the outgrowth, a final expression of a century-long controversy in England (with only incidental reflections of French thought),—a controversy too that was "philosophic and scientific rather than literary and artistic in nature." The simple terms battle, war, quarrel, etc. are available for this comprehensive controversy, which is presented as having passed thru successive stages "where a definite protagonist on either side appears." Three stages are distinguished: (1) the "Controversy over the Decay of Nature with Goodman and Hakewill as opposing heroes"; (2) the "Controversy over the Royal Society with Stubbe opposed to Sprat and Glanville"; and (3) the "Controversy over Ancient and Modern Learning wherein Temple and Boyle face Wotton and Bentley."

Bacon was "largely responsible for creating the war, giving it 'the philosophic cast.'" Had he given it also the literary cast, "the nature of the quarrel in England would have been quite different." As it was, the first definite contest was waged over the paradox (announced by Bacon) that "we are the ancients, the ancients the moderns" (see *MLN.* xxxvi, 257, and Guthkelch, p. 259). This imposed old age and decrepitude on mankind and indeed on all nature. This argument was sustained by Goodman, bishop of Gloucester, in *The Fall of Man or the Corruption of Nature proved by Natural Reason*, 1616. The error was rebuked in *An Apologie, . . . consisting in an Examination and Censure of the Common Errour touching Nature's Perpetual and Universal Decay*, 1627 (reaching a third edition in 1635), by George Hakewill, Arch Deacon of Surrey. Hakewill represents the high point of the controversy in its comprehensive form. "In no other country or time did the conflict embrace so wide a field." In a book of four parts the stability of the powers of nature and of the mind of man—imagination, judgment, and memory—are seriously and elaborately defended against the argument of gradual deterioration. In the comparison of the ages with respect to "Arts and Wits," the three modern inventions of "Printing, Gunnes, and the Mariner's Compasse" are handled in that specific manner which was effectively adopted by subsequent advocates. Influenced by Bacon the earnest Arch Deacon's defence is almost exclusively philosophic and scientific. With a mind not literary he, however, for "completeness of design" has a discussion of Greek and Latin poetry, "brief and faint-hearted," and something in the way of a comparative estimate of English poets. In itself unimportant enough, this feature has significance in the history of the conflict. Dr. Jones concludes this chapter with a brief notice of Henry Rey-

nold's *Mythomystes*, "a unique and isolated skirmish in the quarrel." It is a lamentation over a senile world and the inferiority of the modern poets, supported by less usual details.

The conflict of the Baconian system with the old syllogistic philosophy assumed definite outlines that stimulated the founding of the Royal Society. This aspect of the subject is reviewed in the second chapter. Sprat, in his *History*, which Dr. Jones reports with fine discernment, supplies the principal events, and as "the Huxley of the age" (p. 119) argues the claims of the new method with a zeal for correcting traditional notions and with a comprehensive view of educational elements whether old or new. "The method is Sprat's slogan," not the accomplishment as with Hake-will. "Like Bacon he stakes his all on the results that will be obtained. . . . The controversy is one between tradition and progress," in matters philosophic and scientific. There is some incidental indication of Sprat's judgment of what the moderns must overcome to equal the ancients in literature, and his passage on the desired effect of scientific accuracy and clearness on literary style is, of course, especially noteworthy. He also anticipates Wordsworth in declaring that the advance of science will enrich the poet's storehouse of symbols and figures of expression, thru "an understanding of new virtues and qualities of things." In the sketch of the controversy between the defenders and the opponents of the Royal Society many a detail fits the present day. For example, Stubbe "upholds the cultural education based on the classics against the material and mechanical education derived from experiment." There is, moreover, the development of a side-play by that class of philosophically superficial minds to which the minuteness of scientific experiments becomes merely a chartered theme for cheap ridicule. As representing this class are mentioned Shadwell, Butler, D'Urfey, and Mrs. Manly (p. 130).

"The Critical Dilemma" (the title of the third chapter) describes the peculiar attitude of English critics when comparing modern with ancient literature. It was a shifting attitude, just suited to Dryden the chief of the critics. Dr. Jones offers a plausible formula of the unsettled state of critical judgments, "of the chaotic condition of seventeenth-century criticism." He believes "that the critics embraced a critical creed that did not justify their taste" (p. 136). The critical creed of French neo-classicism was accepted and verified intellectually, but clashed with emotional and artistic convictions as to native literature. "In this state of affairs, it was hardly possible for a controversy over the respective merits of the ancients and moderns to arise. Their allegiance to the rules prevented critics from asserting the superiority of their own poets, though their instinctive liking for their own literature might be great." Besides, the English language as an adequate medium of great art was held in doubtful estimation. But the



nationalistic feeling gained in assertiveness thru an estimation of French classicism. "English substance" won "against French thinness." Dennis finds "greater geniuses in England than in France," and these are not fettered by codifications of critical principles. Liberal in acknowledging the excellence of the traditional forms, they are also free in experimentation, sustained by the response of the national consciousness.

Out of the tolerance, wavering, and national indifference to a specific quarrel there issues in the last decade of the century (the seventeenth) a definite advocacy of the moderns against the ancients in literature. The defender is Charles Gildon "a true son of Dryden, from whom he derived most of the arguments he advanced against the strict application of Aristotle's rules to the English drama," and a "strong nationalistic tone." He "speaks of a 'present controversy,' but he had read neither Fontenelle nor Perrault." He was inspired by Dryden's arguments of 1668, and attacked Rymer's *Tragedies of the Last Age* of 1678, which preceded Perrault's poem by nine years. "Corneille and Rapin had "influenced Dryden and Rymer, and to that extent the controversy was imported from France." But Gildon's "inspiration came from English sources" and his activity would probably have been the same, "if Perrault had never written." Tho "he later completely reversed his position," Gildon is thus found to be "the only English critic of the seventeenth century that came out unreservedly for the moderns."

A statement like the following gives an indication of the coherent history of the philosophic and scientific controversy: "In Glanville the two streams flowing from Bacon and Hakewill unite, and from him the enlarged current flows to Wotton and the end of the quarrel" (p. 126). Starting with Swift's *Battle*, which marks that end, one may move up the stream by taking in inverse order the argument of Dr. Jones's last chapter. The thread of the controversy taken in that order is this, that the *Battle* was designed to support Temple's *Essay*, which in its turn was elicited by Burnet's *Sacred Theorie of the Earth* wherein the controversy over the Royal Society was renewed. This reduces Temple's reaction to Fontenelle's *Digression* to an incidental or merely contributory 'provocation.' By this elevation of Burnet above Fontenelle, Dr. Jones keeps his argument at a crucial point running true to the assumption that the quarrel was not imported from France. Temple turns away from Fontenelle and "refuses to discuss the poetical aspect of the controversy on the ground that poetry should be a subject in itself." His very title betrays his concern with 'learning,' and his treatment of 'knowledge' and 'progress in the search and discoveries of the vast region of truth and nature' is in the English manner, the manner of Hakewill, Sprat, and Burnet. "It was the revival of the attack on the new science, and had little to do with the quarrel in France, which was largely literary."

The controversy in its latest form was, of course, not unrelated to the quarrel conducted in France, that is not denied; but Dr. Jones contends that the foreign influence as it shows itself in Swift was a natural consequence of the native controversy having become less specifically philosophic and scientific and more literary thru the contentions of Wotton and Bentley. But to the end, as when "the Goddess of Criticism sheds her blessing on Gresham College," the method and the details of the English argument are traceable back to Hakewill. Altho Temple and Swift were by education and temperament unfitted to admit the claims of the new philosophy, they were too closely knit up with the English side of the controversy to depart from its traditional method and to adopt the specifically French method. Swift while at Oxford not only showed his lack of mathematical ability, but also acquired the institutional hatred of the scientific learning; and in this localized influence the spirit of his contention reaches back to Joseph Glanville who, in 1661, had conducted "a vigorous campaign against the scholastic philosophy dominant at Oxford" (p. 117).

Mr. Jones has made a valuable contribution to the wider and deeper view of the quarrel, which Macaulay misunderstood so completely as to characterize it "as childish, idle, and contemptible."

J. W. B.

*Schwäbisches Wörterbuch*, auf Grund der von A. v. Keller begonnenen Sammlungen und mit Unterstützung des Württembergischen Staates bearbeitet von HERMANN FISCHER. Fünfter Band. Tübingen, H. Laupp'sche Buchhandlung, 1920. iv pp., 1976 cols., 4to. The beginnings of the *Schwäbisches Wörterbuch* date back to the middle of the last century, when A. v. Keller began to register the grammatical and lexicographical peculiarities of his dialect, enlisting, at the same time, the aid and co-operation of other competent observers. After Keller's death in 1883 Hermann Fischer, son of the poet Johann Georg Fischer, took up the task. Preliminary to the *Wörterbuch*, his *Geographie der schwäbischen Mundart* was published in 1895. Six years later the first fascicle of the *Wörterbuch* left the press, and the appearance of the sixty-first instalment, in June, 1920, marked the completion of five stately quarto volumes. Soon afterwards a protracted illness befell Fischer, resulting in his death on October 30, just after he had entered upon his seventieth year. He was thus not to see the conclusion of his labors. In fact, in the preface to the first volume (1904) he had asked the question: "wer weiss, ob am Schluss ich noch selber das Wort haben werde?" The sixth and final volume is being edited by Wilhelm Pfeleiderer, Fischer's principal assistant for a number of years.

It is impossible here to enter upon a detailed description of the

work. I may point out, however, that it is by no means limited to the spoken, or written, dialect in the usual sense of the word, altho, to be sure, the living language of the present is taken as the point of departure. Wieland, Schubart, Schiller, Uhland, Mörike, Hermann Kurz, and other authors of lesser note are cited wherever their writings furnish illustrations of specifically Suabian idioms. Furthermore, in addition to the literary monuments concerned, historical documents of every description were consulted, yielding dated evidence that is most valuable as a supplement to Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Take for example, the word *Aschermittwoch*: Grimm cites no early instances, Kluge assigns it to the sixteenth century, while Fischer furnishes a series of dated instances beginning with the fifteenth, whilst forms such as *die äscherig Mitwoch* are traced back to the middle of the fourteenth century. Similar instances could be multiplied. The book is indispensable to every serious student of the history of the German language.

In conclusion, it may not be out of place to refer to the other great activity of Fischer's later life, namely his presidency of the *Litterarischer Verein* of Stuttgart, in which, also, he was Keller's successor. More than one hundred rare and important volumes were reprinted under Fischer's supervision, including Hans Sachs, Georg Wickram, the pre-Lutheran Bible, and Hugo von Trimberg. At the close of the war the invested funds of the society had shrunk to such an extent that further publication was practically impossible, and it was regretfully decided to liquidate its affairs. Volume 266, issued in July, 1915, thus forms the end of a long and important series.

W. K.

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Dufresny, Charles. *Amusemens sérieux et comiques*. Introduction et notes de Jean Vic. Paris, Editions Bossard, 1921. 215 pp. 12 francs. [Collection des chefs-d'œuvre méconnus.] This careful reprint, on good paper, with a scholarly introduction should be welcome to students of the French novel. It groups conveniently the still too scanty facts known about Charles Dufresny (1648-1724) amiable trifler, and *amuseur* of Louis XIV, but a friend of Regnard, whose *Le Joueur* Dufresny is said to have suggested, editor for a while of *Le Mercure Galant* and author of a number of comedies which are not all forgotten. The editor, who has previously published the results of his study of Dufresny in the *Revue du dix-huitième siècle* (1916-1917) has also brought to light a forgotten playlet of Dufresny's, *Les Dominos*, which was produced at the Odéon in 1917 and published the same year by Hachette. However, Dufresny's chief title to attention is his *chef-d'œuvre méconnu*, the *Amusemens sérieux et comiques*, first published in 1699 and immediately successful. M. Vic prints the hitherto unknown final text of 1707, adding the variants from the first edition.



Dufresny names La Rochefoucauld and Pascal as his masters, Beaumarchais borrowed some traits for his Figaro and his Fanchette from his plays. As to the influence of the *Amusemens* on Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*, pointed out already by Voltaire, M. Vic shows that this may well be explained by the common use of Giovanni Marana's *l'Espion du Grand Seigneur*. A curious point is that Balzac apparently borrowed an episode from the *Amusemens* for *La Paix du ménage* (1830). J. E. G.

*Comedias de Lope de Vega*, t. I, ed. y notas de J. Gómez Ocerín y R. M. Tenreiro (Madrid, *La Lectura*, 1920. 225 págs.). Mucha falta estaba haciendo una edición esmerada y al mismo tiempo manejable de las obras dramáticas del Fénix, que por inexplicables razones no había sido hasta ahora incluido en la colección de "Clásicos castellanos."

*El remedio en la desdicha* y *El mejor alcalde, el Rey* son las comedias elegidas por los Sres. Ocerín y Tenreiro para este primer tomo. Ahí van algunas observaciones acerca de las notas intercaladas en el texto.

En la correspondiente al verso 328 de *El remedio en la desdicha* han debido citarse otras obras en que el autor explota el mismo tema de la caída de los Abencerrajes. Sobra la 1057: no había necesidad de recurrir al *Dicc. de Autoridades* porque la frase es corriente. El verso 1936 es indudablemente muy malo, pero consta si hacemos una sinalefa forzada. Lo mismo sucede en el 2750 (*¿Qué te ha enviado? Aquel papel.*), donde *aquel* ha sido sustituido por *el* innecesariamente, ya que el verso puede leerse como octosílabo, haciendo diptongo en *enviado*. De no admitir tal diptongo tampoco constaría el verso 85. El giro empleado en el 1396, aunque no empaña la claridad del concepto, no es común hoy; pide nota. Tampoco vendría mal una breve explicación al 1447.

En las octavas con que comienza el acto tercero de *El remedio en la desdicha*, tal vez por haberlas escrito en esdrújulo, usa Lope varios vocablos que a mi juicio deben llevar nota a causa de su raro empleo (*mágica*, *belífero* y otros). *Africa* no consueña con *trágica* y *mágica*, ni *estériles* con *débiles* y *flébiles*. Puesto que en otros lugares se anotan los defectos de rima, también deben anotarse aquí.

Ultima observación. Teniendo en cuenta que los volúmenes de *La Lectura* van dirigidos a todos los interesados en el estudio de nuestra literatura clásica, sean o no eruditos, creo que faltan algunas noticias aclaratorias acerca de ciertos personajes mitológicos que no pueden ser familiares sino a los muy versados en la materia.

Tan leves como éstos son los reparos que pueden ponerse a las acertadas notas de *El mejor alcalde, el Rey*. J. R.

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## METRICAL FORM OF THE EPIC, AS DISCUSSED BY SIXTEENTH-CENTURY CRITICS

An attempt will be made in this article not only to give the discussion of the sixteenth-century critics regarding the proper verse-form for the heroic poem, but also to show how they defined the poet. Parrhasius (1531) believes that one should not doubt that there were poets in Greece before Homer, but that it seems reasonably certain that he was the first who sang the praises of the deeds of heroes in that verse which is called heroic, a measure most adapted to the easy and simple flow of words.<sup>1</sup> Daniello remarks in 1536 that, owing to the fact that no heroic poem exists in Italian, it is a difficult matter to decide the question of the most suitable verse-form for the vulgar tongue. It appears to him a strange state of affairs that with such talented writers in all Italy none had endeavored to write "heroicamente," but all had contented themselves with composing sonnets and stories.<sup>2</sup> Those who wrote in Latin, he continues, had Vergil for a model, but the Italian writers had no one to imitate. Some have had the temerity to call unrhymed eleven-syllable verse the heroic of the Italian, but Daniello recommends as the best meter for the epic the eleven-syllable verse enclosed in every third line,<sup>3</sup> because both Dante and Petrarch had advised such a meter. Daniello contends that it is not the verse which renders the subject-matter grave or sublime, but the choice of words, sentences, and figures of speech. He does not believe

<sup>1</sup> Parrhasius, J., *In Q. Horatii Flacci Artem Poeticam Commentaria*, Napoli, 1531, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Daniello, B., *Della poetica*, Vinegia, 1536, p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> "A me parrebbe che col versi di undecisillabe interzato scrivere ne la deveste," *ibid.*, p. 131.

that only that which is without rhyme can be called heroic verse, but also that which is in rhyme.<sup>4</sup> It should be remarked that Trissino's *Italia liberata* (1547), the first heroic poem written in Italian according to classical ideas, was composed in unrhymed eleven-syllable verse. It may be that his attention was first called to this meter by Daniello's observations.

Robortelli struggled with a passage which puzzled the sixteenth-century commentators, and which has given Greek scholars trouble even up to the present day. The explanation of the matter is that the text consulted by Robortelli and the other sixteenth-century commentators contained the Greek word *ἐποποιία*, which caused considerable confusion in their interpretation. Bywater brackets the word and translates as follows, omitting any reference to the heroic poem: <sup>5</sup> "There is further an art which imitates by language alone, without harmony, in prose or in verse, and if in verse either in some one or in a plurality of meters." Robortelli, as Paccius before him, has: "Nudis autem sermonibus sive metris solummodo epopoeia utitur; metrorum quidem hactenus sive mixtus aliquibus inter se, sive generis eiusdem alicuius." This manifest opposition to Aristotle's assertion in another part of the *Poetics* caused Robortelli a great deal of difficulty. He turns and recasts the passage, but finally gives up being able to secure a satisfactory translation. He concludes that Aristotle is here neither censuring nor praising the employment of mixed meter, which Horace had condemned when he stated that the epic should be written in heroic verse, which Homer had used.<sup>6</sup> He further states that an epic poet to the vulgar mind is one who writes in hexameter verse.<sup>7</sup> There seems to be a double reason for the employment of heroic verse in that it is suitable for elevated subjects and for varied language.<sup>8</sup> The epic poets do not use iambic or tetrameter verse because a mixture of verses (and here he quotes Aristotle with assurance) would be absurd, and he concludes with Aristotle that the epic should be written in heroic verse.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>5</sup> Bywater, I., *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*, Oxford, 1909, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *In librum Aristotelis de Arte Poetica Explicationes*, Florentiae, p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> "Nullum genus metri magis recipit varietatem linguarum & translationes quam Heroum," p. 278.

<sup>9</sup> "Cur Epici poëtae iambico, neque tetrametro utantur versu." *Ibid.*, p. 279.



Segni, meeting the same difficulty encountered by Robortelli in the first chapter of the *Poetics*, translates: "Ma l'Epopoeia fa l'imitatione solamente con la prosa, ò col verso; et col verso, ò mescolato di piu sorti: ò con quello, che sia d'una sola spetie,"<sup>10</sup> and Segni attempts to justify the assertion that the epic can be in prose because there would have been nothing in common between the "Dialogues" of Socrates and the "Mimes" of Sophron, of which Aristotle speaks, except that they were both in prose. He does not feel sure of his ground, however, for he acknowledges that this assertion of Aristotle appears very strange to him.<sup>11</sup> Segni asserts (and this statement is frequently repeated by later critics) that the stories of Boccaccio can be called poems, if judged according to the subject-matter and the personages, for they are similar to the "Margites" of Homer.

Madius points out that "epopoeia" is a Greek word having no Latin equivalent, and that Cicero had called such poets as Vergil and Homer epic poets. The word ἔπος really signifies a heroic poem according to Madius, and the two expressions came to be used interchangeably. He repeats that the hexameter verse is proper to the epic, and that it should not be written in mixed meter, and he points out in his *Interpretatio* of Horace that Horace also judged the hexameter the proper meter.<sup>12</sup>

Muzio (1551), in the beginning of his second book, contends that blank verse can take the place of the hexameter.<sup>13</sup>

Varchi states that poets may be divided into first, those who observe both imitation and verse (to this division would belong all the works of Homer); the second class would be that in which imitation without verse is sufficient. In this way Lucan and Cicero and above all Boccaccio in the *Decameron* would be considered poets. Dante, continues Varchi, was the first to write in heroic verse in Italian, and Petrarch tried the heroic Latin verse in his

<sup>10</sup> Segni, B., *Rettorica et Poetica d'Aristotile*, Firenze, 1549, p. 276.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 281.

<sup>12</sup> Madius, V., *In Q. Horatii Flacci De Arte Poetica Interpretatio*, Venetiis, 1550, p. 338.

<sup>13</sup>

Contra lo stil continuo, in quella vece,  
Che già gli Antichi usar le sei misure.  
Porrem le rime senza rima, queste  
Sono'altra l'altre, chiare, pure, e alte.

*Africa*.<sup>14</sup> Varchi was apparently criticized for this statement, for, contrary to the outlined plan, he devotes his next "lezione" in the Florentine Academy to a discussion of heroic verse. Some have said, he begins, that there are no Italian heroic poets because the Italian tongue lacks hexameter verse, without which a heroic poem cannot be composed. Others have said that neither Dante, Petrarch, nor Boccaccio should be considered heroic poets. He discusses whether Tuscan has hexameter verse and what constitutes the heroic verse in the Tuscan tongue. Whoever is familiar with the Latin hexameter will recognize at once that no such verse of six feet exists in Italian. Every one admits that the most serious verse that can be found should be employed in the heroic poem. There are some who contend that the *terza rima* is the heroic verse of the Italians; others hold that the *ottava rima*, which Boccaccio used in the *Teseide*, corresponds to the Latin; still others believe that blank verse (*versi sciolti* or *senza rima*) represents the hexameter.<sup>15</sup> Varchi does not attempt to settle the question, although one might deduce that he is inclined to agree with Muzio that blank verse should be employed, and he does not even claim to be able to decide whether Trissino or Alamanni invented "versi sciolti."<sup>16</sup>

Giraldi Cinthio correctly defines "poet" as a maker ("facitore"). Not on account of the verses, he continues, but principally on account of the subject-matter is one called poet.<sup>17</sup> Giraldi believes that eleven-syllable verse should be employed to treat heroic subjects, because the seven syllable-verse is not suitable to serious subjects, and the twelve-syllable verse with its "sdrucci-

<sup>14</sup> Varchi, B., *Lezioni della poetica*, Firenze, 1553, p. 625.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 643.

<sup>16</sup> On this point it is interesting to compare a letter written by Claudio Tolomei to Marcantonio Cinuzzi under date of Rome, July 1, 1543 (*De le lettere di M. Claudio Tolomei*, Vinegia, MDXLVII, I, 8.): "Io non so quanto mi piaccia la forma di questi versi sciolti, gli quali da molti s'usano per rappresentarci il verso Heroico Greco e Latino, si come furon gia usati da M. Luigi Alamanni nel trasferir l'Epitalamio di Peleo e di Tetide, che fece Catullo, e da Ludovico Martelli nel tradurre il quarto libro de l'Eneide di Vergilio; . . . e hora intendo che M. Giovangiorgio Trissino con questa stessa via, scrive Heroicamente in molti libri le guerre che gia fece Belisario in Italia."

<sup>17</sup> Giraldi Cinthio, G. B., *Discorsi*, Vinegia, 1554, p. 56.

oloso finimento" lacks gravity and tends to débase the composition.<sup>18</sup> He does not think that the poems "senza rima" are in any way adapted to heroic matter. It seems to him that the best manner of verse used in Italian is alone suitable to compositions of such importance. In order that the art, the study, the thought of the poet may be evident, he should express himself with sweetness and gravity. This is impossible, he contends, with the "versi sciolti," "of which the inventor was Trissino," because they are free from the obligation of rhyme. Take away rhyme from verse, he concludes, and there remains a composition without grace, without sweetness, and without heroic dignity.<sup>19</sup> Trissino should be blamed for introducing blank verse, for inasmuch as it is in reality nothing more than the language of every day, it is not suitable to grand subjects. Care should be taken to make the rhyme and words serve the concept, and not the concept the rhyme. It is necessary that the rhyme accord in sound, in signification, and in suavity of harmony,<sup>20</sup> and the poet should take care not to use words which would retard the flow of the verse or make it more sluggish, for if vivacity were taken from the heroic verse it would lose its worth.

Luisinus, repeating that the epic uses the hexameter, makes the assertion that one is a poet not on account of the meter, but on account of the plot and fiction. Pigna, following in the footsteps of his predecessors, believes that the hexameter is the proper verse, not only in Greek and Latin, but in Italian, and laments the fact that the hexameter had not been introduced into Italian.<sup>21</sup>

Scaliger, opposed to the view already expressed by Luisinus and recurring frequently among later critics, does not believe that the word "poet" is derived from the fact that the poet employs the fictitious, but from the fact that he makes verse.<sup>22</sup>

Trissino contends that not on account of verses and their quality, but on account of imitation, ought one to be named poet. If one wrote of medicine or of philosophy in verse he would not be called poet, but philosopher and doctor, just as the *Decameron* of Boccaccio and other works like it, although in prose, without any doubt

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

<sup>20</sup> "Nel suono, nel sentimento, nella soavità della armonia."

<sup>21</sup> Pigna, G. B., *I Romanzi*, Vinegia, 1554, p. 63.

<sup>22</sup> "Poetae igitur nomen non a fingendo, ut putarunt, quia fictis uteretur: sed initio a faciendo versu ductum est" (*Poetices*, lib. i, cap. ii).



can be named poems.<sup>23</sup> The hexameter is very well suited to Greek and Latin on account of its regularity, its lofty tone and its adaptability to idioms and rhetorical figures, as seen in Homer first and then in Vergil; nevertheless Trissino prefers the hendecasyllable in blank verse.<sup>24</sup> He believes that Dante invented the *terza rima* in order to approximate the Latin heroic meter, just as Boccaccio invented the *ottava rima* in his *Teseide* for the same reason, for up to his time no one had written of deeds of arms. This *ottava rima* was adopted by almost all those who have since written of arms, that is, Pulci, Boiardo, Ariosto, and others. "I, however, wishing to write in this tongue our *Italia liberata da Gotti* (sic)," continues Trissino, "which is a matter of arms, have wished to leave the *terza rima* which Dante invented, and likewise the *ottava rima* invented by Boccaccio, because they did not seem adapted to continued matter on account of the frequent according of the endings, from which arises a certain uniformity of figures, because in these it is necessary always to have relations of two verses to two verses, or of three to three, or of four to four, and so on; a thing which is totally contrary to the continuation of the matter, therefore I dismiss the accord of the endings and retain the verse, that is, the hendecasyllable (the hendecasyllable being superior, as Dante says, to all the other verses of this tongue) called 'versi sciolti' on account of being free from the necessity of making the endings agree. This, then, will be the verse which, according to my idea, is suitable to the heroic poem."

Minturno in his *Arte poetica* calls Dante a heroic poet because he used the *terza rima*, which can be called heroic verse as can the *ottava rima* used by Petrarch, or the "versi sciolti," "which this age has commenced to use." There is also mixed poetry, that is, partly in prose and partly in verse, as Sannazaro's *Arcadia* or the *Ameto* of Boccaccio. He considers that Horace, who wrote his *Ars Poetica* in verse, is no more a poet than Aristotle, who wrote in prose. He points out that the name "epic poet" is derived from the Greek "epos" which really means 'word,' but has come to signify hexameter verse. From this circumstance arises the fact that those who wrote in verse of medicine, music, or philosophy were called epic writers by the common people among the ancients,

<sup>23</sup> *Tutte le opere*, Verona, 1729, p. 94.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

when they ought to have been called doctors, musicians, or philosophers. But the nomenclature adopted by the common people conquered; each type of author was called an epic writer. In spite of this usage, Minturno believes that epic poetry can be only in verse.

Castelvetro, like all the commentators of Aristotle, had difficulty in explaining the passage in the first chapter of the *Poetics*, which seemed to be capable of the single inference that the epic could be in prose as well as in verse. That the older epic used every manner of verse is evident from the fact that Aristotle blamed Chaeremon for employing a variety of meter, because the hexameter, the most magnificent and enduring, was recognized by Aristotle as the only suitable meter for the heroic poem. Therefore, concludes Castelvetro, if Aristotle allowed prose at all, it was only to admit its use as possible, but he shows clearly that it had not been commonly employed as a means of expression. Castelvetro concludes <sup>25</sup> that the epic cannot be in prose, but must be in verse, although he, too, admits Lucan and Boccaccio into the ranks of poets.

It is curious to see that in France the same discussion was taking place. There was the same endeavor to approximate in French verse the hexameter of the Latin, and the resultant discussion as to which meter was nearest the equivalent of the heroic. There were echoes of the discussion of blank verse.

Fabri, in his *Art poétique* of 1521, refers to the Alexandrine, which had been so much employed in the *chansons de geste*, as an "antique maniere de rithmer," and such it remained until considerably later in the century.

Sebilet (1548) scarcely knows what an epic poem is. In speaking of the different forms of verse he says under the caption "de dis syllabes": "Et a vray dire cés deux dernières especes (*i. e.*, the eight- and ten-syllable line) sont les premières, principales, et plus usitées; pource que l'une sert au François de ce que sert au Latin les vers Elegiaque: et l'autre s'accommode par luy a ce que le Latin escrit en Carme Heroïque."<sup>26</sup> It is evident from this that the decasyllable is still the heroic verse. It is only later that the Alexandrine supplants it when Pelletier and Ronsard gave it the impetus which put it once more in vogue.

<sup>25</sup> Castelvetro, L., *Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata et sposta*, Vienna, 1570, p. 20.

<sup>26</sup> *Art Poétique François*, ed. crit. pub. par Félix GaiFFE, Paris, 1910, I, v.

According to Pelletier (1555), the Alexandrine is the proper meter for the epic.<sup>27</sup> Pelletier contends that the epic is the only genre which gives the true title of poet.<sup>28</sup>

In the chapter of his *Deffence* devoted to the "long poëme françoys,"<sup>29</sup> Du Bellay makes no mention of the question of verse-form, but in the second book<sup>30</sup> we find the following: "Autrement qui ne voudroit reigler sa rythme comme j'ai dit il vaudroit beaucoup mieux ne rymmer point, mais faire des vers libres, comme a fait Petrarque en quelque endroit, et de notre tens le seigneur Loys Aleman, en sa non moins docte que plaisante Agriculture. . . . Aussi faudroit-il bien que ces vers non rymez feussent bien charnuz et nerveuz, afin de compenser par ce moyen le default de la rythme." It is interesting to note here the reference to Petrarch and to Alamanni, both of whom had been so frequently mentioned during the course of the discussion in Italy.

Du Bellay uses the expression "vers heroiques" when referring<sup>31</sup> to the *coq-à-l'âne*. Commenting on this passage, M. Chamard says: "C'est le nom que portait alors le vers décasyllabe (chez les anciens, il désignait l'hexamètre dactylique). On remarquera que pas une fois, dans *la Deffence*, il n'est question de l'Alexandrin. Lorsque Ronsard en 1555, dans le premier livre des *Hymnes*, restaura le grand vers, il lui transporta délibérément la qualification réservée jusqu'alors au décasyllabe, et pour marquer son intention bien nettement, il fit suivre des pièces écrites en Alexandrins de cette indication: *vers héroïques*, tandis qu'il mettait cette autre: *vers communs* aux pièces écrites en décasyllabes."

In his *Art poétique* (1565) Ronsard says that the Alexandrine is the truly heroic French verse. "Les Alexandrins tiennent la place en notre langue, telle que les vers héroïques entre les Grecs et les Latins." In the first preface to the *Franciade* (1572) we find, however: "Si tu me dis, Lecteur, que je devois composer mon ouvrage en vers Alexandrins, pource qu'ils sont pour le jourd'huy

<sup>27</sup> *Art Poétique*, II, 3.

<sup>28</sup> "L'œuvre héroïque et celui qui donne le pris et le vrei titre de poëte" (II, VIII, 73).

<sup>29</sup> *La Deffence et Illustration de la langue françoise*, édition par Henri Chamard, Paris, 1904.

<sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, ix, pp. 263 ff.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218.



plus favorablement receuz de nos Seigneurs et Dames de la Court . . . lesquels vers j'ay remis le premier en honneur, je te responds qu'il m'eust esté cent fois plus aisé d'escrire mon œuvre en vers Alexandrins qu'aux autres, d'autant qu'ils sont plus longs, et par consequent moins sujets, sans la honteuse conscience que j'ay qu'ils sentent trop leur prose."<sup>32</sup> After he had commenced the *Franciade*, which is in decasyllables, Ronsard says: "Si je n'ai commencé la *Franciade* en vers Alexandrins, lesquels j'ai mis, comme tu sais, en vogue et en honneur, il s'en faut prendre à ceux qui ont puissance de me commander (here, of course, referring to Charles IX) et non à ma volonté." About the same time, in the second preface to the *Franciade* (1573-4), we find "Il ne faut t'esmerveiller, Lecteur, dequoy je n'ay composé ma *Franciade* en vers Alexandrins, qu'autrefois en ma jeunesse, par ignorance, je pensois tenir en nostre langue le rang des carmes Heroïques, encores qu'ils respondent plus aux senaires des Tragiques qu'aux magnanimes vers d'Homere et de Virgile, les estimant pour lors plus convenables aux magnifiques arguments et aux plus excellents conceptions de l'esprit, que les autres vers communs."<sup>33</sup> Ronsard, although not employing the Alexandrine in his epic poem, shows clearly that he is proud of the honor of having restored it, and is without doubt a warm partisan of its use.<sup>34</sup>

Vauquelin de la Fresnaye, adding nothing new to the discussion, has the following:

Pour un si grand ouvrage en françois accomplir!  
 En vers de dix ou douze après il le faut mettre:  
 Ces vers la nous prenons pour le grave Hexametre.  
 Nos longs vers on appelle Alexandrins, d'autant  
 Que le Roman qui va les prouesses contant  
 D'Alexandre le grand, l'un des neuf preux de l'aage,  
 En ces vers fut escrit d'un Romanzé langage  
 Heroïques ainsi les Carmes furent dits  
 D'autant que les Heros les hauts gestes iadis  
 En ces vers on chanta.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Ronsard, P. de, *Œuvres*, éd. Marty-Laveaux, Paris, Lemerre (1887-1893), III, 516.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 520.

<sup>34</sup> E. Faguet, *Seizième Siècle*, Paris, 1894.

<sup>35</sup> *L'Art Poétique de Vauquelin de la Fresnaye*, éd. par Georges Pellissier, Paris, 1885, II, 506 ff.

## THE PROLOGUES OF THE *LAY LE FREINE* AND *SIR ORFEO*

The only known copy of the Middle-English Breton *Lay le Freine*, preserved in the famous Auchinleck Manuscript, has a prologue which differs but slightly from the prologue prefixed to two of the three extant copies of the Middle-English Breton Lay, *Sir Orfeo*.<sup>1</sup> It is still an open question whether the Prologue originally belonged to the *Lay le Freine* or to *Sir Orfeo*. Lucien Foulet,<sup>2</sup> the only scholar who has examined the question in detail, held that the verses belonged to the French original of *Sir Orfeo*, and were borrowed for the *Lay le Freine*. His argument can be summed up as follows. A portion of the Prologue (vv. 13-18), as Zupitza<sup>3</sup> showed, is made up of phrases taken here and there from the epilogues and prologues of Marie de France's different lays. The *Lay le Freine*, on the other hand, is a "presumably faithful" translation of Marie's *Lai del Fraisne*. One can hardly suppose that the same author was at once a faithful translator and a compiler. M. Foulet granted that it was "possible," but not "very probable." He also pointed out that this Prologue stands alone in Middle-English literature, but that French literature of the thirteenth century provides us with a number of parallels (the prologues of *Doon*, *Tydoel*, the *Lai du Lecheor* and *Tyolet*<sup>4</sup>). M. Foulet believed that it was simply in imitation of these that the contemporary French author of Orfeo compiled his prologue. He

<sup>1</sup> The *Auchinleck MS.* W. 4, I, Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, early 14th cent. *Orfeo* without the Prologue is written on ff. 300-303 by the scribe who wrote the *Lay le Freine* on ff. 261<sup>a</sup>-262<sup>a</sup>. The text of *Orfeo* in *Harleian MS.* no. 3810, British Museum, early 15th cent. and in *Ashmolean MS.* no. 61, Oxford, later 15th cent. are evidently derived from the same source. Cf. Zielke's edition, Breslau, 1889.

<sup>2</sup> L. Foulet, The Prologue of *Sir Orfeo*, *Modern Language Notes*, vol. XXI, no. 2, February 1906, pp. 46-50.

<sup>3</sup> J. Zupitza, *Englische Studien*, vol. 10 (1886), p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> L. Foulet, Marie de France et les lais bretons, *Zeitschrift für Roman. Philologie*, 29 (1905), pp. 19-56: the prologue of the *Lay le Freine* "est l'équivalent anglais du prologue de *Tyolet*." *Tyolet* and the other three lays have been published by Gaston Paris, *Romania*, VIII, p. 29 ff.

recognized that the form of the Prologue in the *Orfeo* texts is inferior to that in *le Freine*, but this he ascribed to scribal carelessness.

M. Foulet's two main points rest on assertions which seem to me doubtful. The evidence at best is scant, but such as it is, I think it suggests quite different results. I believe (a) that the Prologue was not written by a French author, (b) that the English author of the Prologue was also the author of the *Lay le Freine*, (c) that this Prologue was borrowed by the author of *Sir Orfeo*.

a. *The Prologue was not written by a French author.*

The prologue of the *Lay le Freine* is not similar to those of the extant thirteenth century French lays. By its form and the nature of its information, it stands as much alone among French lays as among English. It is a serious and well-composed introduction which was intended, perhaps, as Brugger<sup>6</sup> suggested, not only for the *Lay le Freine*, but for a collection of lays. It may be divided into three parts. In the first part (vv. 1-12), written in the present tense, we have the writer's own commentary on a number of lays which he seems to have just read. It is a brief, just and faithful summary of the contents of the Breton lays. All the varieties of theme which he indicates are to be found in Marie de France's lays, except for the "bourdes and ribaudy" (v. 9). This fact leads M. Foulet<sup>6</sup> to remark that the author had probably in mind the short French "fabliaux" which exactly answer to this description. In the second part (vv. 13-18) written in the past tense, the writer reports what he has read about the origin of these lays; "so seið ðis rime" (v. 14), in the present tense, refers very likely to Marie's different prologues and epilogues. This, by the way, is the only part which M. Foulet took into consideration. In the third part (vv. 19-28), after a general explanation to his audience of the lays of Britain, the poet comes to the particular one which he is going to retell, the *Lay le Freine*, and asserts that it is "on ensaumple fair with alle"<sup>7</sup> (v. 27).

In comparison with this Prologue, those of the other lays offer notable differences. The prologues of *Tydorel* and *Doon* are very short (not over 6 lines) and of vague import. In the prologue of

<sup>6</sup> Brugger, *Zts. f. fr. Spr. u. Litt.*, xx, p. 154, n. 103.

<sup>6</sup> L. Foulet, "The Prologue of Sir Orfeo," *Modern Language Notes*, vol. xxi, p. 50.

<sup>7</sup> 23-28 are not to be found in the prologue prefixed to *Sir Orfeo*.



the *Lai du Lecheor* the author develops only the theme of the second part of the prologue of the *Lay le Freine*; in the prologue of *Tyolet*, only that of the second and the third parts. We can say, therefore, that the first part of the *Freine* prologue is an original piece of work. The French authors' treatment, moreover, of the second part, that is to say, of the information they found in Marie's prologues and epilogues as to her sources, is widely different from that of the English author. The latter seems to have chosen carefully and to have translated faithfully the most important and distinctive phrases of Marie about the origin of her lays. This close dependence on Marie's prologues argues familiarity with her lays and not with the later ones. The French lay-writers, on the contrary, let their fancy wander and amplified freely Marie's information, as for instance the author of *Tyolet*, who tells us that the adventures:

"mises estaient en latin  
et en escrit em parchemin"<sup>s</sup>

(vv. 29-30)

or the author of the *Lai du Lecheor* who imagined a fair gathering of ladies and knights and introduced ladies as lay-tellers. Theirs was the tone of the conventional, artificial, sophisticated, half-amused and sceptical French writers, or that of the courtly Chaucer in the prologue to his "Breton lay," *The Franklin's Tale*. The tone of the author of the prologue of the *Lay le Freine* is that of a simple-minded and credulous writer as most of the English writers of romance of that time seem to have been.

b. *The author of the Prologue was the author of the Lay le Freine.*

The belief that the author of the Prologue was English clears the way for the further ascription to him of the *Lay le Freine*. M. Foulet rejected this chiefly because he felt it unlikely that the "presumably faithful translator" of the lay was also the "laborious compiler" of the Prologue. The argument might be of weight if the author of the lay were no more than M. Foulet suggested. But a close comparison of Marie's *Lai del Fraisne* and the English *Lay le Freine* reveals distinctive traits of style and thought on the part

<sup>s</sup>See L. Foulet's comment on those two lines, *Zts. f. Roman. Philologie*, 29, 1905, pp. 19-56.

of the English poet, which mark in his work an unexpected freedom and originality and prove him to be much more than a mere translator. He modified Marie's style and bettered the story by avoiding her unnecessary repetitions,<sup>9</sup> suppressing irrelevant comments,<sup>10</sup> shifting certain details of place and character from the place they occupied in her poem to one that seemed to him more appropriate.<sup>11</sup> He made a greater use of direct discourse, thus adding directness, power, swiftness, realism to the story.<sup>12</sup> He succeeded in setting out the most important points of the story and in combining the various elements in the plot, as, for instance, in the introductory

<sup>9</sup> Concerning the birth of the twins, Marie said 8 times, in 85 lines (vv. 11, 15, 35, 41, 67, 70, 83, 85) that the ladies had "dous enfanz," "dous fiz" or "filles." The English writer mentioned the fact only 3 times (vv. 54, 69, 87) and in this reticence and the reshaping of the whole passage gave the fact more importance.

The porter of the abbey in the French poem, orders his daughter to take care of the baby and tells her in detail what she must do (vv. 198, 201-2), and in the following lines (vv. 203-6) what she did is repeated at length. The English writer summed up in one line the porter's orders (v. 201). He likewise summed up in one line (v. 247) Marie's unnecessary passage (vv. 308-12).

<sup>10</sup> The English writer omitted vv. 59-64 in which we are told what happened to the lady who had been falsely accused. She is not mentioned again in either version. Note also omission of vv. 178-180.

<sup>11</sup> Concerning the abbess's disclosure to Freine of how the girl was found in the ash-tree and the delivery to her of "the pel and the ring," Marie gave these details to her readers casually (vv. 305-12); the English writer gave motives for this disclosure and delivery, which he shifts from the second part to the first (vv. 241-50). This change made it more closely connected with the rest of the story as it allowed him to suggest Freine's personality and to bring emphasis on the special problem of the second part of the story, i. e., Freine's unknown birth.

He shifted the scene between the porter and his daughter (F. vv. 197-202) to a similar scene between the porter and the abbess (E. vv. 211-24) who is to play, from now on, an important role.

<sup>12</sup> In 6 cases he used direct instead of indirect discourse:

E. vv. 39-42 correspond to F. vv. 15-18

E. vv. 116-18 correspond to F. vv. 95

E. vv. 273-76 correspond to F. vv. 268-70

E. vv. 49-54 correspond to F. vv. 22

E. vv. 220-24 correspond to F. vv. 216-18

E. vv. 279-84 correspond to F. vv. 271-78

(E. stands for English and F. for French).

scene which he most skillfully modified. He introduced a lively dialogue between the lord's messenger and his neighbour and delayed intentionally the telling of the essential fact: the birth of the twins. He kept the fact of the double birth until it might be given as the messenger's news (v. 54) to the neighbour's wife and so be followed by her fatal utterance. Thus the English writer managed a surprise not only for the neighbour but also for the reader, and brought emphasis on the fact that the lady had two children and on the subsequent remark of her neighbour, both important facts for in them lies the knot of the story. He popularized the aristocratic little story and he gave it not only the realism of an actual world in his treatment of nature, and of manners and customs, but he filled it with the very air of his own fourteenth century England.<sup>13</sup> In brief, his lay can not so much be called a "translation" as a "transformation" of Marie's. But though he dealt freely with his material, he did not deal at all extravagantly with it, he did not allow himself to do more than draw out of his French original what it held in suggestion.

It has already been pointed out that the Prologue is in part a mosaic, a clever combination of phrases borrowed from Marie. Yet the Prologue has also a distinctive character, a real independence of its own. In these qualities of likeness and unlikeness, it corresponds exactly with those which distinguish the English lay from its source. Since the Prologue is used to introduce the lay, since they both evince the same treatment of source material, it seems only reasonable to ascribe them both to the same author. As a final bit of evidence we may note that v. 22:

"Ichil 3ou telle Lay le Frayn,"

is the literal translation of the first line of Marie's *Lai del Fraisne*:

"Le lai del Fraisne vus dirai";

thus proving unquestionably the relationship between the Prologue and the poem.

<sup>13</sup> See E.'s telling of the maiden's adventures through the winter long moonlit night (E. vv. 145-60, compare with F. vv. 135-52); his characterization of the morning (E. vv. 180-82).



c. *The Prologue was borrowed by the author of Sir Orfeo.*

The evidence from *Orfeo* goes far to support this view. The author of the Prologue was evidently familiar with Marie's works; the author of *Sir Orfeo* shows no sign of direct borrowing. Yet demonstrably he was familiar with the Middle-English version of *le Freine*. For instance, lines 35-36 of *Sir Orfeo* in which the king is said to go:

"purch wode and over heþ  
Into þe wildernes he geþ,"

are clearly reminiscent of lines 147-8 of *Freine*:

"And passed over a wild heþ  
purch feld and purch wode hye geþ."

A phrase about "lovesum eizen" is used for the queen in *Sir Orfeo* (v. 109) and the heroine of the *Lay le Freine* (v. 269), but this is not a striking resemblance as it was so common an expression in the world of romance. The mention in the two lays of a "holow tree," is however, worthy of note. It is said of *Sir Orfeo* that:

"His harp  
He hidde in a holwe tree" (v. 265-66)

whereas it is said in the *Lay le Freine* that the maiden placed the child in an ash-tree whose:

"bodi was holow as mani on is" (v. 176)

This detail was the *Freine* poet's own invention and belonged naturally enough to the story. In *Orfeo* its more casual use suggests borrowing. Had we the French text of *Orfeo* and could we show that the Middle-English translator had freshened it with his humor, simplicity and literalness as did the author of the *Freine*, we might rely more largely on the parallelism in style and spirit between the two poems. *Orfeo* has perhaps, the maturer touch, which would be natural, if it were, as I believe, a later poem by the same author as *le Freine*, but in any case the *heð* and *geð* rhyme establishes the dependence of *Orfeo* upon the Middle-English *Freine*.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Compare also v. 267 *Orfeo* with v. 150 *Freine*; v. 135 *Orfeo* with v. 220 *Freine*, about the weather. Winter time, birds "on bouz," "foules" are mentioned in the two lays.

If this relationship is true for the two poems, it must also be true for the prologues. M. Foulet admitted the inferiority of the *Prologue* in the two late texts of *Orfeo* in which it is found. His own theory of scribal carelessness could explain the situation much better if the prologue were indeed simply an addition foisted from *le Freine* to *Orfeo*, and did not belong to the author's original version. It should also be noted that the transformation in *Orfeo* of line 3 of the *Freine* prologue:

"Layes þat ben in harping"

to:

"De layes þat ben of harping"

is a most suggestive change. There is no doubt that the preposition was originally *in* and that the line meant "lays that are sung with the harp." It has been changed to *of* in *Sir Orfeo* in order that the line might apply especially to *Sir Orfeo* and mean "lays which tell about harping." It is awkward and out of place in lines which were intended to give a characterization of Breton lays in general.

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### SCHELANDRE ET SHAKESPEARE.

C'est un des lieux communs de l'histoire littéraire d'évoquer le nom de Shakespeare pour caractériser d'un seul trait la poésie dramatique en France avant Corneille. MM. Fournel, Rigal, Haraszti et tant d'autres ont insisté sur le fait que le "théâtre indépendant" des Hardy, des Schelandre et des Théophile paraît avoir jailli de la même source que les systèmes dramatiques espagnol et anglais. Néanmoins on s'est contenté le plus souvent de constater l'analogie sans en approfondir les détails et sans plaider la possibilité d'une influence littéraire.

Ce n'est pas à nous de combler la lacune qui demanderait une étude spéciale de longue haleine. Toutefois, les lignes suivantes, consacrées à un rapprochement de Schelandre et du roi des auteurs dramatiques nous fourniront l'occasion d'établir la mesure dans laquelle l'influence de Shakespeare aurait pu se faire valoir sur les auteurs français de son temps.

Il y a peu de pièces qui se prêtent mieux à une telle étude que les "Tyr et Sidon" de Schelandre. La première des pièces de ce nom est une tragédie publiée en 1608 (cf. l'excellente édition de Haraszti, *Société des Textes Français Modernes*, 1908) ; la seconde, une tragi-comédie en deux journées, de 1628, célèbre à cause de la préface "révolutionnaire" de François Ogier. La tragédie de 1608 fut transformée en "seconde journée" de la tragi-comédie de 1628, tandis que la "première journée" de celle-ci est une tragédie toute nouvelle (cf. l'édition de la tragi-comédie dans le tome VIII de l'*Ancien Théâtre Français, Bibliothèque Elzévirienne*). Pour ce qui concerne le sujet, il est entièrement romanesque. Haraszti, dans la copieuse préface de son édition, passe en revue les analogies du sujet (p. xlii ss.) et il effleure les rapports possibles du sujet principal avec *Pyrame et Thisbé* et avec *Roméo et Juliette*. L'histoire de "Pyrame et Thisbé," puisée dans Ovide, fut jouée déjà en 1598 à Lille ; quant à Roméo, il fut créé par Shakespeare vers 1594, mais cela d'après une nouvelle italienne qui ne manqua pas de trouver, même avant Shakespeare, un metteur en scène français (v. l'édition de Haraszti, p. xliii, note 1). D'ailleurs, nous savons que des acteurs anglais firent en Allemagne et en France des excursions efficaces à l'époque en question. Ajoutez-y que cette époque fut particulièrement favorable à la réception d'influences étrangères : (1) à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle et au commencement du XVII<sup>e</sup> la cour d'Angleterre attire les gens de lettres français presque autant qu'au XVIII<sup>e</sup> ; (2) pour la littérature française, cette époque signifie un relâchement dans le régime des règles, une orientation franche et hospitalière vers les formes les plus différentes de l'art et de la beauté.

Et nunc venimus ad fortissimum : Schelandre partit pour l'Angleterre en 1608 et dédia sa tragédie à Jacques, fils de Marie Stuart. On ignore s'il a achevé ou non sa pièce avant de s'embarquer. Mais même en admettant que sa tragédie n'ait pas reçu de changements pendant son séjour à Londres, qui lui aurait permis de subir l'influence directe des pièces de Shakespeare, il est possible et même très probable : (1) que les représentations des pièces shakespeariennes au "Globe" ont fait sur Schelandre un effet considérable et ont imprimé leur cachet au moins sur le "Tyr et Sidon" de 1628 ; (2) que les représentations de ces pièces par les troupes vagabondes anglaises ont initié notre auteur à la connaissance du système



anglais même avant son voyage en Angleterre. Enfin, il n'est pas moins vraisemblable que Schelandre savait l'anglais: la connaissance de la langue du pays devait être, même à la cour du fils de Marie Stuart, une condition tant soit peu nécessaire.

Nous venons de montrer les voies possibles par lesquelles l'influence de Shakespeare aurait pu s'exercer sur la tragi-comédie et probablement sur la tragédie de Schelandre. Cela nous autorise à relever les points identiques dans "Roméo et Juliette" et dans "Tyr et Sidon."

Le sujet principal de "Tyr et Sidon" est analogue à celui de "Roméo et Juliette." Belcar et Méliane, Roméo et Juliette appartiennent à *deux familles ennemies*. C'est ce qui les force de garder le secret et de se servir d'une nourrice comme intermédiaire. Au début, les amants se flattent d'un dénouement favorable, d'autant plus qu'une réconciliation entre les deux familles ne paraît pas être exclue (*T. et S.*: rétablissement probable de la paix; *R. et J.*: essais de pacification du prince). Mais survient la péripétie tragique: la haine et l'hostilité des deux familles *sont exaspérées par la mort d'un membre de la famille de l'amoureuse* (Léonte, frère de Méliane est assassiné par des soldats sidoniens; Thibaut meurt de la main de Roméo). *Le héros est menacé par la vengeance de la famille offensée* (Belcar condamné à mort est sauvé par sa bien-aimée; Roméo est exilé). Le dénouement de ces "funestes amours" est dû, dans "Roméo et Juliette" autant que dans le "Tyr et Sidon" de 1608, à une *méprise fatale* (Méliane se laisse brûler, persuadée qu'elle est de la mort de son amant; Roméo se tue sur le corps de sa maîtresse qu'il croit morte: tous les deux sont dans l'erreur). Notons en passant que pour le dénouement, celui de "Pyrame et Thisbé" est plus près de "Roméo"; Pyrame commet un suicide, puisqu'il croit Thisbé morte; Thisbé se poignarde à la vue du cadavre de son amant. Le décor marin où se jouent les derniers actes du drame de "Tyr et Sidon" rappellent moins l'Italie de la Renaissance que la Grèce du roman soi-disant érotique.

Outre ces analogies d'ordre plus général et qui peuvent s'expliquer en supposant une source identique, il y en a de plus particulières et, par là, plus convaincantes encore: ce sont des analogies concernant certaines scènes et la manière de traiter le sujet tragique.

Notamment les scènes entre l'héroïne et la nourrice qui ont pour sujet la mort de Léonte d'une part et celle de Thibaut d'autre part présentent des ressemblances on ne peut plus frappantes. Ces ressemblances deviennent plus significatives encore quand on se rend compte de ce que dans les "Histoires tragiques" de Boistuau et dans leurs traductions anglaises cette scène a un développement différent: Juliette s'y montre une jeune fille faible et tendre qui tombe en défaillance et près de laquelle la nourrice a le rôle d'une simple consolatrice. Dans "Tyr et Sidon" (acte III, scène 2, cf. acte III, scène première de la Seconde Journée de 1628) et dans "Roméo et Juliette" (acte III, scène 2) l'héroïne est comme l'incarnation de la femme qui aime avec tout le dévouement et avec tout l'égoïsme de l'amour. Les deux textes comparés sont plus convaincants:

*Romeo and Juliet*, III, 2.

*Tyr et Sidon* (1608), III, 2.

*J.* Ay me, what news? why dost thou wring thy hands?

*M.* Ha ma mere est ce vous? que d'estranges tristesses?

*Nurse.* Ah, well-a-day! he's dead, he's dead, he's dead.

*Eurydice.* Quelle perte Madame! en l'avril de son aage

We are undone, lady, we are undone.

Voir perir sans ressource un si grand personnage. . .

(L'héroïne ayant plaint son amant.)

*N.* Will you speak well of him that kill'd your cousin?

*Eu.* Quoy! vous en souvient-il?

*J.* Shall I speak ill of him that is my husband?

*M.* Quoy! pour aucun esclandre Pourroy-je en son endroit oublieuse me rendre?

Why follow'd not, when she said "Tybalt's dead,"

*Eu.* Et malgré Tiribaze?

Thy father, or thy mother, nay, or both?

*M.* Et malgré tout respect.

"Nul devoir contre amour ne doit avoir effect." . . .

Wash they his wounds with tears: mine shall be spent,

L'un n'estoit que mon frere, et l'autre est un moy-mesme, Mon mal me greve plus que l'encombre d'autrui.

When theirs are dry, for Romeo's banishment.

(Plus avant, la nourrice ayant injurié le héros, l'héroïne l'en réprimande.)

*J.* Blister'd be thy tongue For such a wish! he was not born to shame:

*M.* O tison de discorde, outil de perfidie, Vieille sans naturel, . . .

Upon his brow shame is  
ashamed to sit;  
For 'tis a throne where hon-  
our may be crown'd  
Sole monarch of the universal  
earth.  
O, what a beast was I to  
chide at him!

Va, ne me tente plus. . . .  
Je vous suivray partout mon  
soleil, ma chere ame,  
Bravant de vos haineux les  
armes et le blasme.

(A la fin de la scène pourtant la paix est faite entre  
maîtresse et nourrice, cette dernière ayant offert ses  
services et promis de travailler au salut du héros menacé  
par la justice.)

La tragi-comédie de 1628 est marquée au coin de l'influence shakespeareienne. La Première Journée commence par un acte mettant en scène les préparatifs d'une bataille et même plusieurs scènes de bataille. On nous mène successivement dans les deux camps ennemis. Au lever du rideau nous assistons à la prière de Léonte, prince de Tyr qui supplie les dieux de l'assister, ce qui ne peut manquer de nous rappeler la prière de Richmond avant la bataille (*Richard III*, acte V, scène 3). Du reste, tout ce premier acte ressemble au dernier de *Richard III*.

Il est plus intéressant encore d'envisager le personnage de Zorote, vieillard sidonien qui réunit en lui la figure comique du mari trompé et la figure plus sérieuse du jaloux qui se venge, fait tuer son rival et finit par être exécuté. Deux caractères se contre-balaient dans les mêmes proportions, à peu près, que dans Shylock, éternel type de l'équilibre si étrange et si inquiétant des deux points de vue de sympathie et d'antipathie où l'auteur semble s'être placé alternativement pour le traiter. (Cf. surtout *Tyr et Sidon*, Prem. Journée, actes III et IV où Timadon, écuyer de Léonte, se sert d'un stratagème pour écarter le mari fâcheux, et *Merchant of Venice*, acte II où Lorenzo et ses amis enlèvent Jessica.)

*Tyr et Sidon* n'a rien de l'économie rigoureuse et rationnelle des tragédies raciniennes: les personnages sont plus nombreux qu'il n'en faudrait pour l'action essentielle, et les scènes secondaires trahissent la tendance de l'auteur d'approfondir le détail pittoresque, lyrique et épique. Tandis que les soldats de Tyr ont encore quelque chose du chœur impersonnel, les deux pêcheurs qui retrouvent le corps de Cassandre sont des pêcheurs "pur sang," qui rappellent de près les trois pêcheurs de *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* (acte III, scène première). Notez que "*Pericles*" date de 1608 ç.-à.-d.



d'une époque où Schelandre devait avoir été au fait des événements littéraires de Londres. Les noms significatifs des assassins (La Ruynes, La Desbauche) viennent encore de Shakespeare.

La place nous manque pour approfondir la question de style. Notons toutefois que la Première Journée a le style plus animé, moins lyrique et surtout moins noyé dans le marais des allusions mythologiques et des maximes. Le style dramatique des contemporains de Shakespeare mériterait de faire l'objet d'une étude détaillée.

Somme toute, nous nous flattons d'avoir rendu très probable que les "Tyr et Sidon" de Schelandre reflètent et représentent en France le système anglais et, plus précisément, le système de Shakespeare. Il faut lire ces pièces pour se rendre compte de ce que, malgré les longueurs et les naïvetés de l'auteur français, on a raison de regretter la perte de ses autres tragédies qui, peut-être, contribueraient à éclaircir la question de l'influence de Shakespeare sur le drame français du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

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### SOME EARLY TRACES OF RABELAIS IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

Collections of early English references to Rabelais have been made by Mr. Charles Whibley and Mr. W. F. Smith,<sup>1</sup> summarily by Sir Sidney Lee,<sup>2</sup> and most comprehensively by Mr. A. H. Upham.<sup>3</sup> The evidence thus gathered shows clearly enough the low state of Rabelais's reputation in Great Britain during the century preceding the appearance of Urquhart's translation. But perhaps it is worth while to offer a few additional items which are, for one reason or another, of special interest. Whibley and Upham give the reference to Rabelais in the anti-Marpregate *Almond for a Parrot* (1589-90) as the earliest in English litera-

<sup>1</sup> *Revue des Etudes rabelaisiennes*, I (1903), 1 ff.; 217 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *The French Renaissance in England*, New York, 1910, 161 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *French Influence in English Literature*, New York, 1908, Ch. V.

ture.<sup>4</sup> Some prior references to Gargantua are not to be taken as certainly connected with Rabelais.<sup>5</sup> Earlier than the *Almond for a Parrot* passage, however, is the following sentence from *The Praise of Nothing* (1585), by 'E. D.', probably Sir Edward Dyer: "The rest which are delighted in the study hereof, I refer to the macheronicall phantasies of Merlinus Cocaius, and sleepeie *Phantasmata* of Francois Rabilois, men greatly traueled in this business."<sup>6</sup> And earlier yet is a passage in Simon Patericke's Epistle Dedicatory to his translation (1577) of Gentillet's treatise against Machiavelli: "For then Sathan being a disguised person among the French in the likeness of a merry ieaster acted a Comoedie, but shortly ensued a woefull Tragedie." Eduard Meyer takes this as a reference to Rabelais.<sup>7</sup> Both these citations are characteristically oblivious of Rabelais the humanist, associating him as they do with burlesque writing and diabolical jest.

Somewhat as in the passage from 'E. D.', Rabelais later has a place in a conventional list of burlesque encomia such as is often given in works of this kind.<sup>8</sup> Upham discusses at length the possibility of the influence of Rabelais upon John Taylor, the Water Poet, and cites many instances of his use of the name Gargantua. Once, it may be added, Taylor does mention Rabelais by name.

Old Homer wrot of  
Frogges and Mice,  
And Rablaies wrot of  
Nittes and Lice  
And Virgill of  
A Flye.<sup>9</sup>

This passage, it must be admitted, is not calculated to convince us that Taylor knew much of Rabelais at first hand.

We look in vain for an early English defence of Rabelais. Gabriel Harvey once mentions him in a favorable context, in a note

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Nashe, *Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, London, n. d., III, 341.

<sup>5</sup> Upham, *op. cit.*, 225.

<sup>6</sup> Sir Edward Dyer, *The Writings in Prose and Verse*, ed. A. B. Grosart, Fuller's Worthies Library, 1872, 114.

<sup>7</sup> *Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama*, Weimar, 1897, 20.

<sup>8</sup> For such lists, cf. McKerrow's note in Nashe, *Works*, IV, 389, and also John Taylor, *Works Comprised in the Folio Edition of 1630*, Spenser Society, 1869, 545-46.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, 364.

which probably dates about 1579: "Placent lepida; valent seria; florent animosa et magnifica ingenia. Qualia ipsius Quintiliani, Vallae, Fortij, Lutheri, Smithi, Rami, talium perpaucorum. Huc etiam Ferdinandus Corduba, Agrippa, Morus, Paracelsus, Floravantus, Aretinus, Rabelaesius, Machiavellus, Gandinus, Cosmopolita, Bartasius."<sup>10</sup> Another note—"Panurge, a cuccu"—probably indicates that at this time Harvey had some first-hand knowledge of Rabelais.<sup>11</sup> Later Harvey, in condemning Nashe, condemns Aretine and "Rabelays" also.<sup>12</sup> Sir John Harington braves public opinion by imitating the worst parts of Rabelais, but this he does without venturing on a defence of his master.<sup>13</sup> In the *Apology* prefixed to his notorious *Metamorphoses of Ajax* a busybody is represented as reporting to Harington the comment of "M. Zoilus, M. Momus, and three or four more good natured gentlemen of the same crew," when they first looked at his book. "When they found *Rabbles* named, then they were at home; they looked for pure stuff when he was cited for an author."<sup>14</sup> Later Rabelais is accused of being "a condemned Atheist by the last council of Trent,"<sup>15</sup> and this accusation is repeated by Thomas Lodge. "Hire him to write a comedie, he is as arrant an Atheist as Rabelais in his Pantagruel."<sup>16</sup>

The group of borrowings from Rabelais in the interlude *Lingua* deserves special consideration. The author, probably John Tomkins or Tomkis,<sup>17</sup> shows himself familiar not only with the name of Rabelais but with some details from his work. The name occurs in the following speech of the Vice Mendacio: "I helped Herodotus to pen some part of his 'Muses;' lent Pliny ink to write his history; rounded Rabelais in the ear, when he historified Pantagruel."<sup>18</sup> And a little later on he gives a list of romances:

<sup>10</sup> *Marginalia*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith, Stratford, 1913, 119.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, 139. Cf. Rabelais, Book III, chs. 9 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Lee, *op. cit.*, 161.

<sup>13</sup> There is a dissertation by G. Rehfeld, *Sir John Harington, ein Nachahmer Rabelais*, Halle a. S., 1914. This I have not seen.

<sup>14</sup> *The Metamorphoses of Ajax*, reprinted, Chiswick, 1814, 4.

<sup>15</sup> *Ulysses upon Ajax*, reprinted, Chiswick, 1814, 13.

<sup>16</sup> *Wit's Miserie and the World's Madnesse* (1596). Thomas Lodge, *Complete Works*, IV, Hunterian Club, XLVII, 71.

<sup>17</sup> F. E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642*, Boston, 1908, II, 70.

<sup>18</sup> Hazlitt's Dodsley, IX, 365.



"But for the 'Mirror of Knighthood,' 'Bevis of Southampton,' 'Palmerin of England,' 'Amadis of Gaul,' 'Huon de Bordeaux,' 'Sir Guy of Warwick,' 'Martin Marprelate,' 'Robin Hood,' 'Gargantua,' 'Gerileon,' and a thousand such exquisite monuments as these, no doubt but they breathe in my breath up and down."<sup>19</sup> Here for once the folk-book Gargantua is unmistakably distinguished from Rabelais's own work.<sup>20</sup> In Actus Tertius, Scaena Quinta, Lingua makes a speech in which Latin, Greek, Italian, French, and English words are mixed. The following comment on this speech may be reminiscent of the episode of the frozen words in Rabelais IV, chs. 55 and 56: "I am persuaded these same language-makers have the very quality of cold in their wit, that freezeth all heterogeneous languages together, congealing English tin, Grecian gold, Roman latten all in a lump."<sup>21</sup> In Actus Quartus, Scaena Quarta, the character Tobacco enters, talking unintelligible gibberish, and we are reminded of the speeches in foreign tongues which Panurge makes when he first meets Pantagruel (II, ch. 9). It is certain that the author of *Lingua* had this episode in mind here, for just as Epistemon says in commenting on Panurge's second speech, "Je croy que c'est langage des antipodes," so Phantastes says after Tobacco's first speech, "Ha, ha, ha, ha! this, in my opinion, is the tongue of the Antipodes."<sup>22</sup> In Actus Tertius, Scaena Quinta, the remark occurs, "In hell they say Alexander is no better than a cobbler,"<sup>23</sup> and this goes back to the first item in Epistemon's Lucianic account of the occupations of great heroes in the lower world: "Car je veis Alexandre le Grand qui repetassoit de vieilles chausses, et ainsi guaignoit sa pauvre vie" (II, ch. 30). Perhaps the English translator confused *chausses* and *chaussure*. Trivial as these instances are, they are more precise than most of the Elizabethan traces of Rabelais.

<sup>19</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>20</sup> Sometimes Gargantua seems to mean Rabelais's Gargantua, as in the English *Wagner Book* of 1594, where we read of "his courser so firme, nimble ioynted, tall and large, such a one as might have been the son of Gargantua's mare." Quoted by A. E. Richards, *The English Wagner Book of 1594, PMLA.*, xxiv (1909), 32. Cf. Rabelais, I, ch. 16.

<sup>21</sup> Dodsley, IX, 393.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 421.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 396.

Although Mr. W. F. Smith speaks of the author of *Lingua* as an extensive borrower from Rabelais,<sup>24</sup> it is the exactness rather than the extent of his borrowings that is remarkable.

The perplexing question of Thomas Nashe's relation to Rabelais remains unsettled. Mr. R. B. McKerrow, whose thorough editing of Nashe gives his opinion much weight, has not been able to find a clear case of borrowing from Rabelais in his author, and doubts the influence,<sup>25</sup> although Upham, Lee, and Whibley are convinced of Nashe's discipleship, as is W. F. Smith in his recent book.<sup>26</sup> McKerrow rightly insists that parallelisms in style count for practically nothing in determining this question, and for sheer lack of evidence we must reluctantly accept his negative conclusions. Some passages in Rabelais may certainly be used to illustrate Nashe. Thus Nashe writes about ways of sleeping in order to dream true, and among other methods mentions sleeping under a laurel tree.<sup>27</sup> McKerrow says, "I can give no contemporary references to these superstitions."<sup>28</sup> In this case it should be noted that Panurge, when he is seeking a true dream, suggests putting under his pillow some branches of laurel (III, ch. 13). Again, Nashe says: ". . . Like the French-men wee shall fight valiantly at the first, but quaille in the midst;"<sup>29</sup> and Rabelais: "Seigneur, telle est la nature et complexion des François que ilz ne valent que à la première pointe. Lors ilz sont pires que des diables; mais, s'ilz sejourment, ilz sont moins que femmes" (I, ch. 48). When Nashe calls the father of Orion "Hireus"<sup>30</sup> his editor remarks: "Hyreus is correct, but the error may well be Nashe's."<sup>31</sup> Rabelais also has "Hireus" (III, ch. 17).

But the parallels fail to accumulate. When Nashe launches forth on such subjects as the praise of drinking, in *Summer's Last Will and Testament*,<sup>32</sup> or the dispraise of lawyers, in *Lenten Stuffe*,<sup>33</sup> he has every inducement to draw heavily on the material offered by the humor and erudition of Rabelais, and the fact that there are no extensive borrowings creates a strong presumption that there are none at all.

<sup>24</sup> *Rabelais in his Writings*, Cambridge, 1918, 218.

<sup>25</sup> Nashe, *Works*, ed. McKerrow, v, 128 ff.

<sup>26</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>27</sup> *Works*, III, 61.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 332.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 128.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 253.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 428.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 264 ff.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 214 ff.

There is little ground, then, for Lee's remark that "the popular association of Coryat with Rabelais shows how Rabelais' English reputation grew after Nashe had confirmed its footing."<sup>34</sup> The seventeenth century references gathered by Lee and Upham fail to show any material increase in the prestige or influence of Rabelais. Burton's references are uniformly slighting.<sup>35</sup> Some of the evidence suggests that he was read in the original French rather than in an English translation. His works were in the library which Drummond of Hawthornden had collected by 1611.<sup>36</sup> Just as Howell bequeaths his knowledge of French to a lady, "and it may help her something to understand Rabelais,"<sup>37</sup> so Sir Thomas Browne remarks of the *langue d'oc*: "Without some knowledge herein you cannot exactly understand the Works of Rablais."<sup>38</sup> Even after Urquhart's translation appeared in 1653 we can find such erroneous ideas as appear in the commendatory verses signed 'N. D.', addressed to Richard Head, and prefixed to the First Part of his *English Rogue* (1665):

Guzman, Lazaro, Buscon, and Francion,  
Till thou appear'dst did shine as at high Noon.  
Thy Book's now extant; those that judge of Wit,  
Say, They and Rablais too fall short of it.<sup>39</sup>

It appears, then, that most English writers from 1553 to 1653 were like Hazlitt's common-place critic, who "speaks of Boccaccio as a very licentious writer, and thinks the wit in Rabelais quite extravagant, though he never read either of them."

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<sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.*, 165.

<sup>35</sup> *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part I, Sec. II, Mem. II., Subs. II, and Mem. IV, Subs. IV; Part III, Sect. IV, Mem. II, Subs. I.

<sup>36</sup> *Poetical Works*, ed. L. E. Kastner, Manchester, 1913, I, xviii.

<sup>37</sup> Upham, *op. cit.*, 261.

<sup>38</sup> *Works*, ed. Charles Sayle, Edinburgh, 1907, III, 320.

<sup>39</sup> Quoted by Frank Wadleigh Chandler, *The Literature of Roguery*, Boston, 1907, I, 212.



## CHAUCEUR'S CHEERFUL CYNICISM

Be not to rakel ('rash') though thou sitte warme  
For if thou be, certayn, it wol thee harme.

*Troilus and Criseyde.*

Like Kipling's god, Chaucer was always on the side of the big battalions. He was, though no democrat, always with the majority. His ultimate convictions were those for which a heavy vote would be cast in any barracks, hotel lobby, or Rotary Club. They were such as no man ever had to die for. He believed that it is agreeable to be comfortable. He believed that sense pleasures are delightful. He believed that the inevitable must be accepted—his nearest approach to heroism. And he believed that acquiescence in status and non-committal deference towards prevalent ideals insures the fullest possible harmony of pleasure and comfort. Besides he believed that skillful and melodious poetry is a harmless and enchanting recreation, and for the poet the worthy occupation of all his highest powers. Such was Chaucer's faith.

Now the creative production of Chaucer is enchanting. Its music is charming and not often cloying, varied and not often unnatural, delicate yet very masculine. His painting of the spectacle of life is multiform, rich, clear, and brilliant. And his retelling of old tales animates them and hitches them on by hook or crook to every man's experience.

And so Chaucer's poems are more than recreation. Few are the English poets who have observed our world at once as sensitively and sanely. Few were able to understand so much, and rarely miss the humor. Accidentally and in defiance of his creed, he is ever and again displaying a fragment of the real through a rent in the apparent, holding up the wished to the outdoor light of the experienced, with a modest wink of tragic mirth. And at such times he is unqualifiedly great.

But Chaucer shrank from the responsibility of greatness. He strove to save himself and others from the pangs of thought.

Had his own profound reflections forced him to conclude that human nature is immutable, that vanity is the essence of experience and consequently that a wise man could do no more than tolerate and try to cheer his fellows? Such would be an almost holy cynicism.

Or was he so exclusively the artist that meaning and value were irrelevant for him? So would say his more infatuated pious apologists.

The unbiased, modern moralist would say that Chaucer simply didn't have the nerve to think things through! He perceived, but the price of interpretation was too great for him to pay. With the catholicity of a commercial traveler he chose to live and let live, he who could have done so much to help men to live well. Nothing short of courage proportionate to his observation, imagination, and ear could have enabled Chaucer to be a leader for his age and race. The world bitterly needed a man whose sense of fact would widen his lips to an ironic smile when the fanatic's face grew long, whose warm participation in our common nature would enable him to fully sympathize, and who none the less could in an age of rampant cynicism ponder out a few limited beliefs on which to base a fuller life. But it had to wait for Shakespeare. For Chaucer lacked that daring for all his manliness. And so he was a benevolent and cheerful cynic.

Chaucer was, in other words, a man of the world, worldly. For him, of course, as for all of us in our failures there were adequate reasons. His was the rare temperament and intelligence which admirably perceives how much there is to be said on both sides of every question. His was the extraordinary sympathy which could express the sentiments attendant on credulity he did not share. The faith in supernatural intervention could scarcely be more beautifully uttered than in the stanzas in *The Man of Law's Tale* from which the following lines are taken:

Men mighten asken why she was not slayn? .

And I answer to that demaunde agayn,  
Who saved Daniel in the horrible cave,

No wight but god, that he bar in his herte.

With such a gift of imaginative sympathy the encouragement was insidious to rest content with mere expression, as many readers suppose that Shakespeare did. And it is perfectly natural that he should not make the requisite exertion, painful for such a balanced mind, to think out preferences. Probably he had to be a cynic since he couldn't be a hero.

Besides, how could Chaucer have been a free spirit? He was sold out to aristocracy, chivalry, and artificiality before his

apparently slow-maturing mind had approached discretion. When he was about seventeen years old he was already one of the uniformed embodiments of "conspicuous waste" for the royal family, as his father had been before him. About the time he was twenty-seven he was granted the first of two life-pensions, as one of the valets of the king's household. And what valet was ever other than a cynic?

From 1368 to the end of his life Chaucer's fortune was more or less completely dependent on the favor of the ambitious and intriguing John of Gaunt. The *Complaint of Mars*, *Troilus and Criseyde* and *The Book of the Duchess* were probably all written at his behest. *The Parlement of Foules* was written in symbolic flattery of the match between Richard II and Anne, and *The Legend of Good Women* was most likely written in repayment for the privilege Chaucer had just received at the hands of that queen of securing a permanent deputy to earn his salary as Comptroller of the Wool Customs and of the Petty Customs. How could a man, however great a genius, think bravely and write with unfettered honesty who was the constant holder of government sinecures so varied in kind that he could not have been qualified for all, the recipient of daily pitchers and annual tuns of wine and the beneficiary of pensions often called for in advance? Certainly Chaucer relied on proved intellectual loyalty, not honesty, when in the last fragment he is known to have written, the Envoy to *The Complaint to His Empty Purse*, he unequivocally implored Henry IV, the "verray King" late supplanter of Richard II to "have minde upon (his) supplicacioun!" The words to his purse in that poem, "beth hevy ageyn, or elles mot I dye!" are indisputably humorous, but equally they are a tragic demand for the price of his moral independence.

Perhaps this inference from Chaucer's life would seem arbitrary and extreme if the same whimsical postponement of moral values to consideration of safety, comfort and pleasure did not appear in his poems. At any rate readers might be completely excused for ignoring it. But what can one think—if he perversely *will* think when he is reading diverting stories and charming poetry—when he finds Chaucer constantly assuming that the most interesting people are members of royal families, or at the very lowest, knights, and always treating churls with good natured condescension as individuals, with contempt as a group? For



Chaucer quotes Dante quite beautifully in *The Wife of Bath's Tale* to the effect that one should take "for the grettest gentil man" him who is the "most vertuous alway," inasmuch as "genterye is not annexed to possessioun."

The only thing he can think is that Chaucer had the insight to understand and intellectually approve the greater poet's conception of true gentility but lacked the prejudice-flouting courage to validate that belief. He might have done so, for instance, by putting into the mouth of the poor parson a thoroughly lively, interesting story full of the kind of observation such a man would have had superb opportunities to make, and of the sober but invigorating humor which we have to assume in him in order to credit his existence.

If Chaucer had deeply believed that nobility was an affair of character he would not have allowed the fact that the revolutionists burned his patron's palace to prevent him from giving any consideration to their just protests except what is implied in his scornful allusion to the tumult stirred by "Jakke Straw and his meynce."

How could the observer who saw that the fundamental difference between a great general and an "outlaw" is merely one of the magnitude of his depredations and the number of his murders seriously present the knight-mercenary as "verray parfit?" He could because his perceptions were not more dynamic than his prudence. For Chaucer resembled the good-natured cynical Host, who warned the manciple not to be too severe in his strictures on the cook lest sometime the cook, in vengeance, expose his business tricks. He set up no exalted standard by which to measure his characters, because he did not enjoy having ideals and practice too searchingly compared. He wanted to be thought to approve of goodness as goodness. But he made no attempt to conceal his feeling that goodness was the specialty of a group set apart. The good were those who took his advice,

Flee fro the prees, and dwell with sothfastnesse,  
Suffyce unto thy good, though hit be smal.

This world being hopelessly evil from their point of view they were advised not to attempt realizing their ideals on earth;

Tempest thee nought al croked to redresse,  
In trust of hir that turneth as a bal.

They had their choice between participation in life and goodness, add they were welcome to their reward. The other alternative included wickedness not too disreputable, revealed only after it was too late for disgrace, and common sense and fun. As for him that was his choice. He attempted no synthesis of intelligence and goodness, despite his active humor. ?

\* That is why his good people are so mawkishly other-worldly. In the *Physician's Tale* he tells us that Virginia often feigned sickness in order to get out of going to parties "wher lykly was to treten of folye." And Constance, though she too is a liar, always prefers goodness for its own sake to happiness. Arviragus compels his wife, the doubly doting Dorigen, to keep her adulterous promise because pledges must be kept. And the poor parson, who is, with Chaucer's obvious connivance, a bore in the eyes of the host and the pilgrims, preaches prolixly, as he frowns upon mere entertainment. And in the course of his disquisition he warns husbands not to love their wives too much, and bids them ignore their sex except for breeding purposes. ?

Chaucer's own ideas about love are in the *Canturbury Tales* entrusted to the vulgar personages in whose force and bluntness he exults with the delight characteristic of a timid and cynical man. He comes near to being honest where his contemporaries would least expect to find his own opinions, in the *Prologue to the Wife of Bath's Tale*. By overlaying his protest against the ideal of celibacy with the tawdry sensuality of the gross sexualist, he saves himself from a committal.

But he expresses the ascetic ideal he despised with a frequency perhaps calculated to take the place of earnestness. He unctuously relates the ridiculous tale of Cecelia who married with a fixed determination to remain a virgin. He himself joins, by more than one hymn, in the popular Mariolatry of his day. And his depiction in *The Prioress's Tale* of the little chorister who always knelt before the wayside figures of the Virgin and who was killed, before adolescence, sweetly still a virgin, has brought pathetic tenderness to the breasts of sentimental cynics in our day.

Chaucer's conception of sex is diabolically cynical. Only a silly reader, of course, would protest against the medieval indecencies of the tales he vouchsafes permission to skip. Any man who was neither prudish nor prurient would chuckle at them, and note with amusement their superior naturalness, and strength

and delicacy of characterization. But it is not necessary to stop with the remark that Chaucer rejoiced in life and was not repelled by any of its obvious manifestations however naked. The further observation may be made that when he tells of the phenomena pertaining exclusively to passion he is exuberant, sympathetic, and convincing. He knew all about the love that sometimes passes in a month. He wished—and he was then in his warmest though weakest mood—that it might last forever, “cerclen hertes alle,” and never inflict a lasting injury. “Allas! alas! that ever love was sin,” he exclaimed with the lascivious wife of Bath. But without excepting the idealized lust of *Troilus and Criseyde*, exclusively bodily love was the only variety Chaucer understood. In some poems, to be sure, the negligee of courtly adoration, lamentations, swooning and reticence about speaking the beloved’s name is made use of to conceal the flesh. But nothing else but flesh is ever sought or found.

Chaucer plainly believed that for gentle people love must seem spiritual and beautiful and mysterious, but that for all men it was essentially a transitory sport. The horrifying satire of Tolstoi’s “Kreuzer Sonata” is perfectly appropriate to Chaucer’s idealized love. With so cynical a conception of love, such obliviousness of the possibility of love which embraces the entire being and by affection links periods of passion and endures beyond them, it is not to be wondered at that Chaucer’s usual presentation of marriage was sardonic. His own marriage seems to have been in conformity with, if not one determinant of, his cynical attitude. For the best evidence indicates that it was thru his wife Phillipa, one of the Ladies of the Chamber to Queen Phillipa, that he maintained influence with John of Gaunt. If, as seems likely, Phillipa Chaucer was the sister of John’s mistress and later wife, Chaucer’s calculations are intelligible.

Chaucer’s religious cynicism, however, cannot be charged to the too early-waking Phillipa. He consistently pretended that orthodoxy must be sound in spite of his unusual penetration into the mystery of evil, and his fantastic interest in such problems of scholastic theology as the compatibility of foreknowledge and free will. With the decorum familiar at funerals, he regularly paid his own respects to dogmas which were, so far as he saw or cared, defunct. An occasional wink behind his handkerchief in-



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 dicated to the worldly that all would be as usual following the ceremony. The pious were meanwhile cheerfully deceived by endless sanctimonious extracts from Boethius and the church fathers.

His complacent satire on worldly and parasite ecclesiastics might seem an exhibition of passionate interest in justice and truth modified by a genial, catholic humor were it not for the fact that such satire was so familiar in his time, and so unquestionably warranted, that it was altogether safe. No "clerk" was in a position to cut down Chaucer's pensions.

Similarly his irony always treats foibles universally and cheerfully conceded: stupidity, credulity, extravagance, boastfulness, marital unhappiness, plain fraud. Seldom does Chaucer expose the subtler forms of pretence and self-deception, and he is never quite fearless in his irony. Is all this because he was primarily an artist, not a philosopher and moralist? Well, the artist who "rekketh not of what matere he take" thereby declares himself indifferent to fundamental values. Moreover for an artist who possessed insight and imagination such that he discerned the fatuity of "colors of rhetoryk" continually to invoke Greek divinities, to make unstinted use of apostrophe, to avail himself of countless traditional superlatives and absurd verbal inversions; in short to exercise so little discrimination in the employment of contemporary paraphernalia was for him to fail in boldness.

What indeed but essential cynicism, the supine refusal to be guided by courageous, honest thought, prevented Chaucer from beholding nature, since he professed to love it so, elsewhere than in gardens, and in forms other than flowers white and red and "foules" nearly always "smales"? He never deliberately violated anything less important than his own conscience.

To break through prized conventions, question traditions, and laugh at powerful fraud might not have been quite pleasant. And Chaucer was a cheerful cynic.

He is so plesant unto every man  
 (For craft is al, who-so that do it can)  
 That every wight is fayn to speke him good.

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## REVIEWS

*Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* von FRIEDRICH KLUGE. Neunte durchgesehene Auflage. Berlin und Leipzig 1921, Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger Walter de Gruyter & Co. xvi + 519 pp. Boards, M. 40.

Forty years have elapsed since the appearance of the first edition of this handbook, indispensable to those seeking a concise statement concerning the derivation and first appearance of a German word. The successive editions of the *Wörterbuch* are the milestones of German philology, the records of its progress during the preceding lustrum. On the whole, the contributions of the last few years have been neither numerous nor striking. Kluge's own *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung* was discontinued in 1914, and no successor of this repository of lexicographic and linguistic research has as yet appeared. Much material has presumably remained unpublished, or else it has been deflected into local publications, difficult of access. And the restrictive effects of the war must not be left unmentioned, which even now make foreign periodicals practically inaccessible to the German scholar. It was to be expected, therefore, that the present edition would not be of much larger bulk than its immediate predecessor (1915). As a matter of fact, the paging of the two editions is identical in the first half of the book. Even here, however, revisions and additions have been made, space for new matter being gained by the excision of superfluous details in other articles.

The following corrections are based almost exclusively on unpublished or recently published studies. They are accordingly not meant to be a criticism of the present edition, but rather a contribution towards the succeeding one, which will doubtless be necessary within the next few years:<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations have been used:

Blankenb.: *Quellen zur Rechts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der rheinischen Städte*. Bergische Städte II: Blankenberg, bearb. von E. Kaeber; Deutz, bearb. von B. Hirschfeld. Bonn, 1911.

Bunge: *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, hrsg. von F. G. v. Bunge, Reval, 1853 ff.

Cod. Lus.: *Codex diplomaticus Lusatiae superioris II*, enthaltend

**Admiral** "etwa . . . um 1550 . . . eingebürgert": a document dated 1427 refers to "sechs amrals adir houbtschiffe" (Bunge, VII, 435). The other use of the word, as a French military title, occurs still earlier: "der emeral von Franckenrich" (*Baseler Chron.* v, 128, written about 1403). Cf. *MLN.* xxxiv, 264, where early instances of the spellings *amaral*, *amoral*, and *ammiral* are cited. The additional forms *amirald* and *amiraul* occur in documents of the year 1476 (*Ochsenbein*, pp. 367, 373).

Urkunden des Oberlausitzer Hussitenkrieges hrsg. von R. Jecht, 2 Bde., Görlitz, 1896-1904.

DWb.: *Deutsches Wörterbuch* von J. Grimm und W. Grimm, Leipzig, 1854 ff.

Eidgen. Absch.: *Die eidgenössischen Abschiede aus dem Zeitraum von 1421 bis 1477*, hrsg. von A. Ph. v. Segesser, Lucern, 1863.

Fontes austr.: *Fontes rerum austriacarum*, II. Abt., Wien, 1855 ff.

Jahrb.: *Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte*, Zürich, 1876 ff.

JEGP.: *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 1897 ff.

Klingenb.: *Klingenberger Chronik*, hrsg. von A. Henne, Gotha, 1861.

Monum.: *Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*. Cracovie, 1874 ff.

Neuss: *Quellen zur Rechts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der rheinischen Städte*. Kurkölnische Städte I: Neuss, bearb. von F. Lau, Bonn, 1911.

N. Laus. Mag.: *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin*, Görlitz.

Ochsenbein: *Die Urkunden der Belagerung u. Schlacht von Murten*, Freiburg, 1876.

PMLA.: *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*.

Publ.: *Publikationen aus den K. preussischen Staatsarchiven*, Leipzig, 1878 ff.

Schilling: *Diebold Schilling's, des Lucerners, Schweizerchronik*, Lucern, 1862.

Schiner: *Korrespondenz u. Akten zur Geschichte des Kardinals Matth. Schiner*, hrsg. von A. Büchi. 1. Bd., Basel, 1920 (Quellen z. schweiz. Gesch. N. F. III. Abt. Bd. 5.)

Script. Lus.: *Scriptores rerum lusaticarum*, N. F. Görlitz, 1839-1870.

Script. Pruss.: *Scriptores rerum prussicarum*, Leipzig, 1861 ff.

Script. Siles.: *Scriptores rerum silesiacarum*, Breslau, 1835 ff.

Schw. Gesch.: *Der schweizerische Geschichtsforscher*, Bern, 1812 ff.

Segesser: *Die Beziehungen der Schweizer zu Mathias Corvinus, König von Ungern in den Jahren 1476-1490*, von A. Ph. v. Segesser, Lucern, 1860.

Trier: *Quellen zur Rechts- u. Wirtschaftsgeschichte der rheinischen Städte*. Kurtrierische Städte I: Trier, hrsg. von F. Rudolphi. Bonn, 1915.

Unterfr.: *Archiv des historischen Vereins von Unterfranken u. Aschaffenburg*.

Zimm. Chron.: *Zimmerische Chronik*, hrsg. von K. A. Barak, 2. Aufl. Freiburg, 1881-82.



**Advokat** "Ende des 15. Jahrhs. bereits üblich": the word is in frequent use during the entire fifteenth century, and may even be cited from a letter dated 1392. Most of the earlier documents in question were written at Rome, and show, in addition to cases where the regular Latin inflection appears, the nom. sing. *advocate* and *advocates*:

Und der selbe advocate in des ordins sache gar getruwelich erbeitet (*Bunge*, III, 682: 1392). des ordens advocates ist dor bei gewest . . . Und der von Cur fragete dornoch den advocaten, als mir der advocates selber gesagt hat (v, 407: 1408). sante her zu unserm advocat einen boten . . . Unser advocat lies mich dies wissen (p. 664: 1420). nach rate unsers advocati (p. 665). unsirs ordens advocat sprach . . . unser advocatus und ich . . . Unser advocat sprach . . . Unser advocat verclarte . . . mit iren advocaten . . . mit unserm advocato . . . (pp. 737 ff.: 1421).

**Alarm** "Entlehnung geschah im 16. Jahrh." Justinger's *Berner-Chronik*, written about 1420, in referring to an event of the year 1388, reads: do wurdent die frömden bogner der hut (= *Hinterhalt*) gewar und schruwen alerm: do kerten sich die soldner von bern umb. (ed. Studer, 1870, p. 175).

**Arsenal** "um 1550." In *MLN*. xxxiv, 265 may be found two instances, spelled *arszinal* and *arsinal*, from a letter of the year 1509.

**Artillerie** "durch das ganze 16. Jahrh." In *MLN*. xxxiv, 416 are quoted instances dating as far back as 1475, in the spellings *artelrie*, *attelrie*, *artallary*, and *erkerei*.

**Aschermittwoch** "vereinzelt im 16. Jahrh." In *JEGP*. xix, 510 f., I have shown that this form is the regular development from a plural *ascher*, instead of *aschen*. Instances of the compound *aschermittwoch* occur as early as 1469, and the gender is now masculine, now feminine. The spelling *eschmittwoch* (1475) is also found.

**ausstaffieren** "das einfache staffieren begegnet schon 1564." The following instances are considerably earlier: mit . . . hand-roren, stelenbogen woll staffiret (*Script. Pruss.* v, 475: 1516). mit gutten hauptstucken . . . gestaffiret (p. 532: 1520). einen wol staffirten fusknecht (*Script. Lus.* iv, 371: 1538). also staffirt (p. 373).

**Barbier, Balbier**, are respectively described as "erst fröhnd." and "im 16. Jahrh." The following earlier forms may be of interest: dem barbirer, *Cod. Lus.* II, 1, 386, lines 33, 37 (1427); Cuncze barbirer, II, 2, 316 (1432); Meister Cunrado barbirer, p. 397 (1432); balbirer, *Script. Siles.* VI, 12 (1421); den barbir, *Fontes austr.* XLII, 326 (1461); parbieren (d. pl.), *Segesser*, p. 104 (1493). Even the feminine form may be cited: Nickel scherer der barbirerynne manne *Cod. Lus.* II, 2, 69 (1429); scherer der barbirerynne man, p. 305 (1431).

**Böhhnase** 'Pfuscher': an additional synonym is *Ferkenstecher*, occurring as early as 1575 in the regulations of the Tailors' Guild at Neuss: Im fall aber so fremde schroder, die das amt nit, wie obgesetzt, gewonnen, in einem werk in der burger heuseren befunden wurden das verken zu stechen, *Neuss*, p. 253: soll jederm einen ferkenstecher unverweigerlich . . . anzusetzen frei stehen (p. 254). Similarly, in the regulations, dated 1731, of the Tailors' Guild at Deutz: Wan sonst die Gesellen von den Meistern abgehen und vor sich selbst arbeiten würden, auch fremde also genante Ferkestecher und Bunhasen atrapirt werden, *Blankenb.* p. 245.

**Degen**<sup>2</sup>: Kluge's earliest instance is dated 1472. Instances dating as far back as 1400, and mostly from outlying eastern districts, may be found in *MLN.* xxxv, 408 f., where also the form *tatersche dangen* is recorded. Additional instances from western sections are: ein messer oder einen degen, *Trier*, p. 421 (1460); rök, swert, tegen, schilt vnd was dar zuo gehort, *Klingenb.* p. 247 (event of ca. 1437); ein welscher degen, *Ochsenbein*, p. 554 (1476); des hertzogen von Burgund tägen, *Schilling*, p. 78.

**Dolch** is cited from the year 1536. The following instance, dated 1509, is further of interest in that it points to the Dutch *dol, dolle* as its source: kocher, eunkfas, metzer, degen und dulle, *Neuss*, p. 185.

**Felleisen**: an unrecorded early variant (1473) is *fellus*: iglicher III pferd und sie alle ein fellus, *Publ.* LIX, 516.

**Flotte** "findet sich im Ndd. seit etwa 1400, im Hochd. seit Anfang des 17. Jahrh." *MLN.* xxxiv, 263 I have cited Low German instances dated 1368, and High German ones (*Flotta*) from the latter part of the sixteenth. These, as Kluge correctly points out, are due to the influence of the Italian (or, perhaps,

Spanish). Of even greater interest are the forms *Flut* (1507) and *Flosse* (1427, 1466), as showing the attempt of High or Middle German authors to adapt the word to their dialect. The native term, moreover, was not so much *Schiffszeug*, but *Schiffung*, abundantly instanced by both Lexer and Grimm.

**Fundgrube:** an instance antedating those cited by Kluge and Lexer is: und verleihen in auch die ersten fundgrub derselben erczt, *Font. austr.* II, 47 (1454).

**Futtermal:** the Latin progenitor of this form may be cited from a document dated 1390: pro IIII futralibus supra balistas, *Monum.* xv, 47. The forms *futrum* (n. s.), *futra* (ac. pl.), *futrorum*, and *futris* occur on pp. 161-170.

**Garnison** occurs as early as 1481: cf. *MLN.* xxxiv, 257.

**General:** for early instances, cf. *MLN.* xxxiv, 258. To these may be added: das der landtvogt von Dijon mit einem General hie ligt, *Jahrb.* xxxix, 191\* (1498).

**Geschwader:** an instance antedating those of Kluge is given *MLN.* xxxiv, 417. Another early one is from the Peasants' War: etliche geschwader reuter, *Unterfr.* II, 145 (1525).

**Grippe:** cf. *JEGP*, xix, 513.

**Halunke:** cf. *MLN.* xxxv, 405.

**Horde**<sup>1</sup>: an instance a century older than Kluge's is given *MLN.* xxxv, 408.

**Jacht:** "zuerst ndl. bei Kilian 1599 *jaghte* 'kleines, schnelles Schiff'; als hd, zuerst 1668." The word may be cited, however, from a contemporary account of an event of 1523: x schöne schiffe und eine jacht, und das ameralesboth, *Script. Pruss.* v, 534.

**Jacke:** cf. *MLN.* xxxv, 411.

**Kamerad:** Instead of 1638, this word may be cited from a *Zeitung* of the year 1564: Ausz Wien einem Kamerath inn Speir warhafftig zugeschrieben; cf. *MLN.* xxxiv, 261.

**katzbalgen:** Kluge quotes the expression *im Katzbalg liegen* from the year 1524, and the *DWb.* has a number of other instances from the sixteenth century. In a slightly different locution of the fifteenth century, *Katzbalg* seems to refer to some part of the soldiers' equipment (*pocket, sheath, scabbard?*): das verkomen wurde die vppigen kleider, deszglichen die tägen, so die xellen (*Gessellen*) im katzbalg tragen, vnd die Swert mit den halbscheiden, *Eidgen. Absch.* III, 1, 411 (1492). *Tägen*, at this period,



does not mean 'sword,' but 'dagger.' Just how *Katzbalg* passed over into the figurative use (*im Katzbalg liegen*) I am unable to trace: I can, however, point out an exactly similar transfer in the case of *Armbrust*, 'crossbow': das wir nit yemerdar mit yederman im Armbrost lägen (i. e., *mit ihm gespannt sein*), *Schw. Gesch.*, III, 261 (1514). solt man weiter wie biszher beschehen, im armbrost liegen, den feind nit hindersich dringen, *PMLA.* XXXIV, 156 (1551). lag nit lang im armbrost, *Zimm. Chron.* II, 534. In these latter instances the meaning is 'to hesitate.' The *DWb.* cites a similar instance from Lehmann (1640), without defining the phrase.

**Kellner:** in their comment on the secondary form *Keller*, lexicographers fail to note that this was the form used by Goethe—the *DWb.* even states: "die form gilt nämlich noch am Rhein, in Frankfurt," without mentioning Frankfurt's most illustrious son. *Keller*, for example, occurs repeatedly in *Die Mitschuldigen*, in all the genuine editions down to 1806 incl., and was only replaced by *Kellner* in the publisher's reprint of that year, whence it passed into the later editions (cf. *MLN.* XXVI, 133 ff.). As the dictionaries quote only the later editions, all trace of the earlier genuine form has been obliterated.

**Kürass:** an early variant, not noted by lexicographers, is *korbisser*: worn vil mit korbisser gar wol gerüstet, *Font. austr.* XLII, 304 (1460). The word was, of course, confused with *Kürbis*, 'pumpkin.'

**Lakai:** for a discussion of this word, with early instances, cf. *MLN.* XXXIV, 411. A variant form *luckey* occurs three times in *N. Laus. Mag.* LXXVIII, 157 (1594).

**Leutnant:** "im Anfang des 16. Jahrhs. auftretend." A variant form *Lüttiner*, occurring as early as 1481, is discussed *MLN.* XXXIV, 261. Other early instances of this form may be found in *Schilling*, p. 224; *Jahrb.* XXI, 186; XXXIX, 231; *Schw. Gesch.* I, 244.

**Lunte:** an unrecorded variant is *lombte*: mit musketen, . . . krauth, loth, zindstricken, lombten und dergl. *Trier*, p. 139 (1593).

**Mappe,** 'Landkarte,' is to be derived from the Latin *mappa mundi* rather than from the French *mappemonde*. The Latin

word occurs in a German letter from Rome, dated 1421: uns . . . weisete ein gemolit tuch inr gleichnisse einer mappe mundi, *Monum.* xii, 119.

**Matrose** is first cited from the year 1616. An unrecorded earlier form is *Martolose*, which is closer to the French *matelots* than the modern German word: 200 knecht . . . 1000 martolosenn, seint auch zu fuesz, *Script. Lusat.* iv, 389 (1541).

**Nift:** m. 'Enkel': under *Nichte*, Kluge discusses OHG. *nift*, MHG. *niftel*, fem., but neither he nor any other lexicographer seems to know a masculine form *nift*, 'Enkel.' This occurs in a letter from Witold of Lithuania to the Grandmaster of the Teutonic Order, under date of 1429: als des herrn grossfurste von Moskaw, unsers niftes, und ander grossen herczogen, *Monum.* vi, 820. The meaning 'grandson' is assured by another reference (p. 774) to the same individual as the son of Witold's daughter.

**parieren**<sup>2</sup>, 'parry,' is cited as of the year 1642. And yet the expression occurs in a MS. of the year 1443; namely, Hans Talhoffer's compilation of Lichtenauer's *Fechtbuch*: cf. Hergsell, *Die Fechtkunst im XV. u. XVI. Jh.*, Prag, 1896, p. 428.

**Pistole:** Kluge still adheres to the view that this word is derived from the name of the Italian city of Pistoja, whereas Meyer-Lübke, in his *Roman. Etymol. Wbch.*, definitely derives the Romance words for 'pistol' from the German, the ultimate source being Czechish *pist'al*, "doch fehlt die historische Begründung dieser Auffassung." The etymology adopted by Meyer-Lübke goes back to K. Strekelj (1894), who, in turn, alludes to it as *die alte Ansicht*. In the *JHU. Circular*, 1920, pp. 674-676, I arrived at this etymology quite independently of Strekelj, and also furnished the *historische Begründung*, based on Silesian historical documents of the years 1421-1429, connected with the Hussite Wars. Here the word *pisschulle*, *pischol*, *piszczal* occurs as the name of a fire-arm, presumably a *Handbüchse*: Summa summarum der bochsen, 20 grosse bochsen, domete man mawren fellen mag, 300 tarrassteinbüchsen, 2000 pisschullen. eyn wenig pulffer und vier pischczaln. rechte sere schoss mit büchsen, pischn, etc. The clue to the etymology is found in still another passage: czwu adir dry steynbuchsen vnd pulver vnd steyne, dorczu eyne notdorfft, vnd ouch pfeiffen vnd hawfenicz. These *pfeiffen* were evidently a sort of fire-arm,

for *hawfenicz* is the modern *Haubitze*. Now the Bohemian equivalent of 'Pfeife' is *pistal*, which appears in Polish as *piszczalka*, approximating one of the spellings found above. It is evident that some German writers took over the Bohemian term bodily, while others, knowing its fundamental meaning, translated it by *Pfeife*, just as *Rohr*, *Handrohr* was used to designate a gun. Two additional instances may be quoted here: *bochssin zu gyssen, pyscheln und tarraschbochsin*, *Cod. Lus.* II, 1, 491 (Görlitz, 1428); *vier pischalen*, *Publ.* XVI, 280 (Breslau, 1469).

**Profoss**, cited from the year 1561, occurs as early as the Peasants' War (1525): *nemlich der profoss, zentbutel und ein metzler*, *Unterfr.* XXXVI, 83. *hauptleut, profossen, keller und dergl. gewalthabere*, *Unterfr.* II, 157.

**Römer**, 'Weinglas,' "im 16. Jahrh." The following instance antedates those in the dictionaries: *etlige roemer, de do zobrochen worden*, *Neuss*, p. 393 (1501).

**Säbel**: for early instances, including the form *schebel*, cf. *MLN.* XXXV, 409.

**Schlappe**<sup>2</sup>: the earliest instance in the military sense is probably the following: *hat Keis. Majt . . . den Franzosen ein grossen schlappen geben, da gefangen oder umbkomen sind . . .* *Schiner*, p. 257 (1513).

**strangulieren**: "zuerst . . . 1566 belegt und nach Frisch 1741 eigtl. nur vom Erdrosseln der Türken gebraucht." The latter statement is controverted by the following early instances, taken from Creutznacher's Diary of the Diet of Augsburg, 1547: *Donnerstags 24. Novembris . . . wardt ein Italianer strangulirt vnd gefürtheillt vmb das er mit furiren falszheit getrieben . . . Am 21. Decembris ist ain Neapolitaner strangulirt vnd gefürtheillt wordenn, umb das er ain Niderlendischen Balbirer helfen ermorden*, *Unterfr.* XLVII, 313, 315.

**Taffet**, "Lehnwort des 16. Jahrhs." See *MLN.* XXXV, 412 for earlier instances.

**Trabant**: in the sense of 'foot-soldier' the word occurs frequently in Lusatian documents concerning the Hussite Wars, the date of the earliest one being 1431. Cf. *Cod. Lus.* II, Vol. 2, pp. 216, 269, 276, 346, 537, 558, 579, 582, 601.

**tribulieren**: "seit 1520 . . . belegt." *der bischof von Com-myn tribulieret die unsern gar vast*, *Publ.* LXVII, 245 (1476).



**Truppen:** instead of making its first appearance in 1617, this word occurs as early as 1474, during the siege of Neuss: cf. *MLN.* XXXIV, 258.

**Tüttel** "erst nhd." The following is from a letter of Elector Albrecht Achilles, dated 3. Jan. 1474: So geen wir auch eins tutels nicht weyter, dann wie die schrift innen wird halten, *Font. austr.* XLVI, 252.

**Uriasbrief:** the following is a century earlier than the examples cited by Kluge: also das er nit Orias brief gefurt hat, *Publ.* LXVII, 206 (1476).

**verplempern:** as compounds of this stem are cited only for NHG., the following instance, dated 1430, may be of interest: durch mancher mengunge vnd plemperey wille, dy durch weybir vnd logenhafftige speyer pflegit czu geschen, *Monum.* VII, 415.

**vexieren:** Kluge cites an instance of the year 1553. Cf.: der Jersik ist widergekorth keyn Prage vnd wil vns mühen vnd vexiren, *Font. austr.* XX, 530 (1468). das nieman den andern bedorfft fragen oder fexieren, ob er Frantzosisch oder Römisch küngisch wäre, *Schilling*, p. 183 (15th cent.).

**Vice-** "im 16. Jahrh." An additional compound, and antedating those cited, is that with *Kanzler*: der vitzcanceler von Osterreich, *Font. austr.* XLII, 175 (1455).

**Wallach** "um 1550 im Nhd. auftretend." Cf.: do dem pfarrer das pferdt eyñ walach gestoleñ wardt, *Script. Pruss.* v, 295 (ca. 1497).

W. KURRELMAYER.

*Poetic Origins and the Ballad.* By LOUISE POUND. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1921.

The late Professor F. B. Gummere, "wearing all that weight of learning lightly like a flower," expounded with great charm and persuasiveness an elaborate theory concerning the origin and nature of primitive poetry. The nearest representative of primitive poetry in English is found in the older folk-songs, the popular ballads, traditional story-songs of unknown authorship. Gummere first set forth his views concerning the ballad in the Introduction to his *Old English Ballads* (Ginn, 1894). In *The Beginnings of Poetry*

(Macmillan, 1901), he treated "the rise of poetry as a social institution." He found the source of primitive poetry in the communal dance. He even believed in actual communal authorship, a hard saying. "The ballad is a song made in the dance, and so by the dance... the communal dance... is the real source of the song" (p. 321). This, of course, cannot mean an actual thinking in concert by a throng, but a process of improvisation in which many take part on some theme of immediate interest. Professor G. L. Kittredge visualizes the process thus: "Different members of the throng, one after another, may chant each his verse, composed on the spur of the moment, and the sum of these various contributions makes a song. This is communal composition, though each verse, taken by itself, is the work of an individual."<sup>1</sup>

In *The Popular Ballad* (Houghton, 1907), not to mention some separate articles, Gummere restated his general position, and classified and discussed most helpfully the body of English ballad-poetry in Child's great collection.

Professor Louise Pound<sup>2</sup> opposes squarely the views of Gummere and his followers. Miss Pound holds that among the most primitive peoples we find individual authorship of songs. She cites in proof of her position clear-cut evidence concerning certain tribes of North American Indians, also the case of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, called in Lippincott's *Gazetteer* "as degraded savages as any in the world." These cases are a very cogent appeal to a contemporaneous antiquity for evidence upon this disputed

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to the one-vol. edition of *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Houghton, 1904, p. xix.

<sup>2</sup> I note here a few corrections. Professor Beers and Mr. Sharp sometimes lose a middle initial, and Professor Gummere gets a wrong one. Mr. Newell's statement about *Barbara Allen* (p. 53) concerned *New England*. See his *Games and Songs of American Children*, Harper, 2d ed., 1903, p. 78. The title of Lady Gomme's collection is *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (p. 58). What is the *Pepys Manuscript* (89)? *The Bitter Withy* and *The Holy Well* (172) are not in the Child collection. *The Wreck of the Lady Elgin (Lost on the Lady Elgin)* was written by Henry C. Work (212). *Silver Jack* (229) was printed by Lomax, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xxviii, 9-10. The tramp song (230) is in the same article, p. 4. The passage from Andrew Lang (235) is taken, with minor inaccuracies, from his article on "Ballads" in the ninth ed. of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Compare the phrase quoted on p. 107. "Refrains" in the index should have many more references.

point. Mr. John Robert Moore has called attention to similar evidence about the Melanesians; he cites also the Fijians, "scarce fifty years out of cannibalism."<sup>3</sup> Gummere, on the contrary, makes much of the Botocudos of South America, of whom a Dr. Ehrenreich tells us that they make, while dancing, "short improvised songs. . . . They never sing without dancing, never dance without singing, and have but one word to express both song and dance."<sup>4</sup>

Miss Pound also calls attention to the fact that the songs which we now find associated with the dance are of an entirely different type from the ballads.

Gummere recognizes fully that his theory cannot be established in a direct, positive way. He thinks that we can trace a "curve of evolution" that points back to communal conditions for primitive poetry, and even to communal authorship. That definite proof of this theory is impossible he suggests by prefixing to *The Beginnings of Poetry* two lines from Chaucer:

I ne have no text of it, as I suppose,  
But I shal fynde it in a maner glose.

The student who has followed carefully Gummere's many engaging expositions of his theory will wish to add one more line from Chaucer:

Glosinge is a ful glorious thing, certeyn.

Gummere looks upon the frequent presence of a refrain in ballads and that peculiarity of style which he calls incremental repetition as pointing back directly to communal conditions, to the singing, dancing throng of primitive society. "The refrain is an organic part of the ballad . . . It establishes beyond all doubt the lyric and choral origins."<sup>5</sup> "The refrain is not a development but a survival."<sup>6</sup> Miss Pound opposes these positions. She notes that "refrains appear very abundantly in the later pieces and in broadsides" (77). For example, I have observed that three-fourths of the published texts of the American ballad "*Springfield Mountain*" have a refrain, usually a meaningless jingle of musical syllables. Also, modern ballads frequently offer marked examples of

<sup>3</sup> *The Modern Language Review*, Oct., 1916, p. 391.

<sup>4</sup> *The Beginnings of Poetry*, pp. 95-96.

<sup>5</sup> *The Popular Ballad*, p. 73.

<sup>6</sup> *The Beginnings of Poetry*, p. 257.



incremental repetition (122-123). *Progressive repetition* seems to me a better term for this feature.

Miss Pound insists, against Gummere and others, that ballad-making is not "a closed account," except for those who arbitrarily close the account by ignoring ballads of more recent origin.

Much was made by Gummere of the choral singing and dancing of ballads by the Faroe islanders. He thought this "combination of dance and song" to be "of a far more primitive type than sundry laborious dances of savage tribes who are assumed to be quite primitive in their culture."<sup>7</sup> In 1906 Mr. Hjalmar Thuren published a careful study of the ballads of the Faroe Islands, which I know only in the summary of Professor Arthur Beatty. According to Beatty's report of Thuren's conclusions, "the *tunes* are derived from the Protestant hymn books," the dances were an importation from France. "The dance and lyric refrains developed in France, . . . were carried to the Scandinavian countries and there developed the ballad . . . In the Scandinavian countries this took place about 1100, very soon after that in England, in Germany about 1200, in Spain about 1400, in Italy about the same date, while France had to wait until the latter half of the fifteenth century for anything which can be called a ballad."<sup>8</sup> In 1907 Gummere thought that "the ballad genesis," as he understood this genesis, "is more plainly proved for the Faroes than for any other modern people."<sup>9</sup>

If improvisation is natural to primitive peoples, and if tradition sometimes improves what is entrusted to it, then our older ballads, or some of them, may well have developed from simpler forms that preceded them, although it may be impossible to prove this.

We have already spoken of improvisation among the primitive Botocudos. "The persistence of the habit [of improvisation by groups] among civilized peoples in modern times," says Professor Kittredge, "is a matter of common knowledge. In the Faroe Islands, a few generations ago, it was common for a group to surround some fisherman who had been unlucky, or had otherwise laid himself open to ridicule, and to improvise a song about him, each contributing his verse or stanza. In the Russian cigarette factories, the girls who roll the cigarettes amuse themselves, while at work,

<sup>7</sup> *The Beginnings of Poetry*, p. 19.

<sup>8</sup> *PMLA*. XXIX (1914), pp. 491-93.

<sup>9</sup> *The Popular Ballad*, p. 69 n.

by composing songs about each other in a similar way. . . . Everybody has heard children engaged in the communal composition of satirical rhymes."<sup>10</sup>

It is an interesting fact that Mrs. Mary Root Kern, more than twenty years ago, guided different groups of children, from six to twelve years of age, in the University of Chicago Elementary School, in the oral group-composition of songs, both the words and the accompanying melodies. The little ones dearly loved these songs of their own making. Mrs. Kern tells me that the evident fitness of the children for such work together suggested the experiment to her. The words and music of a number of the songs and an account of the experiment appeared in *The Elementary School Record*, Chicago, 1900 (now out of print).

Can a story-song improve in the course of oral tradition? Miss Pound looks upon this as highly improbable. A ballad is for her, practically, a poem by an individual author which has experienced more or less corruption in the course of transmission. Now, whether it begin with communal or individual creation, communal re-creation is an essential element in the life of a ballad. Gummere speaks of "the refining and ennobling process of tradition" as a possibility.<sup>11</sup> For Miss Pound, "The crudity and the unliterary quality increase with the lapse of time, and by popular preservation" (116). In general she recognizes only "the degenerative effects of oral preservation" (198). But is there any explanation of the high quality of the older English ballads, especially those embodying popular superstitions, except that tradition has exerted upon them a helpful influence? If tradition is only a corrupting agency, why are those ballads the best that have been the longest subjected to it? A writer in the *Weekly Springfield Republican* for Oct. 8, 1908, says: "There can be no doubt that the first men who attempted to work into rhyme the local events of their countryside in either Scotland or England were crude yokels, and it was not until their verses had been repeated from sire to son down several centuries, until they had been filtered, as it were, through many better minds than those of the authors, that the flaws were eliminated and the folk songs as we know them now had emerged." A few of these expressions may be questioned, but there is some truth here.

<sup>10</sup> Introduction to one-vol. ed. of *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, pp. xix-xx.

<sup>11</sup> *The Popular Ballad*, p. 76.

In Mr. Cecil J. Sharp's remarkable book, *English Folk-Song, Some Conclusions*, London, Novello, 1907, the chapter on "Evolution" tells us that "the conception of evolution involves the three principles of *continuity*, *variation*, and *selection*" (p. 16). He is thinking primarily of the melodies, but believes that the words and the air develop in much the same way. "The second principle, *Variation*, creates the material which renders development possible. . . . Change may produce growth, or it may be sterile; or, again, it may lead to corruption" (29). Mr. Sharp found two gifted folk-singers who introduced into their melodies half-unconscious variations, "many of them of great beauty" (23). Singers with poetical gifts would naturally vary the language, whether consciously or not, and some of these changes might persist. Changes are inevitable in songs preserved by memory.

"The function of the third principle, *Selection*," says Mr. Sharp, "is to ensure that variation shall, in certain cases, result in organic growth and development" (29). The part of the community is "to weigh, sift, and select from the mass of individual suggestions those which most accurately express the popular taste and the popular ideal; to reject the rest; and then, when more variations are produced, to repeat the process once more, and again once more. The process goes on unceasingly while the ballad lives" (31).

Is tradition, even at the present day, always an unfavorable influence? Near the close of 1814, Charles Miner, of Wilkesbarre, Penn., published an original ballad of twenty-two stanzas concerning the recent execution of James Bird, who was charged with desertion.<sup>12</sup> The poem passed into tradition. It was a favorite song in the neighborhood of Lake Erie, and was cherished as a vivid bit of local history. I hope to print soon in *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* a traditional version recently obtained. It reproduces Mr. Miner's poem, stanza for stanza, with remarkable accuracy. The line of the original "Here will Bird his cutlass ply" has been replaced by the less appropriate words "Ne'er will Bird his colors fly." The other changes in the phrasing are slight; they seem to me on the whole to be improvements on the author's text.

<sup>12</sup> The original text of *James Bird* is reprinted in *Charles Miner*, 1780-1865, by Charles F. and Elizabeth Miner Richardson, Wilkes-Barre, Penn., 1916, pp. 68-71. A copy is in The Newberry Library, Chicago.



Miss Pound offers an affirmative theory of her own as to the origin of our English ballads. She points out that a number of our earliest ballad texts are on religious subjects, the oldest of all being *Judas* (No. 23 in Child) from a manuscript of the thirteenth century. Accordingly she makes the following interesting suggestion: "The ballad, like the religious carols and the miracle plays and a great mass of ecclesiastical lyrics and narrative poetry, might be a part of that great mediæval movement to popularize for edifying reasons biblical characters and tales, a movement having its first impulse in the festival occasions of the church. Then, again like the drama, it passes from ecclesiastical hands, with edification the purpose, into secular hands, with the underlying purpose of entertainment." Later, "the religious material, having historically initial place, became submerged and ultimately well-nigh lost to view" (166-167).

In reviewing Gummere's book *The Popular Ballad*,<sup>13</sup> Professor H. M. Belden pointed out that the views there set forth would make it hard to explain the origin of the excellent ballad *Mary Hamilton* (No. 173 in Child), which must have been composed after 1563. His objections would not hold against the more guarded statement of Professor Kittredge: "We have described the characteristic method of ballad authorship as improvisation in the presence of a sympathetic company which may even, at times, participate in the process. Such a description is in general warranted by the evidence; and though it cannot be proved for any of the English and Scottish ballads, is not improbable for some of them. . . . Even if none of our ballads were composed in this way, still many of them conform to a type which was established under the conditions of authorship referred to."<sup>14</sup>

All the king's horses and all the king's men cannot put the question of ballad-origins back where it was before the appearance of Miss Pound's book. Her sharp challenge of widely accepted views is supported by a wealth of definite evidence and able reasoning that cannot be ignored. She is to be warmly congratulated.

Because we feel the force of Miss Pound's book, must we reject entirely the opposing views? Like Gummere, Miss Pound seems

<sup>13</sup> *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, VIII, 114-27.

<sup>14</sup> Introduction to one-vol. ed. of *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, p. xxvii.

to be trying to establish universal propositions. Universal propositions are dangerous.\* Perhaps Kipling had this very controversy about ballad-origins partly in mind when he said with extreme catholicity:

There are nine and sixty ways of constructing tribal lays,  
And—every—single—one—of—them—is—right.

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*Aucassin und Nicolette. Kritischer Text mit Paradigmen und Glossar, von HERMANN SUCHIER. Neunte Auflage, bearbeitet von Walther Suchier. Paderborn, 1921.*

The ninth edition of Hermann Suchier's *Aucassin und Nicolette*, from the hand of Walther Suchier, is far less prepossessing in appearance than the eighth edition, the last published by the original editor before his death. The printing is not bad,<sup>1</sup> but the paper is lamentably unworthy, and the necessity of economising space even on this "field-grey" product makes the text look far less attractive than in the 1913 volume. But the importance of the additional material and the changes made fully justify the new editor's publication, despite the result of post-war conditions upon its material aspect.

In the text itself we note—and welcome—a return to the MS. reading<sup>2</sup> in many cases where the eighth edition, in spite of protests made by earlier critics, still showed many unnecessary "emendations." All Hermann Suchier's worst alterations have been done away with,<sup>3</sup> but there are still a few minor instances in which the

<sup>1</sup> Only two misprints are apparent, both in the text: "al apar" (20, 5) should read "ala par," and "ent" (28, 7) should read "en."

<sup>2</sup> The original MS. being, of course, unavailable to the present reviewer, he has used for purposes of comparison throughout Bourdillon's facsimile (Oxford, 1896).

<sup>3</sup> In making these changes the editor was apparently influenced by the suggestions (offered, it must be noted, with some unnecessary sarcasm) of F. W. Bourdillon's recent edition *Aucassin et Nicolette*, Manchester, 1919; but he makes no mention of having seen or heard of it.

MS. itself is quite as intelligible as the commentator, and is therefore infinitely more desirable. In spite of his extended discussion the editor has by no means fully justified the alterations of the last words in the verse passages 1, 3, 5, 9, 15, and 27. The changes are plausible, but quite unnecessary; they should at least be relegated to footnotes. We may cite further: (a) "bones" (2, 15) where the MS. "bone," fem. sing., is preferable; (b) "... ou trois, et que je l'aroie une fois baisie? Ce m'eustes vos en covent" (10, 51 ff.), where "ou trois? Et que je l'aroie une fois baisie m'eustes vos en covent" is equally intelligible and leaves the MS. reading intact; (c) the addition of "sous" after "vint" (24, 65), where the sense, from the preceding speech, is clear without it; (d) the change of "vint" (24, 86), which hardly seems an improvement; and so on. We note also that the emendation "Or" for "Ce" (4, 17) is still retained, doubtless on the basis of Rudolf Dockhorn's analysis (*Zur Textkritik von Aucassin und Nicolette*, Halle, 1913; pp. 64 ff.). "Or gardez vous," it is true, allows one to regard "vous" as reflexive object of the imperative, the common construction, while "Ce gardez vous" would make it the subject, or else indicate an indicative used as imperative. Yet even if Dockhorn be right, and the seemingly parallel "Or ne quidez vous" have not imperative but interrogative force, awkward and unnatural as it is if taken so, we still cannot prove the expression of the subject with the imperative to be impossible for the twelfth or the thirteenth century. "Be careful!" is the correct English imperative to-day, and probably the only form to be found in good literary use. But the thirtieth century critic will be in error if, finding an odd instance of "You be careful!" in an early twentieth century work, he emends it to "Be careful!" because "the subject pronoun was not in use with the imperative" in English!

Furthermore, a return to the spellings of the MS. is also in several cases desirable. The printing of "plourers" (13, 9), "doublier" (9, 7), "coururent" (34, 11), etc. for the MS. "plurers," "dublier," "cururent," seems unnecessary. It does not even lead to uniformity, for the editor preserves elsewhere the readings with "o" (e. g. "plorer" 7, 9; 13, 21; "ploroit" 40, 39; etc.). The MS. shows the sound *û* represented in all of the three ways common in Old French: *u*, *o*, and *ou*; and there seems to be no good reason against letting them stand. Similarly the MS.



"ml't" (4, 20 and *passim*) were surely better printed "molt" than "mout"; and "9", the abbreviation for "con," when followed by "m" or "n" should be "conm," "conn" not "com," "con," especially as "conmenca" (24, 88), "conmanda" (28, 15), etc. occur spelled thus in full, though the full spelling with one nasal is more common. Again, we see no valid reason for a departure from the usual custom of leaving intact a MS. confusion between "an" and "en." So "center" (12, 6), "santi" (16, 21), "enfent" (28, 18), etc. need never have been changed. But these and one or two other such points are after all of small importance. The text in general is a decided improvement on that of the eighth edition.

The linguistic appendix is practically unchanged, as also the paradigms; though the latter show one addition, the adjectival declensions having previously been omitted, and some minor alterations in the verb scheme. The inclusion of these tables, all easily accessible in any Old French Grammar, seems something of an impertinence, and we could wish that the necessary economy of space had been effected by omitting these nineteen paradigm pages rather than by crowding up the text. There have been several additions made to the Notes, and one most regrettable omission: the note on 1, 2, which contained a discussion of the MS. reading "viel antif," emended by Hermann Suchier to "duel caitif." This gives an easy reading, but not that of the MS. The omission of any reference to Alfred Schulze's significant observations on this point (*Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen*, CII, 224) or to the brief but enlightening discussion in the note of the previous edition is a serious mistake. Mention may also be made here of the fact that the editor purposely gives no bibliography; this is the more regrettable as the multiplication of footnote references and citations ultimately grows confusing.

The most noteworthy feature of the present edition is the long introductory section devoted to the sources of the story. Of especial interest is the classification of apparent Arabic features, superficially most imposing, but on analysis reducible to the barest possibilities. Of all the characteristics said to point to Arabic tradition, there is scarce one that cannot equally well be drawn from contemporary Old French literature. Taking severally all the points tabulated, we have:—(a) Love-sickness. This is, however,

common in all literature, and its presence in Aucassin and Nicolette is hardly an Arabic trait. Mediæval parallels are numerous; the first that comes to our mind is that of Archistrates' daughter in the various versions of the Apollonius of Tyre story. Love melancholy (c), and the thought of dying for love (g) are also hardly to be regarded as Arabic monopolies. (b) Aucassin declares hell would be preferable to heaven if his lady were there. This is certainly not a very Christian trait; but the idea is found in Old French and other European literatures as well as in the Arabic. (See Wilhelm Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, Zweite Auflage, Stuttgart, 1900, pp. 438-9. Suchier quotes the Fourth edition, pp. 437-8.) And (d) Aucassin's joy at the anticipation of a kiss is hardly to be taken as serious evidence of Arabic influence. Again (e) Aucassin's absorption in his passion led to absent-mindedness on the battle-field that was almost fatal. But the Arabs assuredly were not the only absent-minded lovers of the middle ages. The author of the story might just as well have had in mind the distraction and consequent danger of Chrétien de Troyes' Lancelot (*Chevalier de la Charette* 3685-3705, cited in another connection by Suchier himself), as that of some indefinite Arab. (f) A glimpse of Nicolette's leg cured the epileptic pilgrim. For this Suchier admits he can adduce no close Arabic parallel, though he thinks, as some other critics have thought, that it sounds like an Arabic—or at least a heathen—idea. The healing qualities of a beautiful lady's presence, however, were hardly unknown to France. Over a century before, Guilhem IX had written "Per son joy pot malautz sanar"<sup>4</sup>—but the concept was a commonplace. The special details of the incident in Nicolette's case almost seem to suggest an actual occurrence; and it may be that on some occasion when the poet had a slight sickness a similar vision so excited him that his pain was forgotten. The incident superficially seems fantastic, but there is nothing psychologically impossible, or even improbable, about it. (h) The Watchman's song of warning to the lovers. This is found, it is true, as an Arabic lyric motif; but the familiar "Alba" or "Aube"

<sup>4</sup> *Les chansons de Guillaume IX*. A. Jeanroy, Paris, 1913, p. 23. Though the Troubadours were, as Suchier points out, of a very different social standing from the *jongleur* who is likely to have written our poem, the *jongleurs* must surely have been acquainted with some at least of the features of the courtly lyric.

of the occident is very nearly as suggestive of the situation and is far more obvious as an influence. (i) The light shed by the face of Nicolette. This is said to be similar to descriptions found in Arabic poetry, and it is the one feature cited that we cannot immediately parallel in earlier Romance literature, familiar as the idea sounds. It suggests, of course, a common expression of the Church, and might well be taken over from some phase of the mediæval concept of the Blessed Virgin; the emanation of light from saintly figures is frequently mentioned by the early mystics; and a similar phenomenon is not unknown in Celtic literature.

These are all the points tabulated, suggested to the editor by S. Singer's *Arabische und europäische Poesie im Mittelalter* (*Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1918, Philos.-hist. Kl., Nr. 13). Elsewhere he mentions the non-Christian conduct of the unwedded lovers in living together three years in Torelore. But I doubt if this is an act any more Arabic than Mediæval French; they seem at least to have been betrothed, and it might well have been regarded as a "Sponsalia de futuro," which in the middle ages was often held valid as a marriage, the actual wedding ceremony being indefinitely postponed. The use of the terms "fille au roi de Carthage" and "Amuaffle" does not argue for the Arabic theory; since these, the only terms in the work of obviously Arabic suggestion, are both, as Suchier admits, commonplaces of Old French literature. The metrical argument on pages xxvii and xxviii, according to which the seven-syllable verse results from the halving of a fourteen-syllable *basit* line, is undeserving of the space accorded it, for it is admitted that the movement of the Aucassin verse is utterly different from that of the Arabic. Finally, the identification of the name Aucassin with Al Kâsim hardly constitutes a proof. Even if this is the true etymon, names in the middle ages were so freely and so strangely used and abused that they are practically valueless as evidence.

Despite Walther Suchier's assumption of proof, then, the whole question of Arabic influence on the story of Aucassin and Nicolette is still entirely open. The value of the present edition lies (apart from the improvement in its text) in its full presentation of all the source material so far available, including the "Arabic." As yet, however, nothing but possibility is proved. There *may* have been



an Arabic influence on the hypothetical Byzantine romance commonly regarded as the story's source; but this influence is still no more than a surmise.

One other possibility remains, which the scholarly passion for source identification is extremely reluctant to consider. Might not the first version of the story, antedating by some decades the sole manuscript we possess, have been an original composition? Episodes and features of *Floire et Blancheflor*, a point or two from the *Jourdain de Blaivies* story, certain incidents from the *Apollonius* romance, perhaps a suggestion from the earliest *Bueve de Haumtone* and a reminiscence of one or other of the Chrétien stories,—these with who knows what besides from other essential items in the jongleur's répertoire, adding something from such popular tales as were known to him, would be amply sufficient to build up the whole story, even without the use of the wonderfully vivid imagination the author evidently possessed. Such a theory is certainly as plausible as the Arabic idea; the lack of the usual reference to an earlier author strengthens it; and until some definite work comes to light more obviously connected with the story than anything that has as yet been brought forward, it seems to provide at least a satisfactory—and attractive—working hypothesis.

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*Les Femmes Savantes*, by Molière, edited with Introduction and Notes by C. H. C. Wright, Professor of the French Language and Literature at Harvard University. New York, Oxford University Press, 1920. xiii + 144 pp.

In this new edition of *Les Femmes savantes*, we find an excellent presentation of the text of the play, together with a brief introduction and notes. The text followed is the standard one of the *Grands Ecrivains français*, edited by Despois and Mesnard. To the text have been added the directions for the production of the play followed by the *Comédie française*. These directions are taken from the *Edition de la Comédie française* by Georges Baillet, who played the rôle of Clitandre for some thirty odd years. It is the presentation of these directions to the American student which constitutes the sole novelty of Professor Wright's edition.

The introduction is well written and pleasant to read, but far too short to give more than a passing glimpse of the comedy's value as a literary production or of its place in Molière's work. The notes are adequate in so far as they elucidate linguistic obscurities and their explanations of literary references are correct; it could hardly be otherwise in the case of a text subjected to so much previous commentation. We might wish a somewhat fuller citation of parallel and explanatory passages from other writers in an edition which must often be used by students not in reach of a library of French literature. There is no vocabulary.

Taken altogether, Professor Wright's edition of the *Femmes savantes* is carefully prepared and offers sufficient material for a clear understanding of the play by a student whose work on Molière is supplemented by abundant outside reading or by a good course of lectures by a competent teacher. To the writer, however, it seems unfortunate that a new edition of Molière's greatest comedy of manners, and especially one by so competent an authority as Professor Wright, should not have an exhaustive introduction which would interpret to the student in the twentieth century the interesting life of the French salon in the seventeenth. I am aware, from personal experience, that the American publisher bitterly begrudges the space so required, yet if this new edition is to do more than fill the gap in the Oxford Series of French texts, only such an introduction would justify its publication.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### THE DISJUNCTIVE POSSESSIVE

The logical possessive of the personal pronoun which, postponed to a place of emphasis, becomes a sort of disjunctive possessive, or emphatic material genitive, has since Jack London's book, *White Fang*, been made a literary fad by his multitudinous imitators. This "the-clay-of-him" genitive<sup>1</sup> is differentiated from the ordinary

<sup>1</sup> *White Fang* contains some twenty examples of this construction, three of which are as follows: "The clay of him was so moulded." "The clay of him had been so moulded in the making." "They were his environment, these men, and they were moulding the clay of him into a more ferocious thing than had been intended by nature." Cf. the normal possessive variant: "It was another evidence of the plasticity of his clay."

possessive in that it denotes corporeal or soul essence. The modern novelist in his effort to describe the most inherent quality is practically sure to use it. This idiom is, however, archaic and poetic; and in its earlier manifestations quite respectable.

"All men may see the skull of him."—Malory, *Morte d'Arthur*, xxi, 2. "Fetch thou the corpse of her, and bury her by her husband the noble king Arthur."—*Ibid.*, xxi, 10. "He will not be afraid of their voice, nor abase himself for the noise of them."—*Isa.*, 31, 4. "The chief quality of Burns is the sincerity of him."—Carlyle, *Heroes and Hero Worship*. "The primrose is forever nothing else than itself—a little flower, apprehended in the very plain and leafy fact of it."—Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, III, 12. "He is tender to impression at the surface, but there is too much mass of him to be moved."—*Ibid.*

For they do, all, dear women young and old,  
Upon the heads of them bear notably  
This badge of soul and body in repose.

Browning, *Turf and Towers*.

He revived all usages thoroughly worn-out,  
The souls of them fumed-forth, the hearts of them torn-out.

Browning, *Flight of the Duchess*.

The Man had something in the look of him.

Browning, *An Epistle*.

This construction is conversational also: "Oh! King of Glory!" says I, "hear the pride and ungratitude of her!"—Edgeworth, *Castle Rackrent*. "Ah! blessings on the old red cloak of him."—Scott, *St. Ronan's Well*.

It is different from the demonstrative-personal used as the antecedent of a relative, as in:

Then I heard the voice of her to whom  
Coming thro' heaven . . . the Gods . . . rise up for reverence.

Tennyson, *Oenone*.

It is different also from the normal objective genitive, as in: "They have often wished . . . that he lived a thousand miles off from them; his company, his words, yea the sight of him did terrify and afflict them sore."—Bunyan, *The Holy War*.

This very-clay-of-him construction may be followed *ad nauseam* among the chronologers of the psychological moment and the chroniclers of sex-stuff. "She was the daughter of a lumber-jack and woodcraft was bred into the very fiber of her."—*Sat. Ev. Post*, July 29, 1916. "The helplessness and littleness of her, the warm breath of her, the pressure of her lithe body against his, the tug of her clinging soft arms . . ."—*Sat. Ev. Post*, Dec. 23, 1916. "His heart leaped in response to the pluck of her."—*Good House-keeping*, May 1917. "Jerry admitted that he supposed so; and then he looked over at the bonny winsomeness, the wholesome com-



pletteness, and the altogether desirableness of her, and sighed."—Tom P. Morgan (*C. Gent.*, Mar. 12, 1921). "By this hand in his Jean felt more than ever the loneliness of her." "Here in her quivering throat was the weakness of her, the evidence of her sex."—Zane Grey, (*C. Gent.*, May 28, 1921). "The look of her and that kiss—they've gone hard with me."—Zane Grey (*C. Gent.*, June 11, 1921).

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### BALE'S *Kynge Johan*

In a note on 'Bale's *Kynge Johan* and *The Troublesome Raigne*' in *Modern Language Notes* for January, 1921, Mrs. Martin Le Boutillier makes the surprising assertion that 'The source for both was Holinshed's *Chronicles*.' Since Bale died in 1563 and Holinshed's work did not appear till 1577 the suggestion is on the face of it rather improbable, and the further fact that Bale's play was in existence in some form before 1549 (when he mentioned it in his *Scriptorum Summarium*), whereas Holinshed or rather Wolfe did not begin the *Chronicle* till about 1548 (see *D. N. B.*), puts it practically out of the question.

*Kynge Johan* and the *Troublesome Reign* appear to follow in common a Protestant tradition and it is of course conceivable that there may be a closer connection between them. But it seems on general grounds very unlikely that the anonymous author should have been acquainted with Bale's manuscript.

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### A NOTE ON SHELLEY, BLAKE, AND MILTON

In his edition of *Alastor*,<sup>1</sup> Beljame remarks on Shelley's "rap-prochements" with Blake, citing, among other evidence, two parallels noted by H. Buxton Forman in his 1892 edition of Shelley. The first contains the words "the waste wilderness";<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Paris, 1900, pp. 85, 117.

<sup>2</sup> *Alastor* 54; Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, p. 26 (ed. of 1790).

<sup>3</sup> *Alastor* 327, Blake, l. c. In *Alastor* the word has sometimes been printed "running."

the second turns on the word "ruining."<sup>3</sup> It is, however, as probable that these expressions came from Milton as that they were borrowed from Blake. Near the beginning of *Paradise Regained* (I, 7) are the words "the waste wilderness," and in *Paradise Lost* we read of the fall of Satan and his host from heaven:

Hell heard th' unsufferable noise, Hell saw  
Heav'n ruining from Heav'n, and would have fled  
Affrighted.

(VI, 867-9.)

Shelley's familiarity with "the sacred Milton," as he calls the earlier poet in the Preface to *Prometheus Unbound*, is so obvious and so often acknowledged as to need no demonstration. This familiarity included *Paradise Regained*, for Dowden says that in the winter of 1814, the year before *Alastor* was written, Shelley in his evening readings "would try his spirit and those of his hearers with the severer beauty of the *Paradise Regained*."<sup>4</sup> Blake's own source, if a source must be found, is probably Milton also.

Beljame accepts as a further indication of Shelley's indebtedness to Blake his use of the theme of the struggle in mid-air between an eagle and a serpent, which appears twice in *Alastor*,<sup>5</sup> and is developed at length in *The Revolt of Islam* (I, viii-xiv). Such a contest is the subject of one of Blake's illustrations. But Shelley may be following the *Iliad*, where we read:

"A bird had appeared to them, an eagle of lofty flight. . . . In its talons it bore a blood-red monstrous snake, alive, and struggling still; yea, not yet had it forgotten the joy of battle, but writhed backward and smote the bird that held it on the breast, beside the neck, and the bird cast it from him down to the earth, in sore pain, and dropped it in the midst of the throng; then with a cry sped away down the gusts of the wind."<sup>6</sup>

Mrs. Shelley<sup>7</sup> tells us that in 1817, the year of the composition of *The Revolt of Islam*, the *Iliad* was part of her husband's reading. *Alastor* is of earlier date, but hardly antedates Shelley's acquaintance with Homer.

These facts suggest that we should be cautious in using similarities as proofs of the influence of one poet on another.

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<sup>4</sup> *Life of Shelley* 1, 472.

<sup>5</sup> Lines 227-32 and 325. In the second passage a vulture replaces the eagle; cf. *Prometheus Unbound* III, i, 72.

<sup>6</sup> XII, 200-7, translation of Lang, Leaf, and Myers.

<sup>7</sup> *The Poems of Shelley, Oxford Edition, Note on Poems of 1817*.

*The Bent Bow*

O whan he came to broken briggs,  
He bent his bow and swam.<sup>1</sup>

In the English and Scottish Popular Ballads, the phrase *bent his bow* has remained a puzzle. It is usually assumed that the "bonny boy" ran with bow in hand. Carrying a weapon, however, would retard the runner; and bending the bow would consume time and valuable energy for one who is to swim dangerous streams. I offer the following explanation.

The word "bow" meant "shoulder" or "upper arm" during the old and middle English periods.<sup>2</sup> The Old English form is *bog* or *boh* with the Old Norse cognate form *bog-r*. An example of the Old English form is found in the first of the *Riddles of the Exeter Book*, in the line,

Donne me se beadcafa bogum bilegde.<sup>3</sup>  
'Then the warlike (one) covered me with his arms.'

In *Morte Arthure* there is listed among the delicacies served at the Round Table,

. . . bowes of wylde bores with the braune lechyde.<sup>4</sup>  
'Shoulders of wild boars with the brawn cut into slices.'

A related word *baug* is used in the same sense by the Norwegians of today.<sup>5</sup>

In a version of the ballad, *Lord Barnard and Little Musgrave*, found in Nova Scotia under the name of *Little Matha Grove*, the line in question reads,

And he bended his brest and he swum.<sup>6</sup>

Although this line does not convey a meaning identical with the one suggested, it is possible that rationalization of the usual form may have taken place. While in modern English *bow* is not used to mean "arm" or "shoulder" in speaking of a man or beast, it is customarily applied to the shoulder of a boat or ship.

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<sup>1</sup> Francis J. Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Vol. II, p. 114. Substantially the same lines occur in Vol. II, pp. 117, 119, 121, 122, 129, 177, 212, 277, 287, 313, 379, 395; Vol. IV, pp. 229, 398.

<sup>2</sup> See *New English Dictionary*, s. v.

<sup>3</sup> *Riddles of the Exeter Book*, ed. by Frederick Tupper, Jr., p. 1, l. 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Morte Arthure*, ed. by Edmund Brock, Early English Text Society, Original Series, No. 8, l. 188.

<sup>5</sup> J. Byrnildsen, *Norsk-Engelsk Ordbog*, Christiania, 1917.

<sup>6</sup> W. R. Mackenzie, *The Quest of the Ballad*, p. 15.



## BRIEF MENTION

*The Battle of the Books in its Historical Setting*, by Anne Elizabeth Burlingame; Introduction by James Harvey Robinson (New York, B. W. Huebsch, 1920, pp. x + 225). This volume and Dr. Jones's essay, noticed in the preceding number of this periodical, are of the same date but altogether independent of each other. The common subject is independently studied with much that is common in purpose, that of showing its reaches back into the history of culture. Two serious expounders of the deeper significance of the 'quarrel' have thus simultaneously been moved to rescue this subject from a superficial judgment more or less general and traditional.

Professor Robinson in a brief Introduction indorses the book with a characterization of its theme, "a long conflict for liberty," the escape from the thralldom of classical literature, "the first great conscious conflict between the Old and the New, . . . the instructive beginning of a process which must in the nature of things go on for a long time to come, until, at last, men's minds may grow really free to accommodate themselves readily and joyfully to the Ever-new." Following the order of the three divisions of the book he epitomizes the successive steps of the "long conflict," keeping the problem comprehensive of all learning until it becomes finally more or less narrowed to "the supremacy of the Ancients in poesy and oratory."

The 'background' of the controversy is now interpreted to embrace the cultural history of the medieval period. A sketch of that history is therefore drawn in the 'Introductory Chapter' (pp. 3-39). After the barest outlines of significant movements, showing appreciative dependence on her authorities, Miss Burlingame enters upon the more direct approaches of the argument by devoting the second half of the chapter to a study chiefly of Erasmus and Montaigne. In his educational theory Erasmus, the self-styled "citizen of the world" had progress in view, but in his conception of progress "its source lay wholly in the ancient past. . . . Sane classical culture, free from taint of sectionalism, must be conjoined with modern life." He lamented secular ignorance and contended for a free Bible; but in consequence of his steadfast look into the past for inspiration, he would have Latin to become a living tongue. He has no inspiring vision of a cultivated vernacular, and "he failed to grasp the significance of science, or to realize that in the fresh observation of nature lay the key to growth" (p. 24).

If Erasmus hoped for the future with his face turned to the past, his distinguished contemporary Vives (whose great learning was generously acknowledged by Erasmus) looked steadfastly into

the future, and regarded the study and cultivation of the vernacular languages in the light of a nation's primary obligation and means of progress. It is also very pertinent to the history of the 'quarrel' to quote his comment on the giant and dwarf figure, which already in his day was somewhat trite: "For it is a false and fond similitude, which some writers adopt, though they think it witty and suitable, that we are, compared with the ancients, as dwarfs upon the shoulders of the giants" (Foster Watson, *Vives: On Education*, Cambridge, 1913, p. cv). Bacon incurred obligations to Vives, and is also supposed by Mr. Watson to have known Robert Ashley's *Interchangeable Course of Things*, 1594, a translation from Louis Le Roy. It contains this characteristic statement: "we ought by our own inventions to augment the doctrine of the Ancients." Miss Burlingame and Dr. Jones have both entirely overlooked Vives, whom Mr. Watson has so competently restored to his rightful place in the history of education.

In spite of an extraordinary training in Latin (nor did the training of the precocious William Wotton secure an inflexible advocate of the classics), Montaigne's educational attitude was peculiarly modern. By nature impatient of pedantry and tolerant of what is free, universal, unpretentious, and non-partisan in life, he was not detached from antiquity, but, accepting it in his light, generalizing manner, gave it a place in the continuous history of human endeavor: "We judge them as we judge ourselves." For him "there is no isolated Past." He re-acted from his own early experience and urged that in education the modern languages should precede the ancient, and approved "the translation of classical works into the vernacular." His modernity was restricted, however, by his disapproval of rendering the Bible "fit for the people's handling by translating it into the vulgar tongue." Modern he was, with reservations instinctively unfavorable to innovations; to him "the reform of the calendar is an irritation," and it is foolish to boast "of the invention of artillery and printing" known "in China a thousand years ago." This last detail illustrates how far Montaigne remained behind Bacon in finding a constructive view of progress; for Bacon declared, "nor do I think that it matters . . . to the business in hand whether the discoveries that shall now be made were long ago known to the Ancients" (p. 203, note 34).

It is broadly defensible to regard the controversy that ultimately evoked Swift's satire as having its roots in medieval philosophy, science, and educational theory, and Miss Burlingame's sketchy review of its assumed early stages cannot but stimulate coherent study of cultural movements. What is lacking in the review will however be perceived to be a reckoning with the concurrent growth and influence of the vernacular literature. But the controversy in its specific character begins not with the first Bacon but rather with the second.

The interval between the two is, of course, fraught with the positive and negative forces that in the end effected a fresh and indomitable attitude to an old subject.

The specific history of the controversy, toward which the way has been paved by the "Introductory Chapter," is now traced in the two principal divisions of the book: "The Scientific Phase," and "The Literary Phase" (in two chapters). It is a specific history with a definite beginning. The time had come for a new formula of progress, a formula that would answer much questioning of preceding generations and provide for more complete intellectual satisfactions. In the words of Miss Burlingame, "The time was ripe for the messenger of this great change. The scientific achievements of Copernicus, of Galileo, of Bruno, of Harvey and Kepler [and why not Gilbert?] had stirred men's blood and given promise of new mastery of physical law. . . . Although the full significance of science had not yet impressed men's minds, its ferment was stimulating their thought. . . . It is Francis Bacon of a truth who becomes the trumpeter of this change; for it is he who first renders articulate the sense of the continuity of life and progress through science, and of man's capacity for advance step by step." Bacon's attitude to the learning of the past (not overlooking his personal limitations) and his confident hope that learning's "third visitation to men . . . will surpass the Greek and Roman learning" is briefly expounded on the basis of extracts from his works.

Galileo belongs to the new order. By experimentation he "weakened the whole Aristotelian system of mechanics," and thus contributed to the criticism of classical tradition. In a public discourse, moreover, he "directly challenged the Schoolman's deference to Aristotle and the ancient written Word," and proclaims an era of Reality to displace the traditional authority of mere Words. His revolt is fully set forth in his *Dialogo*, from the English translation of which (1661) Miss Burlingame gives pertinent extracts. The Italian author's use of his vernacular has also a significance in the controversy. This "scientific phase" of the controversy is next observed at the hands of Descartes and Hobbes. According to the method adopted in this chapter, these philosophers are also allowed to present the salient points of the controversy in their own words. The extracts are well chosen for specific emphasis, and Miss Burlingame's comments are so restrained as not to diminish the force of that emphasis. Altho disclosing nothing new, this survey of one of the most important periods in the history of the mind's attitude to authenticity in knowledge has been made with a freshness of enthusiasm that is communicable to the general student and gives it a recognizable value. Comparing the book with the essay one finds that the same conclusion has been reached by a different selection of witnesses; but it remains a surprise that Miss Burlingame has not



availed herself of Sprat's testimony. Hakewill and Guthkelch (specially important for bibliography) are also names that would have been suggested by Dr. Jones's 'list of books.' In her interpretation of the state of the controversy preceding Temple, Miss Burlingame differs from Dr. Jones in assuming that only "one phase of classical literature remained intact. . . . Poetry and Oratory still reigned." The issue remained more complex than that as is proved by the character of the details maintained in the arguments of the 'literary' quarrel, as Dr. Jones has shown, tho not with all possible completeness.

The second half of the book (pp. 103-195) is devoted to a survey of "The Literary Phase," that aspect of the controversy which is strikingly engaging and in particular respects profoundly significant, even when not completely considered in its long backward reaches. The continuity of the controversy is of course acknowledged in essential agreement with Dr. Jones: "Beginning in England with the more general discussion of Glanvil and Stubbs, it culminated in the famous Battle of the Books between Bentley and Boyle. In France, taking the form of a revolt against the canons of taste established by the French Academy, the contest raged around Perrault and Fontenelle." The national features are distinguished: "In France the movement, although fundamentally the same, had a different surface aspect. . . . Classical standards were absolute. . . . Thus the revolt . . . seems a natural reaction against the tyranny of form" (p. 105). Descartes prepared France to break "the spell of the classics in Philosophy and Science," and yet "when France was repudiating the old authorities in Metaphysics and Physics, she was in Poetry and Oratory placing herself under the dominion of that literary regime designated later as the Classical Era of Louis Fourteenth. The same period which witnessed the foundation of the French Academy of Sciences, saw also the culmination of the work of Boileau, of Racine, of Molière" (p. 155). The national sides of the quarrel now determine the order of the discussion. Temple, Wotton, Bentley, and Swift, are the topics first treated; then follows a division with these titles: "The French Point of View as Compared with the English, Charles Perrault, Fontenelle, Conclusion." The story is familiar and the records are accessible. These facts do not, however, deprive the book of a goodly share of fresh interest, for Miss Burlingame has studied the events with commendable insight and interpretative skill, and her treatise together with the essay by Dr. Jones will lead, one must believe, to a renewal of reflections upon the entire controversy.

In its profoundest significance the controversy is not an historic event now completely detached from educational theory. It involves questions that have continued in dispute and are today considered in re-determinations of the content of the curricula of the schools and in definitions of intellectual culture. The publications of the

U. S. Bureau of Education and the records of the universities and colleges contain the nineteenth century history of the gradual admission of the natural sciences into the courses of higher education, a history which must amaze the present generation. And the educationist is at present, according to temperament, arguing on one or the other side of some form, tho greatly changed in its general aspects, of the old controversy between the ancients and the moderns.

In an obvious sense the controversy under consideration roots in the philosophic tenet that distinguishes science from art and is therefore a constant factor in the problem of progress. Art is relatively static, and attains in its products a certain finality; science is in motion, and attained positions are its stepping-stones. A not very remote analogy to this contrast is in the relation of the essence of the spiritual life to shifting dogma. But the analogy must not be misconstrued so as to obscure the fact that science supplies the elements for progress in art. Not to lose the 'controversy' in abstractions, one perceives on its literary side that the eyes of the classicist could be blinded to the finality of art in whatever age of the world, and that the modernist, in recognizing merit in vernacular productions, did not impugn the endurable qualities in what by their opponents was held to be unapproachably superior.

The limits of this notice exclude even the briefest comment on all the differences of emphasis between the book and the essay thruout the report of the last stage of the controversy. But one must mention Dr. Jones's stronger emphasis on Temple's relation to Burnet,—a cardinal point in his special argument. Moreover, Dr. Jones pays more attention to the temperamental outfit of the disputants,—a factor at all times of more or less determining force in a discussion of this character. And Miss Burlingame alone attempts an adequate reckoning with *A Tale of a Tub*.

In conclusion one point more may be noticed, for it relates to a judgment that is to be questioned. Miss Burlingame presses her argument to an apex in extolling the merits and influence of Swift's satire. Now, satire is an inferior form of literature. It usually attains comic and entertaining effects by caricature, burlesque and ridicule, and that too by a capricious and irresponsible attitude to underlying truths and principles. With these features made prominent it is not a form adapted to a sound philosophic discussion of such problems as were involved in the "controversy," and Swift did not release the form from those less seriously and permanently effective characteristics.

It is to be added that an important volume (agreeing in date with the book and the essay) is now accessible, containing *A Tale of A Tub* and *The Battle of the Books*, together with pertinent pieces, edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Guthkelch and D. Nichol Smith (Clarendon Press).

J. W. B.

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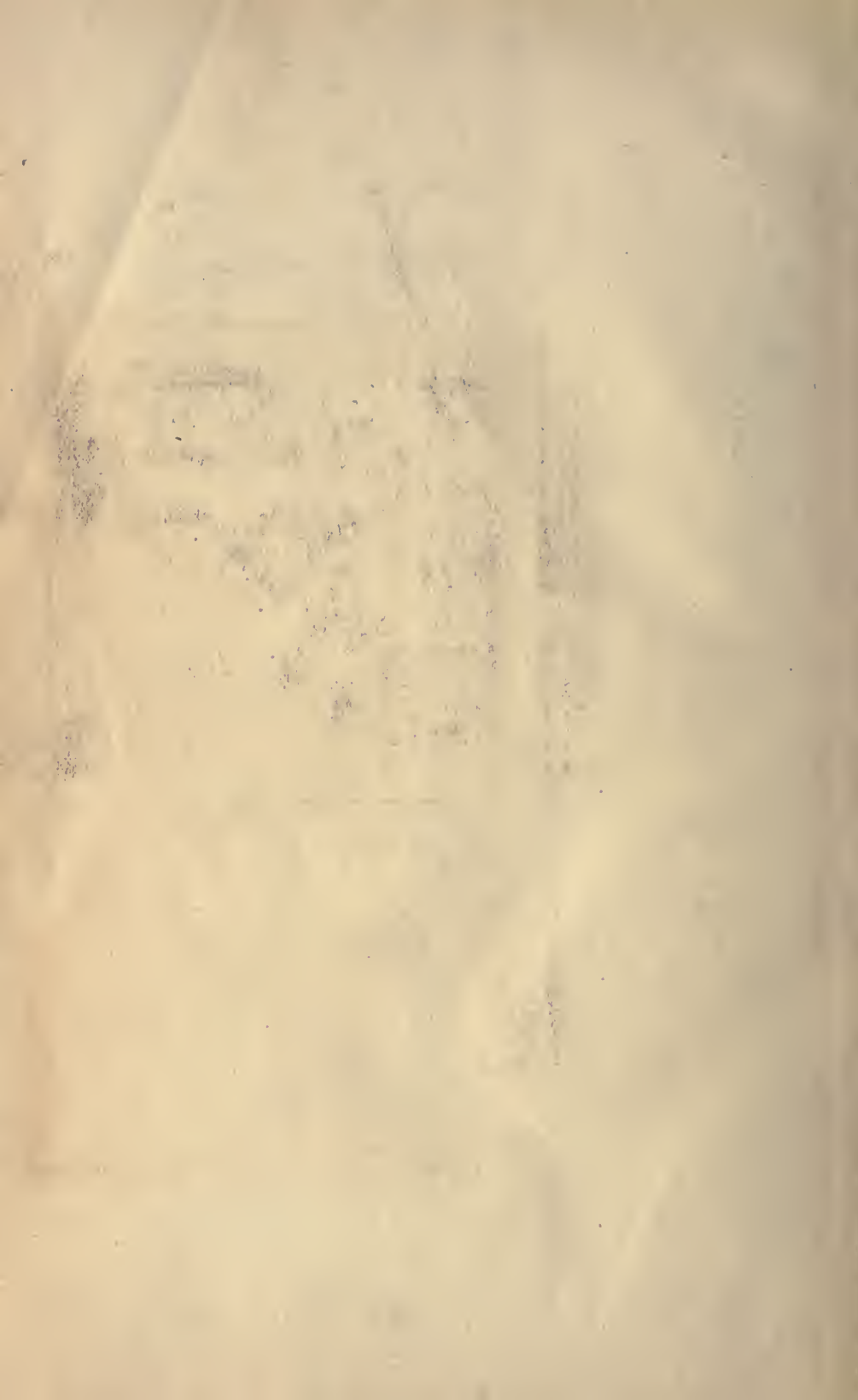
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